Origin: penes Tho.s Sadler Arm. Londini

A. Sculp.t

ALEXANDER. VI. PONT. MAX.

Vendit Alexander Claves, Altaria Christum
Emerat ille prius vendere jure potest.
De vitio in vitium, de flamma transit in Ignem
Roma Sub Hispano deperit Imperio.
Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et Iste
Semper Sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit.

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THE LIVES OF *Pope* ALEXANDER VI. And His SON *CÆSAR BORGIA.*

COMPREHENDING

The Wars in the Reigns of *Charles* VIII. and *Lewis* XII. Kings of *France*; and the Chief TRANSACTIONS and REVOLUTIONS in *Italy*, from the Year 1492 to the Year 1506.

WITH

An Appendix of Original Pieces referred to in the Work.

By *ALEXANDER GORDON*, A. M.

Loquar ut res erunt, & ſi quid obliquè geſtum, tradam ingenuè, Pretia rerum ex Æquo diſtribuire noſtrum eſt. Mentiuntur Poetæ, imponunt Rhetores, Hiſtoriæ Partes ſunt inter Adulationem, & præruptam ſcribendi Licentiam ire quo jubet Veritas; hac nobis iter. Laudo, Vitupero, Iraſcor, ut Virtus, ut Vitia cogunt.

GRAMUND.

LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR M. DCC. XXIX.

TALES

OF

To His GRACE

JAMES

Duke of *Montroſe.*

MY LORD,

AS an Acknowledgement for the many Inſtances of Favour, with which Your Grace has been pleaſed to honour me, I beg Leave in all Humility to ſhelter the following Hiſtory under Your Grace's Protection.

But if I had no peculiar Motives of Gratitude, *a Work of this Kind* ſhould naturally be Addreſſed to One who is accurately acquainted with the great and active Scenes of Human Life: And *as it is Mine*, that juſt Penetration ſhould be accompanied with all the Indulgence of

of Candor and Humanity. In Your Grace theſe ſhining Qualities go Hand in Hand; they naturally ſupport and adorn each other.

If what I have written deſerves any Degree of Favour from the Publick, it will not give me ſo much Satisfaction from any View of Intereſt or Reputation, as for having furniſh'd me with an Opportunity of declaring to the World that I am, with the ſincereſt Veneration,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's moſt Obliged, and

Moſt Faithful Servant,

Alexander Gordon.

A

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In the Appendix, Artic. *de Vitato Periculo*, &c. for *Vinter* r. *Inter*, and for *Atienni* r. *Venienti*.

N. B. What is referred *p.* 10. to the Letter C, is not inſerted in the Appendix, becauſe the Author did not go further in the MS. than to *p.* 13, in the Book, tho' he deſigned otherwiſe at firſt.

PREFACE.

AMONG the great Variety of Studies to which the Curious can apply in the Purſuit of Knowledge, there are few more entertaining and uſeful than Hiſtory: the Beauties of which are ſo many, and an Acquaintance with it ſo valuable, that it would be in vain for me to attempt adding any Thing to what has been already fully illuſtrated by ſo many great Pens.

Hiſtory, *as* Salmaſius *ſays*, is a Light which ſhines amidſt the Receſſes of Obſcurity, making paſt Ages appear as preſent. *For my Part, I think there is an Excellency in it that ſurpaſſes all other Kinds of Learning; and did it not ſavour a little of Paradox, one might venture to ſay, that in its Reſearches a Man lives, even when he was not in Being; for, when poſſeſſed of the true Notions of what was perform'd in ſo many different Countries, by various People, and at different Times; by this, his Knowledge of theſe Things is not much inferior to that which he would have acquir'd, had he actually lived in the Places where they were tranſacted; nay, they are often handed down to Poſterity with more Truth and Juſtice, than what the Accounts were which they had of them who lived Cotemporary: And ſurely it muſt be allow'd, that a Knowledge of paſt Ages is an Attainment worthy of a Rational Creature; for by it the Riſe and Fall of mighty Empires are known; the dark Intrigues of once the moſt ſecret Counſels decypher'd and unveil'd; and, as a certain Author expreſſed, the mighty Monarchs of the Earth brought from the Shelves of our Libraries, to act a Comedy or Tragedy for our Entertainment, on the little Theatre of our Cloſet's Table.*

PREFACE.

Since therefore to be converſant in Hiſtory, is ſo very delightful and inſtructive, nothing deſerves our Care more (when engaged in ſuch Studies) than to qualify ourſelves ſo as to be able to diſtinguiſh the Things which ought moſt to be retain'd in our Minds; to ſeparate the Gold from the Droſs; to prize and keep what is moſt valuable, and to be leſs careful about what brings along with it the leaſt Profit and Advantage.

This good Choice, and elegant Taſte of Things, is, I confeſs, greater or leſſer, in Proportion with the Share a Perſon has of Natural Judgment; but even Underſtanding itſelf, like a Field, may be more or leſs improv'd, according to the Degree of Culture or good Uſage it meets with; for, if 'tis not at all manur'd, Briars will ariſe, let the natural Soil be never ſo good: So even the Mind is certainly not a little improv'd by a continued Exerciſe in thoſe Things which ſtrengthen the Judgment, in comparing paſt Actions with one another; watching carefully in what Manner the good or bad were rewarded, or puniſhed, ſucceſsful or abortive: By a daily Exerciſe in this, Knowledge and Virtue are gradually acquir'd; ſo that the Mind having in this Life arrived to as great a Degree of Perfection in both as it is capable of containing, ſeems naturally fitted for removing from its Tabernacle of Clay, in order to receive Cloathing of Life and Immortality above, and there to advance in Wiſdom and Happineſs for ever.

Some, by a fallacious Way of Reaſoning, imagine, that ſince Hiſtory is moſtly taken up in deſcribing the various Actions of Life, many dark Scenes of Iniquity are of Courſe expoſed to View, which ought, they ſay, rather to have been cancell'd out of Memory, and buried in perpetual Oblivion; for no Profit, they tell us, can be reap'd by renewing the Ideas of Things horrid and diſtaſteful to Human Society.

To this, I anſwer, That Virtue and Goodneſs can never be ſo effectually illuſtrated, as when the Deformity of Vice is ſet in Oppoſition; for the more Villainy is expoſed to the Eyes of the World, the more is an Abhorrence of it eſtabliſh'd in virtuous and good Minds: and as Puniſhment naturally attends impious Actions, Woe and Miſery being the Reſult, ſo even bad Men, perceiving ſuch inevitable Ruin, are often awaked and deterred from

from continuing in the like evil Courſes: Hence thoſe very Actions become like Beacons, to hinder Poſterity from ſplitting on the ſame dangerous Rocks and Shoals where their Predeceſſors made ſuch fatal Shipwreck.

But if, indeed, that Way of Reaſoning could be allow'd to be juſt, namely, That the Actions of bad Men ought to be concealed from Poſterity, in this Caſe the greateſt Writers, both Antient and Modern, Sacred and Prophane, have been in an Error this Way: a Thing too bold to aſſert; for how many Lives of wicked Kings, Idolaters, Murderers, and Tyrants, have we related in Holy Writ? And how many Monſters of Iniquity are recorded by the beſt Greek, Roman, *and other Learned and Polite Hiſtorians? So that ſuch Objections cannot ſtand the Teſt of Reaſon, and are for the moſt Part the Criticiſms, not of Scholars, but of Men of mean Taſte, void of Curioſity: I may therefore ſafely conclude this Head, That ſince out of Darkneſs God can make Light ariſe, and from the very worſt of Evils bring forth a greater Good to Mankind than all the bad Effects the former produced, I therefore think that no Action of former Times, tho' ever ſo black and horrid, except what may offend a chaſte Ear, ought to be conceal'd from Poſterity, but laid open to the Abhorrence of every one.*

'Tis on this Account that in the following Sheets I am, with the utmoſt Fidelity and Truth, to preſent the Publick with a View of ſuch Things as may make the World bluſh at the Pravity of Human Nature, and tremble, when they'll ſee ſuch horrid Impieties had ever poſſeſſed the Heart of Man: For, in the Scene I am now about to open, the worſt of Hypocriſy will be found deck'd in the gaudy Attire of feign'd Religion; a Tree, from the diſtaſteful Root of which, nothing was produced, but the abominable Fruit of Murder, Rapine, Inceſt, and all Kinds of Iniquity: On one hand, Nations plunged in unjuſt Wars and Blood; on the other, lawful Proprietors diveſted of their States and Sovereignties, and poſſeſſed by rapacious Wolves and Tyrants; Widows and Orphans bewailing the Loſs of their Husbands and Fathers, and the latter, the Violation of their Childrens and Conſorts Honour: Tenderneſs and Mercy, oppreſſed by Cruelty and Rage, Juſtice and Innocence, groaning under the heavy Load of Perſecution; Fratricide and Murder committed in the Face of the Sun; and a pretended Head of Chriſt's Flock eſtabliſhing the

the Kingdom of utter Darkneſs, ſetting up the Empire of Satan for eclipſing all Goodneſs, and ſweeping away Virtue from off the Face of the Earth; which Deluge of Deſtruction had ſo long overſpread Europe, *till God at laſt cauſed the Sword of Blood to be ſheath'd, after a due Chaſtiſement of the Authors of this fatal Tragedy, and with them a Multitude of Mortals.*

But that the Reader may ſtill have a more perfect Idea of this Tragical Subject, Leibnitz *has ſummed up the Whole in the moſt elegant and conciſe Terms of any*: *Speaking of Pope* Alexander, [1] *he ſays,* That perhaps neither *Rome*, or the World, ever beheld a Court more contaminated with Vice than in his Pontificate, where three capital Vices ſtrove with each other for the upper Hand; namely, Luſt, Perfidiouſneſs, and Cruelty, all which were crown'd by Impiety, cover'd with the Sacred Veil of the Church and feign'd Religion, inſomuch that for Wickedneſs it could not be rivalled by any of the preceding Ages.

Lucretia, Alexander's *Daughter, he ſays, was as famous for Lewdneſs, as the* Roman Lucretia *for Chaſtity; as was his Son* Cæſar Borgia, *Duke* Valentine, *notorious for duplicated Fratricide and Inceſt with his own Siſter, and who by Perjuries, Poiſon, and Aſſaſſinations in deſtroying his Enemies, ſhewed himſelf a Son worthy of ſuch a Father, tho' at laſt a memorable Example to the World of the bad Succeſs which attended his Crimes, having before his Death been an Exile, and a Victim to publick Vengeance, and forced to renounce all that Tyranny, which was ſo far from being commendable, that it ought to be utterly deteſted, let* Machiavel's *Opinion be what it will; ſo that what the Antients feigned about a perfect Tragedy, Divine Providence permitted to be exemplified in him.*

But as Truth, and the concurring Teſtimony of impartial and authentick Writers, are the chief Support and Excellency of any Hiſtory; therefore, before I proceed, I think it neceſſary to give an Account of the Authors from whom I have compiled the following Work: By this, they'll perceive that the Lives of Pope Alexander VI. *and his Son* Cæſar Borgia, *have been a Subject which has employ'd the Pens of the greateſt Hiſtorians*

[1] See Leibnitz's Preface to Burchard's Diarium.

that have flouriſhed ſince the Revival of Literature in Europe; *tho' I confeſs their Accounts thereof are no where to be found ſo complete, and perfect, as could be wiſh'd, becauſe interſperſed and mix'd with a Variety of other cotemporary Narratives, not altogether analogous with that Pope's Life and Actions; ſo that in their Writings there is not the neceſſary Connexion in treating of that Subject apart: Beſides, thoſe who have wrote about them in a more abſtracted Manner, and with the greateſt Freedom, have (by the Malice and Authority of the Inquiſition, that Enemy to Truth) had their Works either caſtrated and interpolated, or induſtriouſly deſtroyed and concealed from the Publick; ſo that 'tis pretty difficult to come at the naked Truth of thoſe Matters: however, there is ſtill as much remaining on very authentick Record, as, when well collected and judiciouſly compiled, renders this Subject ſo very ſurprizing and uncommon, that ſcarce can it be match'd in antient or modern Hiſtory.*

The Authors from whom the Whole is taken, are Jovius, Oricellarius, Philip de Comines, Ferronius, *and ſome others leſs conſiderable: but thoſe on whoſe Accounts I have moſt depended, and who have furniſhed me with the beſt Materials, are* Guicciardin, Tomaſo Tomaſi, Burchardus, Platina, Machiavel, Bembo, *and an authentick Copy of a Manuſcript taken from the Original at* Rome, *ſaid to be in the* Vatican *Library, and brought hither by a Gentleman of my Acquaintance.*

Guicciardin, *as he may well be eſteem'd the Prince of all the* Italian *Hiſtorians, both for Veracity and Judgment, it would therefore be ſuperfluous for me to add any thing to the Character of one ſo well known to the Learned; and as he begins the* Æra *of his Hiſtory about two Years before* Alexander's *Advancement to the Pontificate,* viz. Anno 1490. *and, as in it is contain'd ſo very much about this Pope and his Son* Borgia, *there is therefore none whom I could conſult more for my preſent Purpoſe than he, or indeed any on whom I have laid a greater Streſs for confirming what I now relate in the following Hiſtory, eſpecially what regards the Wars of the* French *at that Time in* Italy. *I confeſs in thoſe Places where he writes with the greateſt Freedom about the flagitious Actions of Pope* Alexander *and his Son* Cæſar, *there, indeed, the Inquiſition has uſed its greateſt Endeavours to caſtrate, interpolate, and even to eraze thoſe Paſſages out of his Works, inſomuch that there are two or three*

very

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very remarkable Paragraphs found in Guicciardin's *Original Manuſcript at* Florence, *that are not to be met with in any printed* Italian *Edition of that Author: One of which, relating to the Origin, Progreſs, and Uſurpations of the Popes, I have had the good Luck to find preſerved elſewhere; and accordingly, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, have printed it Verbatim both in its original* Italian, *and a faithful* Engliſh *Tranſlation thereof in the* Appendix, *where the Reader will be amply inform'd about its Authenticknеſs. There is alſo another Paſſage of the ſaid* Guicciardin, *relating to Pope* Alexander VI. *which has been in like manner caſtrated; but this I have alſo found recovered out of the rapacious Hands of the Jeſuits, and where it coincides with the reſt of the Hiſtory, have inſerted the Paſſage in its original Language, and an* Engliſh *Tranſlation thereof in the Body of this Book, with neceſſary Notes in the Margin.*

What regards the other Hiſtorian I mention'd, namely, Tomaſo Tomaſi, *on whom I have rely'd ſo much in compiling theſe Lives, whoever deſires to be informed about his particular Character and Ability, may conſult the Preface made by the Author who gave a ſecond Edition and Additions to his Life of* Cæſar Borgia: *For my own Part, I ſcarcely know any Writer more authentick, impartial, laborious, and judicious than this* Tomaſi; *for as I may ſay without Vanity that I have not ſpared Pains myſelf to conſult all the Originals I could be directed to by the Curious, in compiling theſe Lives of* Alexander *and his Son, ſo have I had Occaſion to obſerve that ſcarcely has any thing in theſe Originals eſcaped his Notice; for* Burchardus's Diarium *has been peruſed by him, of which the many Paſſages taken verbatim from that Author are in this Book; and this, long before that Journal of* Alexander's *Actions was known to the Learned here, Monſieur* Leibnitz *being the firſt that Publiſh'd it in theſe Parts of* Europe, *namely at* Hanover Anno 1696. *Beſides, there are ſundry Paſſages and Quotations in* Tomaſi, *taken either from the original Manuſcript of* Paulus Jovius's *Hiſtory, or thoſe very* 12 *Books which were ſaid to be loſt. In fine, had* Tomaſi *been a little more full in his Accounts of the Wars in* Italy, *which happen'd in* Alexander VI's *Pontificate, and which I think is indiſpenſibly neceſſary in writing a perfect Account of his Life: Had he, I ſay, obſerv'd this, and not been ſomewhat timorous in deſcribing ſome of* Alexander's *very worſt Actions, ſcarcely could a better Account of the* Borgians *have been given to the World:*

World: So that for my own Part, in this preſent Undertaking, I have been more aſſiſted from him than any of the other Authors I mention'd.

What regards the Additions to his Life of Duke Valentine, *or* Cæſar Borgia, *in the ſecond Edition printed at* Monte Chiaro Anno 1670. *as they come from an anonymous Hand, I have been pretty tender in making uſe of them; nor indeed have I any where but in two or three Places, to which the Reader in the Margin is directed, and which I think are neither inconſiſtent with Probability, or the reſt of the Hiſtory.*

Another, from whoſe Writings I have collected not a little, is this Burchardus *I juſt now mention'd: As for him, he liv'd cotemporary with Pope* Alexander VI. *and in Quality of his Maſter of Ceremonies. What this Man has wrote is reckon'd by the Learned and Judicious* Bayle, Leibnitz, *and others, to be a Standard of Truth; for beſides his being an Eye-Witneſs to every Thing he relates about Pope* Alexander, *and having liv'd with him in the Pontifical Palace, ſcarcely does any thing more confirm his Accounts, than the honeſt, plain Way of Writing about them, in which he has mix'd the* French, Latin, *and* Italian *Languages, juſt as the Facts occurred to his Obſervation, and the Languages to his Fancy, without that Art and Contrivance which are generally found in elaborate Pieces of Falſhood; for often we find him giving* Alexander *the Title of* Sanctiſſimus Dominus Noſter, *at a Time he relates him guilty of perpetrating Murder, and committing the moſt flagitious and laſcivious Actions, which plainly ſhew this honeſt* German *Maſter of Ceremonies had no private Pique at the Pope, mean while, with a Simplicity of Veneration, he deſcribes his Vices. But whoever will be convinc'd of* Burchardus's *Veracity and Impartiality, and inform'd about his particular Character, they may only ſee what Monſieur* Bayle *ſays of him in his incomparable* Dictionary, Vol. IV. p. 2957, 2958. *in his Diſſertation* Sur les Libelles d'Iffametoires. *See likewiſe what* Leibnitz *mentions about him, in the Preface he has publiſh'd to the ſaid* Diarium. *What I have collected from it myſelf, I have tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and inſerted it in the Body of this Book, referring the Reader to the original Paſſages, in* Burchardus's *own Words, in the* Appendix.

Platina

PREFACE.

Platina *is the next, or rather the Writers of a Supplement to him, from whom I have been ſomewhat aſſiſted in my preſent Undertaking. As this Author wrote the Lives of the Popes as far as* Sixtus IV. *ending with* Paul II. *ſo what follows relating to* Alexander VI. *and his Succeſſors, have been added to* Platina *by* Onofrio Panvinio, Stringa, Cicarelli, *and others, tho' indeed great Care has been taken by the Jeſuits and Inquiſition to cancel, caſtrate, and interpolate whatever has been ſaid moſt freely by the one or the other, relating to the Lives of wicked Popes in general, ſo that it is very difficult to find a perfect and uncaſtrated Edition of* Platina; *however, ſome the Curious have ſnatch'd from the Inquiſition's rapacious Hands, particularly that Publiſhed and Tranſlated by* Michiele Tramezzino; *ſo that this and other uncaſtrated Editions of the Lives of the Popes are kept in ſeveral Libraries, which I have had the Pleaſure to conſult in the preſent Work.*

Machiavel, *that famous* Florentine *Secretary, or, as ſome are pleaſed to call him,* helliſh Politician, *is another from whom I have collected not a little in compoſing this Work. In his* Principe, *as he ſets up* Cæſar Borgia *for an Original and Pattern, from whoſe Example, Conduct, Politicks, and Maxims, other Princes, he ſays, if they have a Mind to act the Part of judicious Tyrants, ought to copy: This Author, ſome think, in his* 7, 8, *and* 11*th Chapters, and in his* Deſcrizzione del Modo Tenuto dal Duca Valentino, &c. *has wrote ſo diffuſedly about* Cæſar Borgia *and his Father, that he has ſaid all that's neceſſary or worth knowing about them: But I muſt beg leave to aſſure thoſe who believe ſo, they labour under a very great Miſtake; for except ſome Particulars relating to* Borgia's *Cruelty in diveſting the Vicars of the Church in* Romagna *of their Properties, and which only belong to the ſecond Part of this Hiſtory; This, I ſay, excepted,* Machiavel *has mention'd very little more about them; and what he does relate is ſo far from being complete, that the Reader, in peruſing the following Hiſtory, will find it is but a Kind of Summary, or Recapitulation of what other Authors have wrote much more fully on the Subject: However, where his Accounts coincide in the following Lives, I have mentioned 'em, and given neceſſary Quotations in the Margin: And ſtill for the greater Satisfaction of the Curious, and that they may ſee all that* Machiavel *has wrote on the Subject, in the* Appendix

pendix *I have given a faithful* Engliſh *Tranſlation of his 7th and 11th Chapters, to which the Reader is referr'd.*

Cardinal Bembo *is alſo among the Number of thoſe who have furniſh'd Materials for compiling the following Lives; and indeed, tho' an Eccleſiaſtick, and a Pillar of the* Romiſh *Church, yet, in relating what concerns the Life of this wicked Pope, for Truth, Judgment, and Impartiality, he is inferior to none of the ſecular Authors: And what he has ſaid on this Matter, I have in many Places choſe to quote his Words in the Margin, becauſe of the Elegancy of his Style, and their Importance for confirming many Circumſtances I have related.*

Theſe being the chief Authors whoſe Works are printed, and from whom I have collected the Whole, it only remains to give ſome Account of the Manuſcript Copy I mention'd, from which I have likewiſe borrowed ſome Help. In it, are contain'd many minute and curious Circumſtances relating to Alexander VI. *which I could find no where elſe, particularly as to his Family, Birth, Education, Amours with Madam* Vanozza, *his firſt Acquaintance with, and Children he had by her, his Promotion to the Cardinalate, and his particular Behaviour while Nuncio at ſeveral Foreign Courts, the Symony uſed at his Election to the Papacy, and the like; all which Particulars, except the laſt at his Election, are but very ſlightly mention'd by any other Author, tho' highly neceſſary to be known, and related, by any who will treat fully of that Pope's Life: For moſt of the Authors who have wrote about* Alexander, *conſider him only when exalted to the Papal Chair.* Tomaſi *and* Panvinius *'tis true relate his Actions in a private Station of Life; but indeed more ſuperficially than could have been wiſh'd. However, this Manuſcript Copy being ſo full, from his Birth to his Pontificate, where the others are moſt defective, I ſhould therefore think my good Fortune complete in having it for my Guide, could I give any Account of the anonymous Author.*

I confeſs 'tis a very tender and dangerous Thing for one who pretends to write Hiſtory, to amuſe the World with any Accounts they cannot ſupport by the beſt Authorities, and moſt authentick Vouchers; wherefore I have made no manner of Uſe of this Manuſcript Copy, except in thoſe Particulars wherein other Writers, as I have obſerv'd, are moſtly ſilent; and what I have borrow'd

from it, extends not beyond the first three Sheets of this Book to Page the 13th; and these very few Circumstances too, the Reader will perceive I have in some measure been able to confirm by Platina, Ciaconius, Tomasi, *and other concurring Testimonies, tho' these Authors have not been near so ample in their Accounts of this Kind as the Manuscript.*

If there is any one Circumstance therein which may give a Handle for Critical Cavils, it is what relates to Madam Vanozza, *where the Curious will find that Monsieur* Moreri, *in his* Dictionary, *seems to give a very different Account of this Lady: But if the Reader will please to observe, in the Margin of Page 2, he is directed to the particular Place in the* Appendix, *where* Moreri's *Relation of the Affair is consider'd, whose Self-Contradictions shew that all he advances on this Head, is by no Means of Strength sufficient to invalidate what is asserted in the Manuscript: Wherefore, upon the Whole, I may, without Breach of Modesty, venture to say, that few Histories are better vouch'd than this I offer to the Publick.*

But as it is scarcely possible to escape Censure, and Criticism, on a Work of this Nature; so some zealous Partizans may perhaps give out, that this is solely publish'd as a Protestant Piece of Malice, to[1] *depreciate that Church, of which this scandalous Pope, whose Life I now write, was Head: But they may please know, that it's neither my Choice or Design to disparage the Religion of any Church or Mortal, but to leave Theological Controversy to our Ecclesiastical Champions of Profession. I therefore hope, as a Lay-Admirer of Truth, without Choice or Design to arraign any particular System of Religion in a wicked Professor, and even Head thereof, I may be allow'd so far to enjoy the glorious Liberty of a Country unterrified with Inquisitions, as to acquaint the World with Matter of Fact, by collecting from* Roman Catholick *Authors the scatter'd Life of an infamous Pope; which disagreeable Subject I perhaps would not have undertaken, were not the cotemporary Facts in his Pontificate the most surprizing, and the Revolutions which then happen'd, the most extraordinary and curious of any to be match'd in History.*

[1] I agree with Leibnitz on this Head, *when he says,* Cæterum Alexandri Sexti Crimina nemo Æquus ad Papatus Vituperationem retulerit nisi forte per Recriminationem, qua careri posse malim. *Preface to* Burchard's Diarium, p. 1.

Was,

PREFACE.

Was, I ſay, my chief Scope only to rip up the Sores, and expoſe the Iniquity of thoſe Monſters I am partly to treat of; in that Caſe, ſuppoſing the Subject never ſo inſtructive, yet ſhould it not have been my Choice: But here will be ſeen a Series of Events, affording notable Examples of human Frailty in other various Views, and the cleareſt Evidences of the eternal Providence and Juſtice of the Creator vindicated. In this you may perceive the Ballance of Power in Italy, *and the Foundation of her Repoſe ſhaken and undermined, by the Imprudence and Pique of thoſe who imagin'd themſelves poſſeſſed of the greateſt Share of human Sagacity; and the memorable Tranſactions of two powerful Kings of* France, *and the War they brought into* Italy *in* Alexander's *Pontificate, treated of fully. Here alſo will be ſeen a helpleſs Orphan, bereaved of his Dominion and Life by a treacherous Guardian, and near Relation, who, as the latter was the chief Origin of* Italy's *Misfortunes, and Author of her Slavery, ſo did righteous Providence permit the Traitor to fall a Prey to Treachery. Here alſo will be ſeen the quiet Poſſeſſor of a Kingdom invaded by a Prince quite intoxicated with Ambition, and inſatiable in his Thirſt for new Empire, the whole Reſult of which was the deſtroying the Peace of Mankind, the Ruin of his People, and Loſs of his own Honour; his Nation twice Conquerors, and as often expelled the Country they had conquered, and both the oppoſite and contending Powers a Prey at laſt to the Uſurpation of another. Here you will find Liberty claim'd by ſome, and Chains enforced on others; Proſperity and Ruin, Probity and Vice, alternately triumphing, alternately changing the Scene. Theſe Things, and not* Alexander's *and* Cæſar Borgia's *wicked Lives, have been the greateſt Inducement for my Publiſhing this Work; which, tho' they are related by* Guicciardin, *and others of whom we have Tranſlations in* Engliſh; *yet not only is the Language of ſome of the Tranſlations obſolete, but that Subject muſt ſtill remain imperfect, unleſs compiled from various Authors, and their different Accounts of Things compared, by which Truth is diſtinguiſh'd from Falſhood, which perfect Hiſtory of the* Borgians *I think is no where to be found in the* Engliſh *Language. 'Tis on this Account that I have ventured this Subject to the peruſal of* Britons, *and hope the Attempt will not be condemn'd, let my Accuracy in handling it to Purpoſe be never ſo little: And if, by the Accounts I give of Pope* Alexander *and* Cæſar Borgia, *the Malice of ſome People may be exaſperated, it ought in ſome meaſure*

to

to be ſoftned by this one Conſideration, namely, That I have not in the Whole collected one ſingle Circumſtance from Proteſtant *Writers*; *ſo I may, with an Author mentioned by* Victorio Siri, *ſay to ſuch People,* Armentur in me quorumlibet Invidia & Furor, Stylumque qui adulari neſciat, Temerarium dicant, dicant, per me licet; ſi Temeritas eſt vera ſcripſiſſe.

But to conclude the Whole; as a Writer is neither a proper Judge or Advocate for his own Works, for my Part, ſuppoſing my Cenſurers equal in Number to my Defects, I beg that in Charity they may allow me to indulge myſelf in this one Satisfaction, too retired for the Approaches of Malice, That I only deſigned to draw up the Curtain of Vice, and expoſe a Theatre full of Villainy to the Abhorrence of Mankind, and to ſhew how that provident Equity, which ſuſpends the fatal Ballance unſeen and unſuſpected, drops the vengeful Sword on the riſing Scale, and launches an exemplary Stroke on the guilty Head: And as an ingenious Friend of mine ſaid on this Subject, 'Divine 'Juſtice ſometimes abſtracts from Futurity, and, that its Ter- 'rors may not ceaſe, overtakes Vice on the proſperous Wings 'of Grandeur and Power. Men may therefore be perſuaded, 'that when they forſake Virtue, this Purſuit commences; 'but when it ſhall end, is a Secret, the Diſcovery of which 'the Innocent may ſometimes expect, and the Guilty always 'dread.' *To this I add, That if my Labours contribute the leaſt Service to either, I have my Reward. One Alleviation I muſt plead with the Generous, which is, That the preſent Work had appeared much more perfect and correct, and with thoſe Advantages which Affluence produces, if the Tranquillity of my Station had been equal to my Intentions, and if my Leiſure had ſeconded my Application: However, if this Hiſtorical Trial receives any Kind of Approbation, I propoſe, under the Favour of Almighty Providence, to continue the Lives of the Popes to the Succeſſor of* Clement VII. *and if the Curious are pleaſed to entertain a favourable Opinion of my Abilities for the Undertaking, the Materials with which I am furniſhed, encourage me to hope my Endeavours will meet with their kind Reception.*

N. B. The

PREFACE.

N. B. The Reader is directed to obſerve, that in the following Hiſtory *Cæſar Borgia* for the moſt Part goes under the Denomination of *Valentine*, on Account of having in his Youth been made Archbiſhop of *Valenza*; for he was not, for ſeveral Years after, made Duke *de Valentinois*: So that in the firſt Part of this Work he is called Cardinal *Valentine*, and not Cardinal *Borgia*, for Diſtinction's Sake, ſeeing there were others of the Family of *Borgia* at that time Cardinals. Moſt of the *Italian* Authors, if not all, give him the Title of Cardinal *Valentine*, *Valentine* ſimply, and Duke *Valentine*; particularly *Machiavel* ſtiles him *il Duca Valentino*, as does *Tomaſo Tomaſi*, *Panvinius*, *Jovius*, and others, ſometimes *il Cardinale Valentino*, *il Valentino*, *il Duca Valentino*: In like manner is he call'd by *Burchardus Cardinalis & Dux Valentinus*. *Leibnitz* does the ſame, for Archbiſhop of *Valenza* in *Latin* is, by uſing the Adjective, *Archiepiſcopus Valentinus*, ſo that when it is ſimply expreſſed *Valentine*, his Archbiſhoprick, or even Dutchy of *Valentinois*, are underſtood. In fine, this is the common Title given him by almoſt every Hiſtorian, not to repeat the *French* Appellation *Duc de Valentinois*, in *Engliſh*, *The Duke of Valentinois*, four Words, which, without uſing the *French*, can be expreſſed in that one of *Valentine*; ſo that if this be judg'd an Error in me, 'tis one in all the Hiſtorians I have now named, whom I have followed in the Matter. Obſerve alſo the Title of Cardinal *Saint-Pietro in Vincula* ſhould in *Latin* be *in Vinculis*, or *ad Vincula*, as *Machiavel* has it; but that is the *Italian* Name of a Church in *Rome*, from which the Cardinal had his Title, and is not deſign'd for *Latin*. Sometimes alſo *Peter* of the *Medici* Family is called *de Medicis*, as it is in the *Latin*, and *de Medici*, which is *Italian*, and both promiſcuouſly uſed by the *Italian* Authors.

THE LIVES OF Pope *Alexander* VI. And His SON *CÆSAR BORGIA.*

PART I.

THE Lives of Pope *Alexander* VI. and his Son *Cæſar Borgia*, being the chief Subject of the following Hiſtory, I may venture to ſay, that the Tranſactions contain'd therein will be found as ſingular and ſurprizing as any of the others in the ſame famous Age. *Introduction.*

And certain it is, that no Period of Time, ſince the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, has been ſo conſpicuous for great and remarkable Events, as that ſome Years before, and during the whole Sixteenth Century: To evince this will not be difficult, if we conſider the following Particulars.

It

Anno 1452. It was then the *Ottoman* Nation eſtabliſh'd their mighty and formidable Empire at *Conſtantinople*; and but a *Anno* 1492. few Years after was a Diſcovery made of a new World beyond the great *Atlantick* Ocean: In this famous Age *About Anno* 1440. it was that, on Account of the new Invention of Printing, and the Number of learned Men who came from *Greece* into the other Parts of *Europe*, Literature reviv'd; ſo that becauſe of the many ſublime Genius's then Cotemporaries, it is reckon'd to vie with the great *Auguſtan* Age: Beſides, near the ſame Time it was that the glorious Work begun, *The Reformation began about Anno* 1525. and that Doctrine publickly profeſs'd, which, after a Deluge of Blindneſs, Superſtition, and Idolatry, had, for ſo many preceding Centuries, ſpread its ſable Veil over the Chriſtian World, made Ignorance and Deceit give Place to Knowledge and Juſtice, and lawleſs Impiety to Virtue and Religion.

To particularize the great Actions which then enſued, the Improvements in Arts, and Progreſs in Politeneſs, would be, as it has been, a Task and Subject for the ableſt Pens, and worthy of them, tho' too ample and arduous for me to undertake.

But ſince, in Nature as well as Hiſtory, there is a Mixture of Deformity and Beauty, both being Contraſts to each other: neither was the Age I juſt now mention'd without its manifold Vices, which not a little obſcur'd the Luſtre of the great and good Actions perform'd therein: And as nothing will make this appear more manifeſt than the Subject I have undertaken, in treating of the Lives of Pope *Alexander* and *Cæſar Borgia* his Son, without farther premiſing, before I enter on their Hiſtory, it may not be unneceſſary to give the Reader ſome Account of their Country and Family.

ABOUT

ABOUT the Year 1430, there flouriſh'd an Illuſtrious Family in *Spain*, ſurnamed *Borgia*, of which Pope *Calixtus* III. was a Deſcendant, whoſe Siſter *Jovanna* married one [1] *Godfrey Lenzolio*, a Native of *Valentia*, and by her had five Children, one of whom, being a Son, was call'd [2] *Roderick*, the Perſon whoſe Life is ſo much the Subject of this Hiſtory, and who afterwards was advanc'd to the Papacy by the Name of Pope *Alexander* VI.

Godfrey the Father, his Family being not ſo conſpicuous as that of his Lady, by Conſent of his Brother-in-Law *Calixtus*, as if by Adoption, chang'd his Name from *Lenzolio* to *Borgia* [3], ſo that he and his Deſcendants retain'd it ever afterwards; and as the ſaid *Godfrey* was a Perſon of diſtinguiſh'd Capacity for Buſineſs, ſo in his Youth he held ſeveral conſiderable Employments in the *Spaniſh* Court, and was afterwards made Governor of ſome important Fortreſſes in that Kingdom; in all which, he not only acquitted himſelf with Reputation, but by a long Continuance therein acquired no ſmall [4] Wealth to his Family.

His Son *Roderick* from a Child gave early Proofs of an uncommon Vivacity, and a Genius for Letters and the Sciences; but at the ſame Time there appear'd in him a Diſpoſition of Mind ſo cruel and wicked, that one might have foreſeen what Fruit ſuch a Tree would produce when it came to Maturity.

He begun his Studies under the Direction of the beſt Maſters, and proceded in them until he arrived to the Age of Eighteen; at which Time his Father made him his Subſtitute in ſundry Affairs of Weight and Truſt, which he executed with a Spirit

[1] Panvinius, Tom. Tomaſ. and Ciaconius write Godfrey's Surname Lenzolio, but Pope Alexander's Medals have it Lenzuola; however, theſe Authors now mention'd are more to be depended on than the Medals, becauſe the latter were coin'd many Years after Pope Alexander's Deceaſe.

[2] Roderick, afterwards Pope Alexander VI. was born 1431. in the laſt Year of Martin V's Pontificate.

[3] See the Appendix *de Geneologia Familiæ Borgiæ* Articulo primo. See alſo Tom. Tomaſ. Vit. Duc. Valen. Edit. Mon. Chiar. Anno 1670. p. 2. Ciaconius, p. 148. Edit. Rom. 1677. Panvin. Vit. Alex. VI. p. 472. Edit. Venet. 1703.

[4] Ciacon. Vit. Alex. VI. p. 148. Ed. Rom. 1677. Panvin. Vit. Alex. VI. p. 472. Edit. Venet. 1703.

and Activity rarely to be found in one of his Years: But the Law was the Study which ſuited beſt with his Genius at that Time, wherein he made ſo conſiderable a Progreſs, that being frequently employ'd as an Advocate in divers intricate Caſes, his Abilities in that Profeſſion became ſo conſpicuous, that in a ſhort Time he acquir'd a conſiderable Fortune; and by the ſame means might have increaſed it daily, had not his Mind been too fickle and inconſtant; for notwithſtanding his Practice in the Law was, as is ſaid, become very profitable, yet, impatient of his preſent Condition, and his Mind ſoaring at higher Matters, all of a ſudden he ſhew'd a great Deſire for War, and to make ſome Campaigns as his Father had done, by appearing in the World in a Military Character; which ſudden Turn of Thought put a Stop to his further Progreſs in the Law, or proſecuting grave and ſerious Studies, and very ſoon had the Effect to throw him into a State of Inactivity and Voluptuouſneſs.

About this Time he fell in Love with a certain Lady, left a Widow with two Daughters, and who lately had, with her Family, come from *Rome* into that Country; but *Roderick* having got Poſſeſſion of the Mother's Honour, and her Daughters in the mean time growing up, his Paſſions were ſo very irregular, as to put him upon laying Traps how he might make a Prey of them alſo; but the Death of the Mother put a ſudden Stop to the Career of his Lewdneſs with her. The young Ladies being now under his Tuition, as their Guardian, he put one into a Monaſtery, and the other, whoſe Name was [1] *Catarina*, by others called *Roſa Vanozza*, he took to himſelf, and kept her for his Concubine [2]: By her he had five Children, one of whom was

[1] Vid. Tom. Tom. Vit. Duc. Valen. p. 3. Edit. Mon. Chiar. 1670.

[2] Platina, in the uncaſtrated Edition by Michiele Tramazzino, and in the other printed at Venice, Anno 1703. in the Supplement by Panvin. ſpeaking of Pope Alexander and Vanozza, ſays, that ſhe, becauſe of her Beauty, her enticing Ways, and marvellous Fecundity, was more beloved than any of his other Concubines, ſo that in his private Station of Life, and before he arrived at the Papacy, he kept her in place of a lawful Spouſe: His Words are, *La hebbe eſſendo egli in privata Fortuna* quaſi *in luogo di legitima Moglie.* Panvin. Supplement to Platin. in Vit. Alex. VI. p. 478. Edit. Venet. Anno 1703. Tom. Tom. p. 4. ſpeaking of Vanozza, ſays, Pope Alexander kept her as if ſhe had been rather his lawful Wife than a ſacrilegious Concubine: His Words are, *L'hebbe in luogo piu di legitima Moglie che di ſacrilega Concubina.* N. B. What is mention'd in the Preface about the different Accounts Moreri gives of Vanozza, the Reader is here referred to the Notes in the Appendix in Articulo Primo *de Geneologia Familiæ Borgiæ*, where Moreri's Account thereof is conſider'd and confuted.

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the famous *Cæſar Borgia*, who, together with the others, we ſhall mention fully in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

Roderick was not wanting in the Duty of a careful and very affectionate Father, and to beſtow on his Children as liberal an Education as if they had been legitimate, and to ſecure to each of them, out of his Wealth, ſuch Proviſion as might make them eaſy in the World: But all this he did with the utmoſt Caution and Secrecy, not caring his Family Intrigues ſhould be known; nor indeed were they, until after he came to the Papacy, at which Time they became publickly expoſed to the World; and Fortune ſeem'd to be ſo laviſh of her Favours to him, that ſuch a long Run of Proſperity to any one Perſon can ſcarcely be match'd in Hiſtory: For not only did he ſucceed wonderfully in every Thing he deſired, but withal had a Capacity to turn all Events to his own Advantage, which, join'd to Induſtry and Foreſight, advanc'd him at length to the utmoſt Heighth of Pomp and Splendor this World can afford, even to the Papal Dignity it ſelf, in which we ſhall find he govern'd with unrival'd Power.

But to look back to our preſent Hiſtory: *Roderick* having taken the above-mention'd Lady into his keeping, that he might have the freer Intercourſe with her, he hired a Houſe contiguous to her Lodging, contriving a private Paſſage out of it to her Apartment; and to the End he might carry on his Amours with the utmoſt Secrecy, when at any time he was viſited by Company in the Place, it was his chief Care never to mention the Lady, ſo that what good Character he had acquired before that Time, he was then cautious and cunning enough to preſerve: Nor was Fortune backward in accumulating his other Felicities, for while he lived in this looſe and luxurious Manner, and in the full Enjoyment of his young Beauty, News was brought him that his Uncle was advanced to the Papacy, by the Name of *Calixtus* III. who no ſooner was arrived at that Dignity, but his Thoughts were turned upon preferring his own Family, and more particularly his Nephew Don *Roderick*, on whom he was deſirous to beſtow all the Honours and Favours which the Nephews of Popes uſually enjoy; and that more eſpecially as he had long

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entertain'd an Opinion that he was a Perſon of extraordinary Merit, and that advancing him would redound to his own Profit and Honour.

However, *Roderick* was ſo infatuated with the Charms of his Miſtreſs, and had the Concerns of his own Family ſo much at Heart, that he did not ſeem to covet more Happineſs than what he now enjoy'd; ſo that his Uncle's Promotion to the Papacy did not fill his Heart with that exceſſive Joy, which otherwiſe it might have done: But, not to be wanting in Duty and Gratitude to the Pope, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive and congratulatory Letter, expreſſing what a peculiar Happineſs his Advancement to the Papal Dignity would be to all *Chriſtendom*; the unſpeakable Joy himſelf felt therein; at the ſame Time deſired his Holineſs would be pleaſed to honour him with a Continuance of his Protection and Countenance, as his Relation, wiſhing him a long and proſperous Pontificate.

No ſooner did the Pope receive his Nephew's Letter, than he returned him a very affectionate Anſwer, wherein he declared the Pleaſure he conceived of his good Character, and particularly of his Knowledge and Experience in the Law, requiring him to quit the Place where he was then reſiding, and haſten to *Rome*, being deſirous, as his near Relation, to employ him in Affairs of State: But *Roderick*, on Receipt of his Holineſs's Letter, was ſo far from being puffed up with Joy, that the Thought of leaving his dear Concerns at Home was more grievous to him, than what he imagin'd could be ballanced by the Wealth and Honours his Uncle was about to heap upon him; more eſpecially when he conſidered the Bulk of his own Eſtate, which was no leſs, as ſome report, than Thirty-two Thouſand Ducats *per Annum*; and living there as he did with his Miſtreſs and Family, in a State of ſo great Tranquillity and Splendor, he thought it a bad Choice to go elſewhere in queſt of Preferments he ſtood in no need of, and to undertake a toilſom Journey to *Rome*, at the Expence of his preſent Enjoyments.

In the mean time the Pope, perceiving his Nephew's affected Delays, diſpatches a Prelate from Court, with expreſs Orders to bring

bring him thither; at the ſame time beſtow'd on him a Benefice of 12000 Crowns a Year, which, join'd to his own Fortune, would enable him to make a Princely Figure in *Europe*.

Roderic finding himſelf beyond Merit or Expectation ſo extremely honour'd and favour'd by his Uncle, determin'd at length to accept of his Holineſs's Invitation, and to ſet out on his Journey for *Rome*: but on the other hand, becauſe of the Exceſs of Love and Affection he had for *Vanozza* and his Children, the Thoughts of being oblig'd to leave them, rais'd ſuch a Conflict in his Breaſt, that, what between Love and Ambition, he was ſo vehemently agitated with contrary Paſſions, that, like a bewilder'd Traveller, he knew not whither to turn himſelf: At laſt, being deſirous to conſult the above-mention'd Lady on this Occaſion, and to be determin'd by her, the Reſult between them was, that both ſhould go for *Italy*, but two different Ways; He for *Rome*, *Vanozza* and the Children for *Venice*. Accordingly they both ſet out, and arriv'd ſafe at their reſpective Places. The Lady's Retinue was two Servants, and a *Spaniſh* Gentleman call'd Don *Manuele Melchiori*: This Perſon was perhaps the only one upon Earth who was let into *Roderic*'s Intrigues; his Buſineſs in the Family was to perſonate the Lady's pretended Husband's near Relation, and in that Capacity to ſerve her on all Family Occaſions, *&c.* whoſe good Offices in Time became ſo acceptable to the Lady, that, as a Reward for his Fidelity and Care, ſhe promis'd to beſtow on him one of her Daughters in Marriage.

In the mean time Don *Roderic* being arrived at *Rome*, took up his Lodgings in the Palace of his Acquaintance Cardinal St. *Severino* a *Milaneſe*; and ſoon after the Pope ſent for him to Court, at which Interview *Roderic*, with Tears of Tenderneſs, fell at his Holineſs's Feet, and kiſſing them, wiſh'd him a long Enjoyment of his new Dignity, to which his conſpicuous Merit had raiſed him. After theſe and other reciprocal Compliments, *Roderic* took leave and retir'd, leaving on the Pope's Mind ſo favourable an Impreſſion of his Merit and good Behaviour, that his Holineſs could not forbear highly to applaud him, and even launch out into his Praiſes, amongſt the Cardinals then preſent: And ſo very well ſatisfy'd was he of his Nephew's Fitneſs and great Capacity for Preferment, that he created him Archbiſhop of *Valenza*, and on the 12th of *September* 1456.

Cardinal *Deacon*, with the Title of [1] *San-Nicola in Carcere Tulliano* ; and to the End he might make the Figure of a Pope's Nephew, he likewiſe promoted him to the Office of [2] Vice-Chancellor of the Church, a Poſt of the higheſt Dignity and Truſt, which requir'd to be diſcharg'd with the utmoſt Pomp and Splendor ; the Pope alſo annexing to theſe, a Revenue of 28000 Crowns *per Annum.* The Dignity however of Cardinal was not intirely ſuitable to *Roderic*'s Inclinations, becauſe he knew he ſhould thereby be too much confin'd to *Rome*, under his Uncle's more immediate Inſpection, ſo that he had much rather have been made General of the Church, in which Office he knew he might have taken more Liberty, and had better Opportunities of viſiting *Vanozza*, ſo that it was with ſome Difficulty he was perſuaded to take upon him the Cardinalate, feigning a great many Excuſes to avoid it, namely, want of Merit, Health, Experience, and the like Pretences, wiſhing indeed to be freed from the Bondage of ſo grave a Preferment; his Heart, as we have already ſaid, being at this Time ſolely ſet upon the Pleaſures of his beloved *Vanozza* : But his Friend the Cardinal, in whoſe Houſe he lodg'd, made uſe of ſeveral very perſuaſive Motives to induce him to become a Cardinal, amongſt the reſt, the fair Chance he might have of ſucceeding his Uncle in the Supreme Dignity. As ſoon as this Hint was given him, he felt an unuſual Ambition kindle within his Breaſt, foreſeeing that in ſuch a Caſe he ſhould be in a Manner ſole Maſter of the *Chriſtian* World : Accordingly he embrac'd his Uncle's Offer, accepted the Hat, and was receiv'd amongſt the Number of Cardinals.

Upon this he began to feign an extraordinary Sanctity, and to act the Part of a cunning and moſt conſummate Hypocrite, counterfeiting Humility with down-caſt Eyes, hanging his Head awry ; and that he might appear wrapt up in Holineſs, conſtantly preach'd up Faith and Repentance, frequented the Churches, harangued in Publick, ingratiated himſelf into the Peoples Favour, offering them his ſpecial Protection on every Occaſion ; ſeem'd at Emnity with worldly Riches, conſtantly viſited the Hoſpitals, beſtow'd liberally on the Poor, giving out, that they

[1] For Confirmation of this Circumſtance in our *Vatican MS.* ſee Platina Edit. Venet. Printed Anno MDCCIII. p. 430, 472.

[2] Ibidem, p. 472.

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were to be his Heirs at his Death: Theſe, and ſuch like Artifices, made him appear a down-right Saint in the Eyes of the World: for not only did his Fame for Piety reſound in all the Monaſteries in *Rome*, but even in the very College of Cardinals, he acquired the Character of a *Solomon* for Wiſdom, a *Job* for Patience, and a *Moſes* for promulgating the Law of God; in fine, one of the holieſt Men upon Earth: Nor were his Brethren the Cardinals a little pleaſed to find amongſt their Number a Perſon of ſuch exemplary Goodneſs; every one therefore was ambitious to honour and ſhew him their particular Marks of Eſteem.

While he was thus employ'd in blinding the Eyes of his Byſtanders, he wrote his Miſtreſs *Vanozza* a moſt affectionate Letter, the Subſtance of which was to acquaint her with his Promotion to the Cardinalate, by which he aſſured her, that a ſpacious Field was open for conducting him to the Supreme Dignity, meaning the Popedom: But as to this, he recommended great Secrecy, and alſo Chaſtity on the Lady's Part, until meeting, at which ſhe might expect the deareſt and tendereſt Embraces, *&c.*

In the mean time while living in this Manner, his Uncle Pope *Calixtus* dies at *Rome* on the [1] 6th of *Auguſt* 1458. where, upon the 20th of the ſame Month, and in the ſame Year, Pope *Pius* the Second ſucceeded him in the Papacy, in whoſe Pontificate I can find no mention made of Cardinal *Roderic*, nor in the ſucceeding Papacy of *Paul* the Second; but in the next, namely, when *Sixtus* IV. came to the Chair, Cardinal *Roderic* had carried on the Scene of Hypocritical Sanctity ſo well, and was ſo much in that Pope's Favour, that he conferr'd upon him the [2] Abbacy of *Subiaco*, and ſent him into *Spain* in Character of [3] Legate, in order to adjuſt Matters between the Kings of *Aragon* and *Portugal*, with Regard to their mutual Pretenſions on [4] *Caſtile*. But the Pope's Deſign this way prov'd abortive, ſeeing the Cardinal was very [5] unlucky in his Endeavours to bring the Parties to an Agreement, having little Experience in theſe Kinds of Affairs; nay, ſome ſay, that while he was there in the Character of Legate, his Time was taken up with Matters

[1] See Platina Edit. Venet. p. 429.
[2] Ibid. p. 455.
[3] Ibidem.
[4] Ibid. p. 472.
[5] Ibidem.

very

very foreign to the Purpoſe for which he was employ'd; for finding himſelf at a Diſtance from *Rome*, he fell in with his former Vices, and began to live a very diſſolute and ſcandalous Life, abandoning himſelf to Senſuality, and intriguing with the Ladies at the Court of *Portugal*; at which the King was not a little diſpleaſed, and on his Departure, took leave of him with remarkable Coldneſs, and the Cardinal became obnoxious to the Deriſion and Inſults of the Populace: So that every thing conſider'd, it would have ſeem'd as if Fortune had at that time abandon'd the Perſon on whom before ſhe had beſtow'd ſo many Favours, not only rendering his Negotiations fruitleſs, but on his Return to *Rome* encountering him with violent Storms, by which he very narrowly eſcap'd Shipwreck. For having embark'd on board [1] a *Venetian* Galley, and put his Retinue and Things of Value into another, bound likewiſe for *Italy*, in that Voyage they met with ſuch a violent Tempeſt, that the Cardinal was in the utmoſt Danger of being loſt on the Coaſt of *Piſa*; and altho' he had the good Fortune to have his own Life ſaved, yet the other Galley, in which his Artendants and Things were [2], all periſh'd, to the Number of 180 Paſſengers, among whom were three Biſhops, and ſome Doctors of the Law.

Before his Arrival at *Rome*, *Sixtus* the Fourth died, to whom *Innocent* the Eighth ſucceeded, being created Pope on the 29th of *Auguſt* 1484. in whoſe Pontificate, in the aforeſaid [3] Author, I find no mention made of Cardinal *Roderic*, notwithſtanding [4] another ſays, he was likewiſe employ'd by *Innocent* in the ſame Character of Legate, and ſent to ſeveral Courts of *Europe*, to treat about ſome important Affairs. But it's more credible that Pope *Innocent* ſhew'd very little Regard for the Cardinal; and that on the contrary he ſuſpected Things concerning him, which there was too great Reaſon to believe; notwithſtanding out of mere Complaiſance, and for the Memory of his Uncle *Calixtus*, he beſtow'd a Benefice on him. Be that as it will, the Cardinal after his Arrival at *Rome* from *Portugal*, had ſeveral of *Vanozza*'s Letters from *Venice* put into his Hands by a certain Confidant, on which, being very uneaſy in

[1] Platina, p. 472.

[2] See alſo the ſecond Edition of Tomaſo Tomaſi, in the Additions printed at Mont. Chiaro. p. 307.

[3] Platina.

[4] An anonymous Author who made the Additions to Tom. Tomaſi's Hiſt. of Cæſar Bor. p. 305.

Innocent's

Innocent's Pontificate, and anxious to ſee his Family, he ſollicited his Holineſs for leave to go to *Venice*, pretending urgent Buſineſs there; but the Pope, perhaps ſuſpecting his Deſigns, not only deny'd his Requeſt, but prohibited him going out of *Rome* under any Pretence whatſoever, which being extremely mortifying to the Cardinal, he was determin'd at all Events, not to comply with his Holineſs's Orders: Accordingly on the Feſtival of St. *Michael* he left *Rome*, and went to *Marino*, not a little diſſatisfy'd with the Pope's Treatment; where, under Pretence of want of Health, he remain'd ſeveral Days: Mean while he ſent a Letter to *Vanozza* at *Venice*, requiring her to leave that Place and come to *Rome* as ſoon as poſſible, and on her Arrival to take private Lodgings in ſome remote Part of that City, and until he had her Anſwer he reſolv'd to tarry at *Marino*, notwithſtanding the Pope ſent him repeated Orders to come to Court: But it's very natural to imagine that his Unwillingneſs to come back to *Rome* was on Account of the Trouble he had in being oblig'd to carry on the Shew of Sanctity which he had begun, it being a Force on his Nature; yet he knew very well, that without ſuch diſſembling, he had but an indifferent Chance for ſucceeding in the Papacy: But not to provoke the Pope to Reſentment for Diſobedience, he wrote his Holineſs a very ſubmiſſive Letter of Excuſe, pretending bad Health, and that his Illneſs was ſuch, that if he left *Marino*, his Life would be in danger, *&c.* Notwithſtanding which, the Pope was inform'd by the Provincial *Paoletti* who had been with the Cardinal, that he was in a State of Health to have gone any where: However, on the 26th of *Auguſt*, he left *Marino*, and came to *Rome*. On Arrival there, he was carried in a Chair to St. *Peter*'s, to pay his Devotions at the Shrines of the Apoſtles; from thence to St. *John Laterano*, and in the Afternoon to Court, to wait on his Holineſs, and make his Apology for Non-compliance, *&c.*

Some time after this he privately receiv'd an Account of his Miſtreſs and Family's Arrival in *Rome*, who had taken Lodgings near the *Campidolium*, in a Houſe belonging to the Monks *del Populo*; where ſhe was no ſooner ſettled, but ſome of her inquiſitive Landlords began to make Enquiry about this Lady, who liv'd in ſo retir'd a Way. Some report that the General of that Order, caſting his Eyes on one of her Daughters, a very great Beauty, wanted to cultivate a nearer Acquaintance in the Family. As ſoon as they found their Retirement like to be

diſturb'd by this unforeſeen Incident, they loſt not many Moments in removing from thence, with a Privacy ſuitable to their Exigency at that Time; from thence they were conducted to a Houſe near St. *Peter*'s, where Matters were ſo contrived, that they might live freely, without fear of having their Intrigues divulged.

But it was found convenient that the *Spaniſh* Gentleman Don *Manuele*, who hitherto had appear'd as Maſter of the Family, ſhould now be called the Lady's [1] Husband, and accordingly he ſet up an Equipage, and began to make a very gay Figure in *Rome*, aſſuming the Title of Count *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*; but the Lady kept very retired at Home, never going abroad but when ſhe was to have an Interview with the Cardinal: Nor was he wanting on his Part in returning her Favours, under Colour of going thither to viſit the Count *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, with whom he pretended to contract a very ſtrict Friendſhip. In this Manner did Cardinal *Roderic* ſolace himſelf, in the Evening to Sup, and ſpend the whole Night with his Miſtreſs, but the Work of the Day was to perform the Round of viſiting Churches, Hoſpitals, *&c.* However the grand Affair was to keep up his Friendſhip with the moſt potent Cardinals, particularly *Sforza* and *Riario*, the firſt of which had no leſs than nine Votes at his Diſpoſal within the Conclave on a Vacancy. Nor was Fortune wanting to beſtow on *Roderic* her higheſt Marks of Benevolence, for by this time Pope *Innocent* began to grow very infirm, and his Days drawing viſibly near an End, of which himſelf was not inſenſible, he with Earneſtneſs recommended that the Cardinals would take Care on his Deceaſe, to chuſe a Succeſſor of a holy Life, one worthy to fill the Papal Chair: On which their Eminencies in good earneſt began to look about them, in order to find a new Head for the Church. Thoſe who had the greateſt Sway in the Election, were *Sforza*, *Riario*, and *Lorenzo Cibo*, particularly the firſt, who always had Cardinal *Roderic* in his View. *Cibo* inclin'd to the *French* Faction, ſo that the Perſon he pitch'd upon was *Lodovick Spina*. Their Meetings for this Effect were frequent, but Determinations uncertain. Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting, Pope *Innocent* died, *July* 25. 1492. and after the Ceremony of his Obſequies was over, the Cardinals ſhut themſelves

[1] See the Appendix at the Letter C.

up in the Conclave, to chuſe a Succeſſor. The Biſhop of *Pamplona* a *Genoeſe*, ſeem'd to ſtand the faireſt Chance for the Election, being powerfully ſupported by *Lorenzo Cibo* and his Party: but this Candidate being propos'd with too great Precipitation, his Election took a wrong Turn; more eſpecially, ſeeing the Biſhop of *Novara* appear'd ſtrenuouſly againſt him, loading him with the Character of a paſſionate, auſtere, and blood-thirſty Man. On this, *Cibo*, ſeeing the Deſigns for *Pamplona* were fruſtrated, reſolved not to give himſelf further Trouble about the Election, leaving the Affairs of the Conclave to *Sforza* and the other Heads of the Factions. The latter, ſeeing himſelf in a great meaſure inveſted with the Power of turning the Affair in what Manner he pleaſed, met with the others ſome time before the Election, in order to conſult amongſt themſelves about the Determination of that important Event. But the Conclave laſted longer than was at firſt imagin'd: in which Interval, ſome of the Members began to vary in their Opinions; ſometimes inclining to one Side, ſometimes to another: however, *Sforza* and *Riario*, having ſtill their Eye upon Cardinal *Roderic*, as the beſt Bidder, *Roderic*, in order to ſecure their Intereſts the more effectually, went one Morning into *Sforza*'s Cell, to conclude the Bargain with them and their Creatures: Accordingly the Affair was agreed upon in the following Manner; namely, That [1] Cardinal *Orſino* ſhould have *Roderic*'s Palace, together with the Caſtles of *Monticelli* and *Sariani*. Next, that the ſaid *Aſcanius Sforza*, ſhould, on *Roderic*'s Advancement to the Papacy, be made Vice-Chancellor of the Church in his Place: Cardinal *Colonna* have the Abbacy of St. *Benedict*, with all the Caſtles, and Right of Patronage to him and his Family for ever. To the Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, he made a Promiſe to inveſt him in the Biſhoprick of *Porto*, and deliver up to him the Tower and Furniture thereof; and, amongſt other Things, a Cellar full of Wine: and the City of *Nepi* to the Cardinal of *Parma*. To *Savelli* he made over the Town of *Citta-Caſtelana*, together with the Church of St. *Mary Major*. On ſeveral others, it's reported, he beſtow'd many Thouſand Ducats; particularly he agreed to give to a *White Friar* of *Venice*, who had lately been made Cardinal, 5000 Ducats of Gold for his Vote; but as ſoon as the *Venetians* were appriz'd of this Piece of flagrant Simony in their Countryman,

[1] *Vid.* Specimen Hiſtor. Arcanæ, &c. Alex. VI. a Joh. Burchardo p. 3. tranſcrib'd here Verbatim for the Reader's greater Satisfaction, the original Latin being referr'd to in the Appendix, B.

they

they immediately deprived him of all his Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within their Dominion, prohibiting ſtrictly any one from having Correſpondence with him.

There were, however, [1] five in the College, who never would join in carrying on Matters in this ſcandalous and unlawful Way; namely, the Cardinals of *Naples*, *Sienna*, *Portugal*, St. *Pietro in Vincula*, and St. *Mary in Porticu*: Who unanimouſly declared their Diſſent from this Way of Bargaining, telling plainly that the Votes for electing of Popes ought to be given Gratis, and not obtain'd by Bribery. It's reported, that ſome time before *Borgia* enter'd the Conclave, in order to obtain Cardinal *Sforza*'s Conſent to his Election, he ſent four Mules to his Houſe, loaded with Plate, under Pretence of being kept there till the Conclave was over, which Silver *Sforza* had for his Vote.

On the 2d Day of *Auguſt* 1492. the Affair was brought to a Concluſion, and Cardinal *Roderic*, with the concurring Votes of 22 Cardinals, declared [2] Pope, by the Name of *Alexander* the Sixth. As ſoon as he perceived the Election determin'd in his Favour, 'tis reported he expreſſed himſelf in theſe Words; Am I then Pope the Vicar of Chriſt? *Sforza* made Anſwer, Yes, Holy Father; and we hope by your Election to give Glory to God, Repoſe to his Church, and Joy to *Chriſtendom*; you being by the Almighty choſe as the moſt worthy of all your Brethren: To which his Holineſs made Anſwer, We hope God will grant us his powerful Aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding of our Weakneſs, being deſirous to follow the Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt, and with Intrepidity to promulgate thoſe holy Laws already ratified in Heaven: Altho' this is a great Weight with which we are loaded, yet we hope the ſame Aſſiſtance will be given us as it was to St. *Peter*, when the Keys of Heaven were put into his Hands, and the Helm of the Church intruſted to his Care, too great a Charge for mortal Man without ſuch divine Aſſiſtance, and yet God promiſed that his Spirit ſhould direct him: Nor do we doubt but every one of you will ſhew that holy Obedience due to the Head of the Church, in Imitation of that which Chriſt's Flock were obliged to give to the Prince of the Apoſtles.

[1] *Vid.* Specimen Hiſt. a Joh. Burch. p. 3.

[2] *Vid.* Ut ſupra, & Platin. 472.

This was the Subſtance of Pope *Alexander*'s Speech on his Election; 'twas, however, obſerv'd he made an unuſual Haſte in getting himſelf dreſt in the Pontifical Habit, as if the Conſciouſneſs of the Simony, by which he obtain'd his new Dignity, had made him afraid of loſing it before all the Formalities had paſs'd; on this Account he ſeem'd to want his Election might be known as ſoon as poſſible; and accordingly order'd ſmall Scrolls of Paper, with his Name as Pope wrote in *Latin*, to be thrown over the Windows of the *Vatican*, amongſt the People: Theſe, and ſome other vain-glorious Circumſtances of the like Nature, began to be obſerv'd with Surprize, which made Cardinal *Medici* whiſper in *Lorenzo Cibo*'s Ears theſe Words: *My Lord*, ſays he, *we are betray'd into the Hands of one of the moſt rapacious Wolves that perhaps the World ever ſaw, from whom if we do not fly, he will infallibly devour us.* Which Prophecy was very ſoon verified to their ſad Experience.

No ſooner was *Alexander* dreſt in his Pontifical Habit, than he was carried to St. *Peter*'s Church, where the uſual Ceremonies were perform'd, and where Multitudes came crowding to ſee the new Pope: from thence he was brought back to his Apartments in the *Vatican*, where, when he arriv'd, he made another Speech to the Cardinals, in which he feign'd a great deal of new Zeal and Sanctity, exhorting them to a Reformation of their Way of living, telling, That whoever amongſt them had been guilty of Avarice and Simony, he was reſolv'd to look into ſuch Conduct in a very impartial Manner: By all which he ſhew'd plainly that thoſe Cardinals with whom he had made the aforeſaid Stipulations for advancing him to the Pontificate, had little to hope with regard to his performing the Bargain: Nay, it was very remarkable, [1] that all thoſe mercenary Cardinals who were the chief Inſtruments of his Election, as a Chaſtiſement for their horrid Simony, were ſome time after, the very Perſons ſingled out by Pope *Alexander* for Ruin and Death, as was ſeen in his Barbarity and Cruelty committed on *Sforza*, *Riario*, Cardinal *Michiele*, and others, who ſold their Votes as if it had been by Auction. Some of them were ſent into [2] Exile, others laid up in Gaol, and ſome put to the cruelleſt Deaths. But this

[1] See Tom. Tomaſ. Vita del Duca Valen. Edit. Mont.Chiaro. 1671.—p.20.

[2] Platina, p. 473.

new and unexpected Declaration, which we juſt now mention'd, ſtruck no ſmall Terror into the Minds of thoſe Cardinals, who had been the Authors of his Promotion, and ſhew'd them plainly how expert their new Pope had been in all the Arts of [1] Hypocriſy and Deceit: In fine, it was a clear Indication that the Vengeance of Heaven was at Hand to puniſh their deteſtable Crimes. On this they thought of flying from him, but that they found difficult; to confeſs openly their Faults, but that could help them nothing; to revoke his Election, but it was too late, having themſelves been the chief Architects who had laid the firſt Corner Stone of that woful Edifice.

Whilſt, in this Manner, *Alexander* found himſelf poſſeſs'd of the Papal Dignity, he began anew to turn his Mind on his Miſtreſs and Children, who were all living privately at *Rome*, except *Cæſar Borgia* the ſecond Son, at that Time in the Univerſity of *Piſa* at his Studies. The Pope's Children were in all five in Number, *viz.* Four Males and one Female: The Name of the eldeſt Son was *Francis*, afterwards Duke of *Gandia*; the ſecond *Cæſar Borgia*, whom we have juſt now mention'd, afterwards made Duke *Valentine*; the third was called *Guifry*, who had the Title of Prince of *Squillace* given him by the King of *Naples*; the Name of the fourth is uncertain; the Daughter was called *Lucretia*: All which we ſhall have occaſion to mention fully in their due Place. [2] *Francis* was a Gentleman endu'd with a fine Diſpoſition of Mind, of Probity and real Goodneſs; a Temper diametrically oppoſite to that of his ſecond Brother *Cæſar Borgia*; and, as the foreſaid excellent Hiſtorian ſays [3], *Cæſar* was Great amongſt the Wicked, but *Francis* Good amongſt the Great.

On *Alexander*'s Advancement to the Pontificate, News was
* T. T. brought thereof to *Cæſar* the ſecond Son, who, as we have already ſaid, was then at his Studies in *Piſa*; which Tidings rais'd in his Mind a Pleaſure as much exceeding the ordinary Limits of Joy, as his Ambition did thoſe of

[1] See this Paſſage in our *Vatican MS.* alſo confirm'd by Platin. p. 473.

[2] See the Preface of Tomaſo Tomaſ. Hiſt. Duke Val.

[3] Tomaſo Tomaſi's Preface to the Hiſt. of Duke Val.

* At this Mark T. T. begins the Tranſlation I made of Tomaſo Tomaſi's Hiſtory of *Cæſar Borgia*, from p. 23. in his Book printed at Mon. Chiaro, 1671. which, as I have ſaid in the Preface, is continu'd with little Variation, until I meet with Circumſtances in other Authors not mention'd by him.

common Moderation. Henceforth he baniſh'd from his Breaſt all Thoughts of the Condition of Life in which he had been before, or to which he might again return, as if Fortune had favour'd his Father for no other End but to make Him Great. Finding therefore ſo ſpacious a Field open'd for nouriſhing his Ambition, he began to conceive Notions of Things, as if himſelf was to have been made Emperor of the World, Scepters to be thrown at his Feet, and the Keys of Cities deliver'd into his Hands: Hence, being impatient to receive the Compliments and Honours waiting for him at his Father's Court, with ſome of his ſelect Friends, he immediately took Poſt for *Rome*, where, upon his Arrival, he met with as much Flattery and Obſequiouſneſs from the Courtiers there, as his ambitious Mind could wiſh: For by this time the Affair of the Pope's Miſtreſs and Children was no Secret to the World, ſo the Courtiers at *Rome*, imagined *Cæſar* would not only in a little time be made a Cardinal, but have a conſiderable Sway in the Management of Affairs. On *Cæſar Borgia*'s Arrival at the *Vatican*, he was immediately conducted to his Holineſs, who, in Company of ſeveral Cardinals, and *Cæſar*'s Brothers, was ready to receive him.

On his Approach, his Holineſs embrac'd and kiſs'd him, asking ſome few Queſtions about his Health and Journey; *Cæſar* made Anſwer, He was well, and that his Journey could not miſs of being agreeable, on the Thoughts of having thereby an Opportunity of coming to pay humble Obedience to his Holineſs, which he did with inexpreſſible Joy. At which the Pope riſing up from his Chair, putting on a grave Countenance, and leaving *Cæſar* kneeling, expreſs'd himſelf in the moſt hypocritical Manner that has perhaps ever been heard: his Words were thus;

We are perſuaded, Cæſar, *that you are not a little rejoic'd at our Advancement to this Sovereign Dignity, to which, by the Bounty of God, we have arriv'd, tho' not on Account of our Merit; nor is it wonder you ſhare a Joy therein, not only for our Sake as Compenſation for the Affection we bear you, but for our own, ſeeing you may expect Encouragement ſuitable to your good Actions, which, in theſe Days, is no ſmall Piece of favourable Fortune; But if either your own, or Brethren's Joy, has ſo far elevated you, as to have form'd to your ſelves*

Schemes

Schemes of Greatneſs upon any other Foundation, in ſuch a Caſe you will find your ſelves deceived; I confeſs our own Deſires may have been perhaps too immoderate in aſpiring to the Pontificate, and we may have for that End taken all thoſe Methods, which could be ſuggeſted to us by human Policy, but with this View, that when we arrived thereat, we might afterwards walk in the Path which leads to the Service of God, and the exalting of his Church, that ſo our good Actions may cancel our former Errors, and a Way be laid open for our Succeſſors to follow our good Example; at leaſt that they may walk in our Footſteps, and behave really like Popes. God therefore who has favour'd us with the Means, requires, in like manner, the Ends for ſo doing; and we are willing to pay this great Debt, reſolving no more, by Wickedneſs and Deceit, to provoke him to execute the Rigor of his Juſtice upon us: One ſole Impediment might obſtruct this good Deſign, namely, to intereſt our ſelves too much in raiſing your Fortunes; but as we are determin'd to baniſh ſuch Thoughts from our Heart, and ſhun that Evil as much as poſſible, we therefore pray God may ſo guide us, that we do not ſtumble, ſeeing it is impoſſible for a Pope to ſtumble but he muſt fall, or fall without occaſioning manifeſt Prejudice to the Holy See. I fear, as long as we live, we ſhall have occaſion to bewail what gives us Experience of the Truth of this, and God grant that our Uncle Calixtus, *of happy Memory, is not this Day ſuffering the Torments of Purgatory, more on this Account, than for his own bad Actions. He indeed was adorn'd with every Kind of Virtue, and full of good Intentions, but too great a Friend of his own Relations, of Us in particular: Hence, ſuffering himſelf to be blindly ſway'd by this Affection, he heap'd on the Heads of a few, and thoſe perhaps the leaſt deſerving, thoſe Favours and Benefits which ought to have rewarded the Merit of many, and brought Treaſures into our Family, which he either ought not to have levied out of the Pockets of the poorer Sort, or if ſo, to have converted his Riches to a better Uſe. He ſevered the Dutchy of* Spoleto *from the Church, together with other opulent States, in order to make them feudatory to us; the Employment of Vice-Chancellor, Præfecture of* Rome, *Generalate of the Church; theſe, with many other Poſts of the greateſt Profit and Dignity, he likewiſe beſtow'd upon us; all which, ought rather to have been conferr'd on thoſe, who, by their Merit and Capacity, had a juſter Claim to them. Some were promoted to Dignities, whoſe Fortune*

ſprung from no other Source than our Favour; whereas others were neglected and laid aſide for no other Reaſon, but becauſe their conſpicuous Merit made their Dependance ſuſpected. In order to diveſt Ferdinand *of* Aragon *of his Kingdom of* Naples, *he enter'd on a precarious and hazardous War; the fortunate Event of which was to redound in our Greatneſs, but if it had produc'd a contrary Effect, muſt have been a manifeſt Detriment and Ignominy to the Holy See. In fine, ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd by thoſe, who by perverting the publick Good, made it ſubſervient to their private Ends, not only did he thereby prejudice the Holy See, and his own Reputation, but, what was worſt of all, wounded his own Conſcience: and yet, O juſt Judgment of God! notwithſtanding all he ſtrove in order to eſtabliſh our Family, yet on his Death, and leaving the Chair vacant, he could not ſo ſecure us in our Poſſeſſions, as not to be in hazard of being a Prey to the Fury of the People, and Revenge of the* Roman *Barons, who judg'd themſelves injur'd by the Partiality ſhewn our Adverſaries: If therefore Affairs had taken ſuch an unlucky Turn as this, we were liable, not only to have fallen precipitantly from the higheſt Pitch of our Greatneſs, and to have been ſtript of thoſe Eſtates which were put in our Poſſeſſion, but we and our Friends would perhaps have been willing to have undergone a voluntary Exile, in order to have eſcap'd the Fury of ſuch a threatning Blow. The Conſideration of which has taught us to know, that God can render every Deſign abortive, which is not founded upon Juſtice. 'Tis therefore a mighty Error in Popes to ſtudy the aggrandizing of their Families, (which of Courſe cannot laſt many Years) more than the Church, which ought to be eternal; nor is it leſs Folly in theſe Politicians, who have in their Hands the Government of a Sovereignty not Hereditary, to build their Greatneſs on any other Foundation than heroical Virtue, exercis'd in behalf of Mankind in general; notwithſtanding there are many who imagine to make their Fortunes durable, by raiſing Storms out of Calms, and thereby create themſelves Enemies; one of which, if he manages his Revenge with Art, is capable to do a Man more Miſchief, than a hundred flattering Friends can do him Good. If you then,* Cæſar, *and your Brothers, will walk in the laudable Path which we ſhall point out for you; in that Caſe, you cannot deſire any reaſonable Aſſiſtance from us, but what we will be willing to grant: But if you follow Methods leſs virtuous than theſe, you muſt not think that we will indulge you in your inordinate Deſigns; for by Ex-*

perience you will find, that we are Pope for the Church, and not for our Family. And as Vicar of Chriſt we will do every Thing he has commanded for the Benefit of Chriſtians in general, and not be byaſs'd in promoting the Schemes, you perhaps have made, for aggrandizing your ſelves.

Some are indeed at a Loſs, whether all this Speech was Artifice, or *Alexander*'s real Sentiments, at that Time; and had not the Reader been apprized, both before and at the Election, how expert he was in all the Subtleties of Hypocriſy, he would no doubt conclude from the Tenor of this Speech, that Pope *Alexander* was not only a Pattern of Piety and Self-denial, but an utter Abhorrer of Nepotiſm, and promoting his own Family: one Thing however is certain, that it was his ordinary Way to ſpeak beſt when he deſign'd to act worſt; for this feigning of Zeal and Virtue was to dazle Peoples Eyes, that they might not ſee the Deformity of his Actions, ſeeing he afterwards acted diametrically oppoſite to every Thing he ſpoke at that Time. Others, again, give out, that on certain Occaſions, when he was put to a Strait, or in Danger, he really had ſome Intervals, in which he appear'd, at leaſt, to know Virtue, and to ſeem reſolv'd on amending his Life: Be that as it will, after this Speech was ended, his Holineſs roſe up, and giving his Son *Cæſar* his Benediction, who all the Time had been on his Knees, he retir'd to his Apartment, leaving every one amaz'd at this ſtrange and unexpected Declaration, eſpecially *Cæſar*, in whoſe Countenance appear'd an inexpreſſible Confuſion, notwithſtanding he did all he could to conceal it.

No ſooner was this Conference ended, than *Cæſar* mounting again on Horſeback, hurried away to his Mother's Lodging, not ſo much out of Impatience to ſee her, as to have an Opportunity of giving vent to his Grief, for the Diſappointment he met with in the Audience he had of his Father.

But the affectionate Reception his Mother gave him, comforted him in ſome meaſure for the diſagreeable one he had met with from his Father. She did all that was in her Power to ſooth his Anger, uſing ſeveral Arguments for that Purpoſe; namely, That he needed not be caſt down, but rather hope for the beſt, ſince ſhe knew the Pope's Mind better than any

any Body elſe, and for what End his Holineſs had expreſs'd himſelf in that Manner.

In the mean time the Pope was very much ſollicited by the Cardinals, Ambaſſadors, and a Crowd of flattering Courtiers, with Entreaties and ſham Arguments, to promote *Cæſar*, and his Nephew *John Borgia*, to the Cardinalate, as if the Fabrick of the Church could not have been ſupported without thoſe two Pillars; and his Holineſs ſeem'd as if the acquieſcing thereto had been a Force upon his Inclinations; however, he yielded, in Part, to their Demand, and accordingly promoted [1] *John* to that Dignity, who before that Time had been Archbiſhop of *Monreale*, and Governour of *Rome* in the foregoing Pontificate; notwithſtanding, as to his private Character, he was a Man of a very indifferent Life and Converſation, extremely addicted to Venery, and amongſt the very firſt who was infected with that Diſeaſe which the *French* at that time brought along with them into *Naples*. But as to the making *Cæſar* a Cardinal, the Pope ſeem'd inexorable; however, that he might not appear altogether forgetful of him, he created him Archbiſhop of *Valenza*, a Benefice which his Holineſs himſelf had enjoy'd in his younger Days. And altho' this Advancement was not very joyful to *Cæſar*, yet he judg'd it convenient at that Time to take up with it in the beſt Manner he could, rather than not to have any Promotion at all, as his Father had threatned, ſeeing the Pope had determin'd to confer the beſt of his Secular Dignities on his eldeſt Son *Francis*, who at that Time was made Duke of *Gandia* by *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*. All theſe Things conſider'd, made *Cæſar* accept the Archbiſhoprick of *Valenza*, with Deſign afterwards to improve the Advantages of his Fortune, as ſoon as he could inſinuate himſelf more into the Pope's Favour, and become acquainted with the Nature of Things, and then, with Violence, to puſh on his Grandeur, where-ever he could find a Field open for putting the ſame in Execution.

In the Beginning of *Alexander*'s Government, *Rome* ſeem'd like a Theater; on which, by the Pomp and Appearance of many, the Grandeur of the Holy See, and the Veneration which Princes had for the Majeſty of the Pontificate, were fully repreſented. The Number of Actors, and the ſeparate Intereſts

[1] *Vid.* Platina, p. 473.

of

of ſo many Potentates, was an admirable School for inſtructing *Cæſar Borgia* in the Affairs of *Europe*: For beſides the ordinary, there were extraordinary Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome*, with the greateſt Magnificence, and Marks of Obſequiouſneſs, imaginable, by the following Princes; namely, The Emperor; the Kings of *France*, *Caſtile*, *Aragon*, *England*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Naples*, *Portugal*, *Scotland*, *Navar*; the Republicks of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Sienna*, *Piſa*, *Luca*; the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*; Great Duke of *Lithuania*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Milan*, *Ferara*; Great Maſter of *Rhodes*; the Marquiſs of *Mantua*, *Montferato*; the Count *Palatine*; Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; Biſhop of *Cologne*; the Sultan of *Arabia*; the Lords of *Bolognia*, *Perugia*: and other Cities within the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which were govern'd by ſundry powerful Families, by the Name of Vicars of the Church.

But it ſeem'd as if theſe mighty Honours, paid Pope *Alexander* at that Time, had either reviv'd in him his old evil Practices, or that he was determin'd fairly to take off the Mask, under which they had lain ſo long diſguiſed; for he begun anew to give a Looſe to the Immoderateneſs of his Paſſions, Vanity, Ambition, and the Pleaſures of Senſe, and above all the Deſire of [1] aggrandizing his Family. In execution of which, being enter'd the 2d Year of his Pontificate, he created 12 Cardinals, amongſt the Number of which was his Son [2] *Cæſar Borgia*, who was made Cardinal with the Title of St. *Maria Nuova*, whom henceforth we ſhall give the Title of Cardinal *Valentine*, not rais'd to this Dignity on Account of any new Merit found in him; on the contrary, he gave freſh Proofs that his Advancement thereto, would very ſoon prove to the Ignominy and Diſgrace of that eminent Station; and as there never had before been any Precedent that a Perſon of a ſpurious Birth was advanc'd to the Cardinalate, the Pope, in order to remove that Objection, endeavour'd, with Bribes and falſe Witneſſes, to make it appear as if *Cæſar* was not his own, but the lawful Son of another Father: How could it be expected then, but that the Promotion of ſuch a Perſon was impious, when the whole Fabrick had no other Foundation for its Support, but Sacrilege and Perjury?

[1] *Vid.* Guiccardine, lib. 1. p. 3. Edit. Venet. MDLXXX.

[2] *Vid.* Platina, p. 480.

[3] *Vid.* Guiccar. Hiſt. lib. 1. p. 16. Edit. Venet. Tomaſo Tomaſi, p. 38.

No

No ſooner had *Valentine*, with his new Greatneſs, launch'd out into the Ocean of his vaſt Hopes, than at a Diſtance he perceiv'd Clouds ariſe, threatening him with a Tempeſt, if not Shipwreck, at leaſt a Stop to his looſe-rein'd Career: Of which to give the Reader a diſtinct Narrative, I ſhall endeavour to trace the Affair from its firſt Source.

Italy at that time was ſtock'd with Princes, who, I may ſay, were a little too politick, that is, above meaſure ambitious to outdo one another in Dominion, and, to an Exceſs, ſuſpicious of any Kind of Danger, tho' at ever ſo great a Diſtance from them; but, above all, incredibly preſumptive in an Opinion of their own Sagacity: which was the Occaſion that the aforeſaid Country ſaw itſelf agitated by Revolutions much more direful than any by which it could be diſquieted by its own Princes, who with unſeaſonable and too violent Remedies endeavour'd to keep them far from their reſpective Territories.

Ferdinand of *Aragon*, King of *Naples*, was the oldeſt Sovereign ruling at that Time in *Italy*, whoſe Power, if not ſuperior, was at leaſt no way inferior to any of the *Italian* Princes; more eſpecially as he had happily ſettled the Diſturbances of his own Kingdom[1], occaſion'd by the *Anjouine* Faction, kept up by ſome of the chief Nobility; and had afterwards, with a Peace of many Years, improv'd the Felicity of that opulent Country: Nor was there any whoſe Fame for Prudence was more conſpicuous, by which means he kept Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, more than perhaps by any juſt Title he had thereto; and ſo endeavour'd to hold the Affairs of *Italy* in *Equilibrium*, that no Revolution there might become prejudicial to his Greatneſs. This Prince was equally jealous of Foreign as of the *Italian* Powers; and for that Reaſon, as long as that worthy Prince *Lorenzo Medici* of *Florence* lived, whoſe Wiſdom and Prudence was not inferior to his own, it was *Ferdinand*'s conſtant Maxim to maintain a defenſive [2]League with him and the Duke of *Milan*, and to cultivate ſuch a Friendſhip with thoſe Princes, that they, relying on each other's Faith, were powerful enough not only to oppoſe any Deſign form'd in their Prejudice by the other Powers of *Italy*, but even by Foreigners.

[1] Vid. Paulus Jovius Hiſt. p. 7. Edit. Venet. 1572.

[2] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 2.

However, it ſometimes happens, that when God Almighty has a Mind to chaſtiſe the Crimes of Princes, he permits them to become the Inſtruments of their own Misfortunes. Hence it was that *Ferdinand* was the very firſt who gave Riſe to thoſe Clouds by which the Serenity of all *Italy* was afterwards obſcured; namely, in diſſolving that Union already mention'd, which was the chief Security of his Kingdom. For the Popes had always a jealous Eye on the Kings of *Naples*; not ſo much with regard to their Power, and Vicinity to the Eccleſiaſtical State, as their Pretenſions that the ſaid Kingdom was feudatory to the Church. Being therefore encouraged by the Power of their ſpiritual and temporal Arms, the Popes imagin'd they could occaſion a Revolt amongſt the *Neapolitans* whenever they pleas'd, being a People extremely deſirous of Revolutions and Novelty. But *Ferdinand*, more than any other, had occaſion to live in continual Fear and Anxiety of the Popes; who being rais'd to his Throne by *Caliſtus* III. that ſame Pope was the firſt who endeavoured to ſtrip him thereof, under pretence that by his Birth he had no lawful Claim to ſucceed *Alphonſus*: And except Pope *Pius* II. *Piccolomini*, who was as partial to the *Aragoneſe* Family as he was an Enemy to the *French*, there never was any other than ſuch who with Hoſtilities and Machinations acted in *Ferdinand*'s Prejudice. And even *Pius* himſelf, notwithſtanding he was naturally a Lover of Peace; yet, at the urgent Sollicitations of the *Neapolitan* Barons, could not avoid making war on him alſo: But its Reſult being unſucceſsful, he ſoon made up a Peace, which gave *Ferdinand* an Opportunity for many Years to live in a State of undiſturb'd Repoſe and Tranquillity. But *Alexander* ſucceeding *Innocent* in the Pontificate, *Ferdinand*, with new Jealouſies and Diſturbances, began to be diſquieted and haraſs'd more than ever. But as politick Princes never ſuffer Suſpicions to be extinguiſhed in their Minds, till they have taken all Meaſures, either by Force or Art, to eſtabliſh their own Security; on this Account *Ferdinand* never lay by, in a ſupine and negligent manner, when he apprehended Danger. Wherefore, being unwilling to put much Truſt in *Alexander*, the new Pope, he had, in order to eſtabliſh his own Intereſts the better, concerted that *Equilibrium* already mention'd.

Before this time died *Lorenzo Medici*, to whom ſucceeded his Son *Peter*, who was much [1] inferior to his Father in Judgment, Prudence and Experience. This in a great meaſure broke the ſtrict Friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between their Families, and which always had kept the Peace of *Italy* from being diſturb'd. The Alliance however continuing, their Counſels were mutual for the Support of their reſpective Intereſts: Hence they concerted Matters together, That *Virginio Orſino* [2], a near Relation of both, ſhould buy from *Francis Cibo*, (natural Son of Pope *Innocent* VIII.) *Anguillara* and *Cervetri*, together with ſome other ſmall Fortreſſes in the Territory of *Rome*, for the Sum of forty thouſand Ducats: Which Money was lent by *Ferdinand*, with a Deſign to keep the Pope ſome way in Awe, and to reſtrain him from doing any Thing to their Prejudice. They further intended thereby to augment conſiderably the Power of the *Orſini* within the Eccleſiaſtical State; which Family was amongſt the moſt conſiderable *Roman* Barons, and greatly ſupported by the *Guelf* Faction: As in like manner, *Proſpero* and *Fabricio Colonna* were Heads of the *Gibiline* Party, and both under *Ferdinand*'s Pay; who held it as a Maxim, for his own Security, always to have the principal [3] Nobility of *Rome* his Dependants. But as wiſe Men do not judge right in every Conjuncture of their Life, ſo this King, notwithſtanding he had before acquired the Character of a very prudent Prince, did not conſider, that from *Orſini*'s Purchaſe he could not expect any great Advantages to himſelf; whereas, on the other hand, it might be the Origin of many Evils: For the Pope pretended, that by ſelling theſe Places without his Knowledge, they were, according to the Conſtitutions and Laws of the Holy See, to revert to the Church [4]. At the ſame time he conſider'd *Ferdinand*'s View in acting thus; and that it was an Indignity done the Majeſty and Authority of the Pontificate. On this Account he filled the Ears of all *Italy* with Complaints, both againſt *Ferdinand*, *Peter* of *Medicis* and *Virginio*; declaring, that, for his own part, he would to the utmoſt of his Power, neglect nothing which belong'd to, or could ſupport, the Dignity and Rights of the Holy See.

Guicciard.

In like manner did *Lodovic Sforza* exclaim againſt the Proceedings of the *Aragoneſe* Family, who became very jealous of

[1] Vid. Guiccard. Lib. I. p. 3.
[2] Ibid. p. 4. Tom. Tom. p. 42.
[3] Vid. Guiccard. Hiſt. p. 4.
[4] Ibid.

Ferdi-

Ferdinand's Actions. The bad Underſtanding betwixt them was on the following Account: *Lodovic Sforza*, commonly called, *The Moor*, was Uncle to *John Galliazzo Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who married *Iſabella*[1], Daughter to *Alphonſus* Duke of *Calabria*; which Duke was eldeſt Son to *Ferdinand*. *John Galliazzo* not being of Age when he ſucceeded to the Sovereignty of *Milan*, his Uncle *Lodovic* obtain'd the Regency; and, under pretence of being Guardian to his Nephew, and managing the Affairs of State, he by little and little uſurp'd the Government to himſelf, and left his Nephew nothing but the bare Title of Duke, having the Garriſons, Arms, and Treaſure[2] of the Dutchy at his Command. And altho' *Alphonſus* had Reaſon to be highly offended at the Injury done his Son-in-Law by this Uſurpation and Tyranny; yet *Ferdinand*, the Father, was willing, for the ſake of Peace, and the Intereſt of his own Family, not to reſent it in the manner he might have done, or break the League already mention'd, which was always kept up in *John Galliazzo*'s Name. But *Lodovic*, on the other hand, could not forbear to ſuſpect that *Ferdinand* and *Peter de Medicis*, ſeeing they had contriv'd between themſelves the Affair of *Orſino*'s buying the above-mentioned Fortreſſes, had thereby form'd Schemes to his Prejudice: He therefore took Care to foment the Pope's Indignation at their Proceedings. Accordingly he perſuaded his Holineſs to reſent theſe Injuries, giving out that *Virginio Orſino* had not poſſeſs'd himſelf of theſe Forts with any other View than to injure his Holineſs, being excited thereto by *Ferdinand*; and that if he quietly ſuffered ſuch an Affront in the Beginning of his Pontificate, he might afterwards expect Incroachments of a higher Nature. Moreover, that *Ferdinand*'s Ambition did not differ from that of other Kings of *Naples*, who were conſtant Enemies to the Popes, having often in a hoſtile manner invaded the Territories of the Church; of which the ſame *Ferdinand* gave Example, in having made War with the two preceding Popes, and ſent his Son *Alphonſus* with an Army to the very Walls of *Rome*. In this manner did *Lodovic* not only perſiſt in fomenting the Pope's Reſentment, but made him conſiderable Offers for enabling him to oppoſe *Ferdinand* and his Adherents. Accordingly he advanced him a Sum of 40,000 Ducats; and at the ſame Time ſent 300 Soldiers, to

[1] Vid. Philip de Comines Memoires, p. 10. Edit. Bruſſelles, 1723.

[2] Ibid. p. 9.

be employ'd in what manner his Holineſs's Service requir'd. Nor was he leſs aſſiduous in endeavouring to diſpoſe *Virginio Orſino* to make up the Matter with the Pope; apprizing him of the Evil which might enſue, if he perſiſted to irritate his Holineſs, and bring his Diſpleaſure upon him. In like manner was he active in repreſenting to *Peter de Medicis* of how great Conſequence it was, to preſerve the general Peace of *Italy*. For this End he recommended the Example of his Father *Lorenzo*, and perſuaded him not to give into new Councils, which might prejudice the common Cauſe of Liberty: He alſo put him in Mind of the antient Friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between their Families. But theſe, and the like Arguments, were of no Weight; for *Ferdinand* and *Peter*, concluding that the Pope's Anger proceeded chiefly from the Intrigues of *Lodovic* and Cardinal *Sforza*, thought it below them to yield any Point on that Account, perſiſting, under Hand, more than ever, to perſuade *Virginio* by no means to recede from his Agreement with *Cibo*, but as ſoon as poſſible to get Poſſeſſion of the Places he had purchaſed: And both *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Calabria* his Son, promiſed to defend his Right againſt all Attempts. At the ſame time he artfully propoſed an Accommodation of the Matter between the Pope and him, and to make up the Difference, by giving his Holineſs a Sum of Money. *Virginio* underhand being ſo ſtrongly ſupported, refuſed the Terms which *Ferdinand*, not to irritate the Pope too much, ſeem'd to perſuade him to accept. And *Lodovic* finding *Peter* of *Medicis* inflexible, in adhering to the *Aragoneſe* Intereſt, at the ſame Time conſidering of what Importance the Places bought by *Orſino* would be to his Enemies, and likewiſe, that *Ferdinand* wanted to ſtrip him of his Regency, and to take the Government of *Milan* out of his Hands, in Favour of *John Galleazzo*, determined therefore to find out a Remedy. Accordingly he propoſed to enter into a defenſive League [1] with the Pope and the Republick of *Venice*. But the Pope, having an ardent Deſire to aggrandize his own [2] Sons [whom he commonly called his Nephews, altho' he gave every one to underſtand they were his Sons] rejected theſe Propoſals at firſt, under Colour of a Deſire for Peace, having form'd a Scheme to marry his younger Son to a [3] natural Daughter of *Alphonſus*, and thereby to obtain, by way of Dowry, the Settlement of ſome opulent State in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 5. | [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

But this Propoſal met with an unexpected kind of Denial from *Alphonſus*, who mortally abhorr'd the Pope's Vanity and Ambition. His Holineſs taking this as a very great Affront, reſolv'd anew to fall in at any rate with *Lodovic*'s Meaſures. [1] So, notwithſtanding the Republick of *Venice* appear'd at firſt averſe to enter into any Alliance with the Pope, they having daily freſh Proofs of his Inſtability and immoderate Ambition; yet, by *Lodovic*'s indefatigable Induſtry and Importunity, they acceded, and in the Year 1493. [1] a League was concluded between the Pope, the Republick of *Venice*, and *John Galliazzo* Duke of *Milan*, in whoſe Name every thing in that Dutchy was tranſacted. But by the ſaid Alliance it was particularly ſtipulated, that the Government of Affairs in that Dutchy ſhould be entirely left in *Lodovic*'s Hands. Moreover, that the Republick of *Venice*, and Duke of *Milan*, were each to ſend his Holineſs 200 Men, for the better ſecuring the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions; and, if Need was, to aſſiſt him with more Troops, to recover the Forts which had been purchas'd by *Virginio Orſino*.

All the other Princes of *Italy* were alarm'd at this new League; more eſpecially when they began to conſider that the Duke of *Milan* was alienated from his former Confederacy, by which for ſo many Years the Security of *Italy* had been preſerv'd, and in which it was expreſly ſtipulated, that none of the contracting Parties ſhould make any new Alliance without the Conſent of the reſt. And thus, finding That Union broke on which their common Safety depended, the Duke of *Calabria* and *Peter de Medicis*, judging it ſafer to prevent Matters, than be themſelves prevented, liſten'd the more willingly to a Propoſal made them by *Fabricio* and *Proſpero Colonna*; who, together with Cardinal *San Pietro in Vincula*, offered, that if they were joined by the *Orſinine* Faction, and aſſiſted by the *Guelf* Party, they would make an Aſſault on [2] *Rome* [3], and take Poſſeſſion of it, provided the Duke of *Calabria* with his Forces would be ready in three Days to come to their Aſſiſtance. But *Ferdinand* was entirely averſe to theſe Deſigns, being willing rather to ſoften Matters, and ſooth the Pope's Mind, thereby to amend the Error he had already committed, in having brought Things to that Extremity. Hence he ſincerely determined, at any rate, to make up the Difference with his Holineſs about the Forts;

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 6. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

judging,

judging, that by removing that Obſtacle, the Affairs of *Italy* would return to their former Condition.

But it often happens, that the Removal of Cauſes does not remove their Effects. Thus *Lodovic Sforza*, being of Opinion that he had not yet found out a Remedy for his own Security, being likewiſe ſomewhat dubious of the Pope's Integrity, and not very ſure of the Republick of *Venice*, moreover judging that their Intereſts could not exactly tally, he apprehended from this, that the Confederacy lately agreed upon would not be of very long Continuance, conſequently that many things might intervene which would poſſibly give a bad Turn to his Affairs. On this Account he determin'd to cure the chief Evil, by probing the Wound to the Bottom, rather than ſuffer himſelf to periſh, by letting it feſter. Accordingly he concluded to call in a foreign Power to his Aſſiſtance, ſeeing he could not repoſe any Confidence in *Italian* Forces. For this End he uſed his utmoſt Efforts to induce *Charles* VIII. King of *France*, to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, on Account of the Pretenſions which the Family of *Anjou* had thereto.——This Monarch, was perhaps one of the moſt potent Princes that ever reign'd in *France*, except *Charles the Great*; nor can it be expreſs'd how ambitious he was to excel his Predeceſſors in Glory and Renown——All which being conſider'd by *Lodovic*, he left no Means untried, both by his Ambaſſadors and others, to excite *Charles* to this Undertaking. For the effecting of which, he took Care to have the Pope's private Concurrence. Nor indeed was *Charles* averſe to the Propoſal, being very powerfully perſuaded thereto by the Count *Belgioioſa*, who was ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, by *Lodovic*, for that very End. Where, in a very pathetick and elegant Speech [2], before the King and his Nobles, he made uſe of the ſtrongeſt Arguments to determine his Majeſty to that Undertaking; inſiſting principally on the Juſtneſs of the Title the Kings of *France* had to the Kingdom of *Naples*. This made *Charles* above meaſure deſirous to put it in Execution: And accordingly he began to make extraordinary Preparations both by Sea and Land; giving out, however, that his chief Motive to this Attempt, was to facilitate a War

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 6. Tom. Tomaſ. vit. Duc. Valen. p. 43. Philip. de Comin. Memoir. p. 13. Edit. Bruſſel. 1723. Paul. Jov. Lib. I. p. 14. Edit. Venet.

[2] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 8.

which

which he intended againſt the *Turks*, who at that Time were making ſeveral Inroads into *Europe*, having a little before poſſeſſed themſelves of ſundry Territories belonging to the *Venetians*, which made it be apprehended that Chriſtendom was in Danger. Beſides, it was rumour'd all over *France*, probably with a Deſign to flatter their young King, that certain Predictions were to be fulfill'd in him, and that *Charles* [1], by being the VIIIth of that Name, was to be Maſter of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires.

But theſe vaſt Projects were not well reliſh'd by others about the *French* Court, eſpecially by thoſe who were eſteem'd Men of the beſt Judgment and Penetration. They rightly foreſaw that this Undertaking would in all Probability be attended with more Danger than was imagin'd: Not only becauſe the *French* would be obliged to carry their Forces ſo far out of their own Kingdom, againſt a very powerful Enemy, and a Prince of as great Fame for Prudence and good Conduct, as his Son was for Arms and military Atchievements; but more than that, they judged the Conqueſt of *Naples* would raiſe the ſtrongeſt Jealouſy in the Breaſts of all the *Italian* Princes, and perhaps, at the long Run, in *Lodovic* himſelf, who was very little to be truſted. Hence they concluded, that as it would be difficult for them to conquer it, ſtill it would be more to keep Poſſeſſion of their new Acquiſitions. Beſides, they remember'd, that *Lewis*, Father to *Charles*, who was a Prince that lov'd Subſtance more than Appearance, could never be induced to undertake any Thing of this Nature againſt *Italy*.

The Variety of theſe contrary Opinions kept *Charles* for ſome Time in Suſpence after what Manner he ſhould act. He was at one Time buoy'd up with the Hopes of Glory and Succeſs; at another, deterr'd from the Undertaking, on Account of the Danger with which it was attended. But at length his firſt Determination for War prevailing, he rejected the pacifick Counſels of his beſt Adviſers, and in a private Manner [2] concluded the Affair with *Lodovic*'s Ambaſſadors. The Subſtance of which was, That while his Majeſty's Army march'd thro' *Italy*, to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, they ſhould have a free Paſſage

[1] Vid. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 44. Paul. Jov. Lib. I. p. 16.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 10.

through

through the State of *Milan*; and that the ſaid Dutchy ſhould at their own Charge provide him with 500 Men to be ready to join the *French* Army, and aſſiſt them in the ſaid Undertaking: Moreover, that the *French* in *Genoa* ſhould be allow'd to equip what Number of Veſſels they pleas'd for their own Service during that War: Alſo that the Duke of *Milan*, before the March of his Army, ſhould lend *Charles* 200,000 Ducats. On the other Hand, the King oblig'd himſelf to defend that Dutchy againſt any Power whatſoever, to maintain *Lodovic* in his Government, and, during the War, to keep 200 of his Troops within the City of *Aſti*, for the Service of *Milan*; and at laſt, if the War was ſucceſsful, to beſtow the Principality of *Tarranto* on *Lodovic*.

No ſooner were theſe Articles agreed upon, than the [1] Pope and *Valentine*, perceiving that *Charles* had really determin'd to put his Schemes in Execution, began to apprehend their own Danger; ſeeing their Deſign at firſt, in appearing to favour the *French* in this Expedition, was not ſo much that they were deſirous of new Revolutions in *Italy*, as to intimidate the Mind of *Ferdinand*, and thereby oblige him to acquieſce in their own particular Views, to which they knew the *Aragoneſe* would not conſent with Good-will. Nor indeed was the Pope deceiv'd in this Point; for as ſoon as *Ferdinand* perceiv'd the Storm ariſing from the *French*, which threaten'd Deſtruction to his Family and Government, he immediately had recourſe to the Church, humbly imploring the Pope's Aſſiſtance, telling him, that the Common Cauſe of all *Italy* and its Liberties were concern'd. For this End he ſent his ſecond Son Don [2] *Frederick* Prince of *Altamura*, Duke of *Andria*, to *Rome*, together with ſeveral Prelates and Chief Officers of the Kingdom of *Naples*, with Inſtructions to engage his Holineſs in a defenſive League with them for maintaining their reſpective Territories, to make the Pope all the advantageous Offers he could deſire, and to propoſe a Marriage between their Families. Theſe Offers were very acceptable to the Pope, who at the ſame Time had in view the Promotion of his own Ends. But as it was the Way of the Court of *Rome* at that Time, in all their Negotiations, to reſerve an Outlet whereby they might either recede from their former Agreements, or join with the Party which was likelieſt

[1] Tom. Tomaſi, p. 45.

[2] Ibid. p. 45.

to ſucceed ; on this Account his Holineſs at that Time would not permit the Articles of his Agreement to be made publick.

Charles in the mean Time having obtain'd a [1] Peace with the neighbouring Powers, tho' indeed upon Terms not very advantageous to the Crown, march'd Part of his Army directly towards *Italy*, intending ſpeedily to follow himſelf in Perſon.

The Danger with which *Ferdinand* and his Family were threaten'd, being foreſeen by him as inevitable, he died with Grief, leaving the Care of his Affairs and Kingdom, in this confuſed and uncertain Manner, to his Son *Alphonſus*, who ſucceeded him in the Beginning of the Year [3] 1494. As ſoon as this new King aſcended the Throne, he immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, with the greateſt Magnificence and Splendor imaginable, carrying along with them many valuable Preſents, both to the Pope and *Valentine*. But their chief Buſineſs was to obtain the Inveſtiture of that Kingdom to *Alphonſus*, and to have an Apoſtolic Legate diſpatched to *Naples*, to aſſiſt at the Solemnity of his Coronation ; and, above all, to perſuade his Holineſs to continue firm in the Alliance lately concluded between them towards the End of *Ferdinand*'s Reign, the Pope's Conſtancy in this being very much ſuſpected. For, either becauſe *Ferdinand* ſtanding more in Need of his Aſſiſtance than before, his Holineſs might perhaps extort from him greater Conceſſions, or, threatning to deſert his Intereſt, he might be the more readily induc'd to perſuade Cardinal *de la Rovere* to return to *Rome*, who the Year before, having ſuſpected that his Holineſs had reſolv'd to put him to Death, and poſſeſs himſelf of his Effects, in order to inrich *Valentine*, and his other Sons, with the Spoils of his Family, had very wiſely retir'd to *Oſtea*, who, as Subdean of the Sacred College, had the Title of Biſhop of that Place given him. This Fort, with regard to its Situation and Strength, was of very great Importance in the approaching Revolutions ; which made the Pope very uneaſy to ſee it in the Poſſeſſion of one whom he judged to be his Enemy, and who, beſides *Oſtea*, had other ſtrong Places within the Eccleſiaſtical State under his Juriſdiction (namely, *Grotto-Ferrata* and *Ronciglione*,) and even within *Rome* a great Party ready to

[1] Vid. Philip. de Comin. Memoires, Cap. III. p. 16.
[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 47.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

aſſiſt

aſſiſt him in any Undertaking. But the coming of the King of *France*, who was ſhortly expected in *Italy*, left the Pope no Opportunity to trick and fool them in theſe Matters; he therefore found it beſt for his Intereſt to perſiſt in his former Reſolutions, not only of making a defenſive League with *Alphonſus*, but even to publiſh the Articles thereof; which were theſe following; namely, That a [1] Confederacy ſhould be enter'd into between the Pope and the King of *Naples*, for Defence of their reſpective Territories, and a determinate Number of Troops nam'd for their mutual Aſſiſtance, when either of the Parties ſhould be attack'd: That his Holineſs ſhould give *Alphonſus* the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and diminiſh the Tribute which was uſually paid on that Account: That the Pope ſhould ſend an Apoſtolick Legate to *Naples*, to aſſiſt at the Coronation of *Alphonſus*: And, laſtly, that he ſhould promote Don *Lodovic* of *Aragon*, that King's Nephew, to the Cardinalate.

On the King's Part 'twas agreed, To pay his Holineſs, immediately, [2] thirty thouſand Ducats; and, That a Marriage ſhould be concluded between the Lady *Sancia*, Daughter of *Alphonſus*, and Don *Giuffre*, the Pope's youngeſt Son, which was to be conſummated as ſoon as they were of Age, giving *Giuffre* the Title of *Prince of* Squillace, *and Count* Cariati; to which he join'd a Revenue of ten thouſand Ducats a Year; and his Perſon to be guarded by 300 Men at Arms, in the King's Pay: Moreover, That the ſaid *Giuffre* ſhould have the *Protonotorate* of *Naples* given him, which is one of the ſeven great Offices of that Kingdom; however, on this Condition, (by way of Pledge for his Father's Fidelity) That the ſaid Prince *Squillace* ſhould reſide with *Alphonſus* at *Naples*. The Pope in like Manner oblig'd *Alphonſus* to give his eldeſt Son [3], the Duke of *Gandia*, an Eſtate of ten thouſand Ducats a Year, together with a Promiſe of conferring upon him another of the great Offices of the Kingdom on the firſt Vacancy, and a conſiderable Command in his Army: Likewiſe, That Cardinal *Valentine* ſhould be endow'd with the beſt Eccleſiaſtical Benefices vacant in the Kingdom of *Naples*: And, laſtly, That *Alphonſus* ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavours with the Cardinal *de la Rovere*, called

[1] Vid. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 49. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 15.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

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St. *Pietro in Vincula*, to bring him back to *Rome*; and in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in his Refuſal, that *Alphonſus* ſhould then join with his Holineſs in beſieging the Caſtle of *Oſtea*, and taking it by Force. This he very ſoon had Occaſion to put in Execution: For the [1] Cardinal, being determin'd not to truſt his Life in the Pope's Hands, was ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded to return to *Rome*, that, on the contrary, ſuſpecting ſome new Fraud, he fled, in an armed Brigantine, from thence, leaving his Caſtle under the Care of his Brother the Prefect of *Rome*, and arrived in *Savona*, his native Country; after which he came to *Avignon*, where he had formerly been Legate. From thence *Charles* ſent for him to *Lyons*, being deſirous to ſhew him all imaginable Marks of Honour and Favour. Thither he went, where he found his Majeſty, together with a Number of *Italian* Malecontents, who, diſſatisfied with their own Fortunes, were in hopes to better them amidſt the Revolutions with which *Italy* was threatned.

The Pope at this Time appointed his Nephew, the [2] Cardinal *Monreale*, Legate *a Latere* for the Coronation of *Alphonſus*. Accordingly he went for *Naples*, with as pompous a Retinue as the *Borgian* Vanity could furniſh out, that the World might ſee, by the Dignity of the Commiſſion, what Veneration his Holineſs held for that King, as his Ally and Relation.

Don *Giuffre* went thither alſo, to marry his Wife, according to Agreement. And notwithſtanding the Pope, now united with *Alphonſus*, was determin'd ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe the *French* in their Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*; yet, in order to be at Liberty to embrace the [3] Party which the Event of Things would ſhew to be moſt for his Advantage, he manag'd the Matter in ſuch a Way, that the Legate, after he had performed the Ceremony of the Coronation, and ſolemniz'd the Marriage, begg'd *Alphonſus* to grant that Satisfaction to the declining Age of a loving Father, that he might have the new-married Couple near his Perſon, *Giuffre* being, he ſaid, one of the chief Supports of his Family: Which Demand was granted by *Alphonſus*, becauſe, as he was oblig'd to court the Pope's Friendſhip, it was neceſſary for him not to ſhew any Diffidence

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 16.
[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 51.
[3] Platina, p. 473. Edit. Venet. 1701. | Tom. Tomaſ. p. 51.

of the Pope at that Time. Accordingly, Don *Giuffre* and his new Spouſe ſet out immediately for *Rome*; where the Pope, in order to indulge his own Vanity, gave his Courtiers to underſtand, That it would be agreeable to him to ſee their Entry grac'd with all imaginable Marks of Honour and Reſpect, which the more profuſe, the more adequate it was to the immoderate *Borgean* Ambition. Nor was *Valentine*, on his Part, wanting to promote this Pageantry; partly by Invitations, and partly by Meſſages ſent with the Pope's Couriers to have them received, where-ever they came within the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, with the greateſt Pomp that was poſſible. T. T.

The Pope's eldeſt Daughter [1] *Lucretia*, who was married to *John Sforza* Lord of *Peſaro*, was not behind with the others, in inviting the *Roman* Ladies, on Purpoſe to make the Solemnity the more ſplendid. As this *Lucretia* was an extraordinary Favourite of her Father, ſo ſhe lived at that Time in ſuch Grandeur, and exercis'd ſo vaſt an Authority, as was never before known at the Papal Court.

Giuffre and his Bride were indeed receiv'd with much greater Magnificence than was at firſt deſigned: The mean Obſequiouſneſs of thoſe who did Homage, being fully as great as the Pride of thoſe who received it. For the Pope himſelf, who was the Author of this Piece of Vanity, as he had begun it, was determined to ſee it fully compleated. Accordingly he received *Giuffre* and his Spouſe in ſuch a Manner, that what with the Splendor of the Hall, the Form of the Throne, the Number of Cardinals, and other Lords who came thither, the whole reſembled a publick Conſiſtory; though indeed, by the great Appearance of the Ladies, the gaudy Attire of Donna *Lucretia* and Donna *Sancia*, who were placed upon rich Seats near his Holineſs, and the Converſation kept up for ſo many Hours there among the Fair-Sex, made it look much liker an [2] Aſſembly of the laſt Kings of *Aſſyria*, than a Meeting in Preſence of the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Pope's Maſter of Ceremony, in his Journal, gives an Account thereof in theſe Words——*Venit Papa in Baſilicam Apo-*

[1] Tom. Tomaſi, p. 53. [2] Ibid.

ſtolorum; ſteterunt apud eum, ſuper Pulpitum Marmoreum, in quo Canonici Sancti Petri *Epiſtolam & Evangelium decantare conſueverunt*, Sancia *&* Lucretia *Filiæ, cum multis aliis mulieribus, totum ipſum Pulpitum & Terram circumcirca occupantibus cum magno dedecore, ignominio & ſcandalo Populi.*

In this ſupine Manner, both at *Rome* and *Naples*, were they conſuming their Time in Pomp and Luxury, without reflecting on the imminent Danger with which they were threaten'd; whilſt, on the other Hand, the *French* were by no Means unactive in preparing to kindle that Fire by which *Italy* was to be conſum'd. For the King of *France* had prepared a very powerful Fleet in [1] *Marſeilles*, *Villa Franca*, and *Genoa*. The laſt of which Places, as it was under the Government of the Dukes of *Milan*, was greatly in his Majeſty's Intereſt, the Faction called *Adorno* having not a little contributed thereto. Many were of Opinion that the *French* were to invade *Naples* by Sea, in the ſame Manner that *John* of *Anjou*, Son to *Renatus*, had attack'd it in *Ferdinand*'s Time. *Charles* accordingly ordered 2000 *Swiſs* ſhould be ſent to *Genoa*, under the Command of *Bagli-di-digiuno*, for the better ſecuring that Place, which he judged to be of vaſt Importance to his Affairs: More eſpecially ſince the Cardinal St. *Pietro in Vincula* had penetrated ſo far into the *Aragoneſe* Deſigns, as to diſcover that by Means of the Party called *Fregoſi* and *Objetto-del-Fieſco*, they intended to have that Place in their Poſſeſſion. *Charles* likewiſe ſent Part of his Army towards the State of *Milan*, commanded by Monſieur *Obigni*, a *Scotſman* by Birth, who being appointed Ambaſſador to the *Italian* Princes, was at that Time at *Milan*, and had Orders to form a Camp in *Lombardy*, united with the *Italian* Troops which came to his Aſſiſtance there, and were commanded by *Francis Sanſeverino* Count of *Galiazzo*, *Galliotto Pico*, Count of *Mirandula*, and *Ridolpho Gonzaga*; together with the 500 Men ſent by the Duke of *Milan*, and under his Pay, as had been agreed upon between *Charles* and *Lodovic*.

Alphonſus in the mean Time finding that a War was inevitable, firſt of all determin'd to ſend his [2] Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, in order to appoint a Place where he might have an Interview with the Pope. Accordingly his Holineſs, who was equally ſollici-

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 18.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 55.

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tous about the Event of Matters, pitch'd upon [1] *Vicovaro*, a Village belonging to *Virginio Orſino*, within the Territory of *Rome*. This Place they made Choice of, becauſe the Plague was beginning to be felt at that Time in ſome Parts of *Rome*. Beſides, as *Orſino* was one of the moſt powerful *Roman* Barons, both the Pope and *Alphonſus* were deſirous to give him Demonſtration of the Confidence which they put in him.

[2] In the mean Time, the Pope, in Company of ſome Cardinals, attended with a Guard of 500 Horſe, and a Body of Foot, together with many others of his Court, was the firſt who arrived there. A little Time afterwards the King came thither alſo, bringing along with him 1000 Horſe, and a good Number of Foot.

Valentine on the King's Approach, in Company of ſix other Cardinals, went out of the Village, in order to meet him, ſhewing his Majeſty all poſſible Marks of Affection and Reſpect. And the King being placed in the Middle between the ſaid *Valentine* and one of the oldeſt Cardinals, was conducted directly to the Pope, who receiv'd him ſitting, that ſo he might have the better Opportunity of performing the Ceremony of Kiſſing his Foot, Knee and Hand. After that was over, his Holineſs roſe up, and took the King aſide, in order to talk a little with him in Private; but perceiving his Majeſty wanted Reſt, deſir'd he might be accompany'd by the ſame Cardinals to his Apartments. However they both met together the ſame Night in the Pope's Chamber, and, in a long Conference [3], concerted Matters together. His Holineſs after this return'd his Majeſty's Viſit; at which Time the King, having brought along with him ſeveral Things of Value, gave his Holineſs a Baſon and two Vaſes of Gold, about the Value of 3000 Ducats, which in thoſe Times was no ſmall Preſent.

In theſe Conferences Meaſures were agreed upon in what Manner they were to act againſt the *French*, and how they might prevent their Deſigns. By this *Alphonſus* judged Victory might be eaſieſt obtain'd. It was accordingly reſolv'd, [4] That his Majeſty with his Army ſhould not proceed further, *Guicciard.*

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 19.
[2] Tom. Tom. p. 55.
[3] Ibid. p. 57.
[4] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 19.

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but halt in the Confines of *Abruzzo*, for the better ſecuring the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions; and that *Virginio Orſino* ſhould remain in the Territory of *Rome*, in order to oppoſe the *Colonna* Party, who, in concert with the *French*, were acting in his Holineſs's Prejudice. Moreover, that 200 of the Pope's Troops ſhould remain in *Rome*, together with a Part of the King's Light-Horſe; and that ſeventy Squadrons, with the reſt of the ſaid Light-Horſe, and the other Troops of *Rome*, ſhould be ſent into *Romagna* to act on the Defenſive; and that *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, the King's eldeſt Son, together with *Gianiacopo Trivultio*, and the Count *Pitigliano*, ſhould march into *Lombardy* with the reſt of the Army.

'Tis however neceſſary the Reader ſhould know, that before theſe Determinations, the Pope had ſent Part of his Troops, under the Command of the Count *Pitigliano*, aſſiſted by *Alphonſus* both by Sea and Land, in order to beſiege the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, which the Governour, by Conſent of *John de la Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, and Brother to the Cardinal of that Name, ſurrender'd to his Holineſs, on Condition that neither the Cardinal and his Brother, nor *Fabricio Colonna*, who had the Government of *Grotta-Ferrata* ſhould be moleſted, unleſs they gave freſh Ground of Quarrel; and that the ſaid *Grotta-Ferrata* ſhould remain in the Hands of its Proprietor, by paying his Holineſs a Sum of 10000 Ducats.

Things being thus concerted between the Pope and *Alphonſus*, the War of *Italy* began in the following Manner: [1] *Frederick*, ſecond Son to *Alphonſus*, was ſent, for ſecuring *Genoa*, with one of the moſt powerful Fleets that *Italy* had ſeen perhaps for many Years, conſiſting of thirty five Gallies, eighteen Men of War, together with other Ships of leſſer Burden, a great Quantity of Artillery, and three thouſand Foot; and a Number of Outlaws were put on Board. This Fleet left *Naples* with great Hopes of Succeſs; but by the Loſs of Time in getting ready, and Delay in raiſing Men within the Territory of *Sienna*, made the Expedition difficult at that Time, which a [2] Month before might have ſucceſsfully been put in Execution: For the Enemy having had Leiſure to provide for their Defence, and the two thouſand *Swiſs*, under the Command of *Bagli-di-digiuno*,

[1] Guicciardin. Lib. I. p. 20. [2] Ibid.

being

being arrived there, as alſo their Ships and Gallies being in Readineſs, and the others arrived from *Marſeilles*; likewiſe, being powerfully aſſiſted by *Lodovic Sforza*'s Troops, who had ſecured the *Adorno* Party in Favour of the *French*; as alſo, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* chanced to arrive there the very ſame Day that the *Neapolitan* Fleet appeared before *Genoa*: All which was the Occaſion that the *Aragoneſe*, who deſigned firſt to have landed directly in that Place, having changed their Thoughts[1], were extreamly puzzled in what Manner to behave, ſo that they were roving about in the Seas, without knowing what Courſe to take. At laſt they reſolv'd to land on the Coaſt of *Porto Venere*; where four hundred Foot having been ſent from *Genoa* to reinforce that Place, they fought ſeveral Hours in vain: So that loſing all Manner of Hopes of taking the Place at that Time, they retired to *Leghorn*[2], in order to take in Proviſions, and encreaſe their Forces. Here Don *Frederic* had Intelligence that the *French* Fleet was inferior to his in Number of Gallies, but conſiderably ſuperior in Men of War; moreover he was inform'd, that the *French* were preparing to come out of the Port of *Genoa*: On this he ſent back his Ships to *Naples*, determining to keep his Gallies at as great a Diſtance as he could from the Enemy.

At this Time *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria* was marching his Army towards *Romagna*, with a Deſign to march into *Lombardy*, as was before concerted. And in order to have a free Paſſage, and not to have any Enemy in his Rear, he found himſelf obliged to enter the State of *Bologna*, and paſs through the Cities of *Imola*, *Forli*, and *Ceſena*; the laſt of which was within the Pope's Juriſdiction. Theſe abovemention'd Places, together with the City of *Faenza* (which belong'd to *Manfredi*, a Minor, and under the *Florentine* Protection) were to furniſh the *Aragoneſe* Army with Proviſions. *Forli* and *Imola* belonged at that Time to *Octaviano Riario*; who being likewiſe under Age, his Territory was governed under the Regency of his Mother *Catarina Sforza*, with whom the Pope had been in Treaty for a conſiderable Time, in order to perſuade her to join Intereſt with him; promiſing to ſecure her Son's Dominion againſt all Attempts of their Enemies. But that Affair was left undetermined, on Account of the Difficulties ſtarted by the Mother,

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 20. | [2] Ibid.

in order perhaps to get better Terms for her Son; declaring ſhe would not ſuffer his State to be expos'd to Danger, unleſs ſhe was ſecure of Aſſiſtance from the *Florentines* for its Defence. But the Interview which *Ferdinand* had with *Peter de Medicis* at [1] *Borgo* and *San-Sepolchro*, removed thoſe Objections out of the Way; the former offering his Army to be at *Peter*'s Service: For which Piece of Generoſity, *Peter*, contrary to the Advice of his moſt judicious Friends, procured a free Paſſage for *Ferdinand*'s Army through the abovementioned Places. And *Jovanni Bentivoglio*, Lord of *Bologna*, after his Example, granted the ſame through his Territory.

Theſe Conceſſions gave very great [2] Countenance to *Ferdinand*'s Affairs, which at that Time might have been very much advanced, had he perſiſted in his firſt Deſign of paſſing into *Romagna*. But the Tardineſs of his March from *Naples*, and the Activity of *Lodovic Sforza* in his Prejudice, was the Occaſion that *Ferdinand* was no ſooner arrived at *Ceſena*, than *Obigni*, with Count *Gaiazzo*, General of *Sforza*'s Troops, together with Part of the *French* Army, having paſs'd *Bologna* without any Reſiſtance, came into the Territory of *Imola*, which put a Stop to *Ferdinand*'s Deſign, of penetrating into *Lombardy*. In the mean Time *Peter de Medicis* continued firm to the *Aragoneſe* Intereſt, inſomuch that he agreed underhand with the [3] Pope and *Alphonſus* to act againſt the *French*; and accordingly he prevailed upon *Hannibal Bentivoglio*, Son to *Jovanni*, in the *Florentine* Service, and likewiſe upon *Aſtor Manfredi*, to join the Army of *Alphonſus* with both their Companies, as ſoon as the latter came within the Eſtate of *Forli*: He, moreover, ſent a hundred Foot to their Aſſiſtance, and a good Store of Artillery.

[4] The Pope, in like manner, was very active on his Part, not only in a temporal, but likewiſe in a ſpiritual Way, iſſuing out Briefs and Threatnings, exhorting the King of *France* to return to his own Country, and forbear Hoſtilities, under the Pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. At the ſame Time he employ'd his Nuncio at *Venice* to ſollicite that Republick to join with him and *Alphonſus* in oppoſing the *French* Expedition into *Italy*, and to fall upon *Lodovic Sforza*, for which the Situation of

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 20.
[2] Ibid. p. 21.
[3] Ibid. p. 21.
[4] Ibid.

their

their Territories, that lay in the Neighbourhood, afforded them a fair Opportunity. But all this was in vain, the *Venetians* returning for Anſwer, That they would not remove the Seat of War from another Country into their own. Some are, however, of Opinion, that even *Lodovic* himſelf, reflecting on the Danger in which his own Affairs would be involv'd, if the *French* took Poſſeſſion of *Naples*, appear'd wavering [1] in his Reſolutions: Nay, it is confidently aſſerted, that he began to act upon different Maxims of Policy; for tho' he was at firſt for ſeparating *Peter de Medicis* from the *Aragoneſe* Intereſt, yet he began at this Time underhand to encourage them therein, promiſing to bring about Things in ſuch a Manner, that the King of *France* ſhould not be able to paſs the *Alps* eaſily; or if he did, that he ſhould be obliged to return very ſoon into his own Country, without effecting any Thing material againſt *Italy*. This he expreſs'd by his Miniſter reſiding then at *Florence*. In this Manner he acted; either becauſe he really apprehended imminent Danger to *Italy* from the Invaſion of *Charles*; or that being reſolv'd on *Peter*'s Ruin, he was deſirous to engage him ſo far in oppoſing the King of *France*, that it would be impoſſible for him to accommodate Matters with that Monarch. On the other Hand, *Peter* having receiv'd, from *Lodovic*'s own Envoy, Aſſurances of his Good-Will for acting againſt the *French*, he was determin'd to acquaint the Moſt Chriſtian King's [2] Ambaſſador with the Secret. Accordingly he ſo contriv'd the Matter, that one Day he ſent for *Lodovic*'s Miniſter to his Palace, pretending to be a little indiſpoſed; and at the ſame Time he made the *French* Ambaſſador conceal himſelf in the Room, ſo that he might thereby have an Opportunity of hearing all that paſt. There *Peter*, having often repeated *Lodovic*'s Promiſes to him, with regard to his oppoſing *Charles*, and that by his late Perſuaſions he had been influenc'd not to conſent to the Demands of the King of *France*; yet, he ſaid, he wonder'd very much how *Lodovic* his Maſter, who was the chief Inſtrument and Adviſer of that King's Expedition into *Italy*, ſhould be ſo inconſiſtent with himſelf: For which Reaſon he was inclinable, he ſaid, to look out for his own Safety, and not rely too much upon one whoſe Words and Actions were ſo very repugnant to each other. The Envoy made Anſwer, That he had no Reaſon to be diffident of his Maſter, ſince *Charles*'s Taking of *Na-*

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 21. [2] Ibid. p. 22.

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ples would be equally pernicious to both: He therefore exhorted *Peter* to perſiſt in his former Reſolution to oppoſe the *French*; that if he did not, the Danger would be unavoidable to *Italy* and her Liberties.

After this Conference, the *French* Ambaſſador immediately gave Notice to the King his Maſter of theſe Matters, aſſuring him that *Lodovic* had betray'd him. But this Diſcovery had not the [1] Effect which *Peter* and *Alphonſus* had imagin'd. The King indeed upbraided *Lodovic* with his Treachery; but it only ſerv'd to ſtir up his Wrath more effectually againſt the Betrayers of his Secrets. After which, he did not omit any Opportunity of exciting the *French* to begin their Hoſtilities upon them without Loſs of Time. For *Charles* having already march'd his Army as far as [2] *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, neither the Scarcity of Money, nor any Perſuaſions whatſoever, could at that Time divert him from marching in Perſon into *Italy*. But as he was on the Point of ſetting out from thence, his *Gens d' Armes* already advancing towards the *Alps*, an univerſal [3] Diſcontent ſpread itſelf among the Courtiers, and over his whole Army; for they now began to reflect on the great Difficulty of their Undertaking, and on the Infidelity of the *Italians*, eſpecially *Lodovic Sforza*, of whoſe Fraud they had already got full Information from *Florence*. Hence many of the *French* who had ſhewn themſelves at firſt forward in promoting that Expedition, began now to think very differently of it, particularly the Biſhop of St. *Malo*. The News of this coming to the King's Ear, it had ſuch an Effect upon him, and the Nobles of the Court, that he commanded the Troops to halt, and continue where they were: Upon which ſeveral Gentlemen, who came out Voluntiers, finding the King had alter'd his Mind, return'd Home. Nor indeed would *Charles* have proceeded further, had not the Cardinal St. *Pietro in Vincula* (that [4] fatal Inſtrument of *Italy*'s Miſeries) by his Perſuaſions reviv'd in his Majeſty the Thoughts of perſiſting in his former Reſolutions, ſpiriting him up by a great many Motives; namely, how great an Infamy it would bring on his Name and Character if he did not go on; asking, For what Purpoſe his Majeſty had divulged to the World his Deſign of making a Conqueſt of *Naples*, raiſed ſuch a powerful Force

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 22.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 22.
[4] Ibid. p. 23.

by

by Sea and Land, and weaken'd the Frontiers of *France* by the Peace made with his Neighbours for more effectually carrying on this Expedition? Moreover, he deſir'd to know, What made the King now diffident of Succeſs, ſince his Arms had been already victorious againſt the *Aragoneſe* at *Porto Venere* and other Places? What were thoſe new Dreams and Phantoms which then filled his Mind with Apprehenſions of Danger? eſpecially ſince he had, with good Reaſon, boaſted but four Days before, that he was able to conquer all *Italy*? Nay, he told the King, that he had gone too great a Length to think of retiring.

By theſe, and many other Arguments of the like Nature, he effectually confirmed the King in his Reſolution to proceed; ſo that, after this, he would not liſten to any Advice to the [1] contrary. Accordingly on the ſame Day he march'd forward from *Vienne*, in Company of the principal Lords and Generals of *France*, and left the Duke of *Bourbon* Regent in his Abſence, taking the ſame Road over the Mountain [2] *Mongeneura*, as *Hannibal* had gone with his Army into *Italy*. Accordingly he came to *Aſti* on the ninth Day of *September*, in the Year 1494.

No ſooner was he arrived there, than he received the glad Tidings of the [3] Defeat of the *Aragoneſe* Fleet, commanded by Don *Frederic*, in the Gulf of *Rapalle*, near *Genoa*. By which Victory that important City was ſecured in his Majeſty's Intereſt.

Nor had the King been long at *Aſti*, before *Lodovic Sforza*, his Wife *Beatrix*, and *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, came with great Pomp, and very ſplendid Equipages, to wait on him where it was reſolv'd, that the Army ſhould, with all poſſible Haſte, proceed further into *Italy*. *Lodovic*, for this end, advanc'd the King a large Sum of Money, being afraid, leſt, by retarding their March, they might take up their Winter-Quarters in the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which he ſhew'd no Inclination. But the King remain'd at *Aſti* about a Month, having fallen ill of the [4] Small-Pox; and in the ſaid Interval quarter'd his Army in that Town, and in the neighbouring Villages.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 23.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 24.
[4] Ibid.

About this Time there happen'd a new [1]Commotion within the Territory of *Rome*, occaſion'd by the Party *Colonna*; who, notwithſtanding *Alphonſus* had, before that Time, granted their exorbitant Demands, on purpoſe to keep them from acting in his Prejudice, yet as ſoon as they heard that *Obigni* had enter'd *Romagna* with the *French* Army, taking off the Mask, they declar'd themſelves Soldiers in the [2]*French* Service; and by conniving with the *Spaniſh* Guards who were within the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, they made themſelves Maſters of that Fortreſs. Which Action made the Pope complain heavily againſt the *French* to the other Princes of *Europe*, particularly to the King of *Spain* and the Republick of *Venice*: From the laſt of which he demanded Aſſiſtance, by virtue of the League contracted between them the Year before. Moreover he cited *Proſpero*, and *Fabricio Colonna*, to appear before him in a judicial Manner, and, out of Revenge, cauſed their Houſes to be [3]raz'd to the Ground; he likewiſe ſent Part of his Troops, united with thoſe of *Alphonſus*, to pillage their Eſtates. But doubting that a Number of the *French* Army, which was to be ſent from *Genoa* to ſuccour *Oſtia*, would land at *Nettuno*, a Place belonging to the *Colonna* Family, the Pope's Forces, having joined with the *Aragoneſe*, who were lying at *Terracina*, pitch'd their Camp near that Place, hoping to beſiege *Nettuno*. But the *Coloneſe*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Troops of *Camillo Vitelli*, in the *French* Pay, made ſo brave a Defence, that the Pope, in order to ſtrengthen his Army, was obliged to call back ſome of his Forces which were in *Romagna*, with *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*: Nor could he, for all that, obtain his Aim. At the ſame Time the *French* Troops, having march'd towards *Imola*, *Ferdinand*, on this, judg'd it proper to retire, with his Army, to *Toſcanella*, near Caſtle St. *Pietro*, in the Territory of *Bologna*. And altho' they gave the *French* an Opportunity of coming to a Battle, yet the latter ſhunn'd every Occaſion which might oblige them to fight, and ſo kept within their Trenches: But being afterwards reinforc'd with a conſiderable Body of their own and *Lodovic*'s Troops, and the *Aragoneſe* Army diminiſhing daily, the latter were forced to retire to St. *Agatha*, in the Territory of *Ferrara*.

Charles in the mean Time recovering from his Indiſpoſition, and ſurmounting the Difficulties of the Seaſon, puſh'd on his Af-

[1] Guicciardin. Lib. I. p. 27. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

fairs

fairs vigorouſly, and began to penetrate with his Army further into *Italy*, arriving at *Pavia*; in which Place *John Galliazzo*, Duke of *Milan*, was lying ſick [1] of a violent Diſtemper. The King, on his Arrival there, paid the Duke a Viſit, comforting him in the beſt Manner he could. However, his Diſcourſe was in general about his Illneſs; for *Lodovic* being preſent, he got no Opportunity of entring on Particulars: Notwithſtanding, he learnt from ſome, that the Duke's Malady did not proceed from any natural Cauſe, but was owing to the Villany of *Lodovic* his Uncle, who had unqueſtionably poiſon'd [2] him, that, by removing him out of the World, he might the more effectually ſeize upon his Sovereignty. This deplorable Circumſtance rais'd Compaſſion in the Breaſt of *Charles*, the Duke being his near Relation, but for Reaſons of State he was obliged to diſſemble his Sentiments at that Time. Nor was his Compaſſion diminiſh'd, when he beheld that unfortunate Prince's Wife. Her Name was *Iſabella*, Daughter to *Alphonſus*, his Competitor for the Kingdom of *Naples*. No ſooner did the diſconſolate Lady ſee the King paying that Benevolence and Humanity to her Husband, than ſhe fell at his Feet [3], ſhedding a Flood of Tears, and humbly implored his Protection for her ſelf and her young Son; at the ſame Time beſeeching his Majeſty to take Compaſſion on her Father, to ſpare his Dominions and his afflicted Family. But tho' the Tears and Entreaties of a Lady of her Youth and Beauty, were extremely moving; yet the King, not thinking it adviſeable to change his Reſolutions on ſuch ſlight Motives, told her, that having carried Matters ſo far, he muſt of Neceſſity bring them to an Iſſue.

From *Pavia* he went directly to [4] *Piacenza*, where he received the News of the unfortunate *John Galliazzo*'s Death; on which, *Lodovic*, who all along had followed the King, return'd with Speed to *Milan*, and there, by engaging the principal Members of the Ducal Council in his Intereſt, under Pretence of the Neceſſity of the Times, and preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, he procur'd the right Heir, who was then under Age, to be excluded from ſucceeding, and himſelf to be choſen in his Room, who pretended that he had obtained the Inveſtiture thereof from the Emperor. And altho' *Lodovic* gave out, that *John Ga-*

[1] Vid. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 26.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 26.
[4] Ibid.

liazzo's

liazzo's Death proceeded from his too great Exceſs in Venery; yet it was believed all over *Italy*, that he died of the Poiſon given by the Uſurper: The manifeſt Signs of which, *Theodor* of *Pavia*, one of the King's Phyſicians, declared he had diſcover'd when he was preſent at the Time his Majeſty viſited him.

Charles ſtay'd a few Days in *Piacenza*, not without ſome Inclination to return Home [6], finding himſelf pinch'd for Want of Money; nor did he perceive that the other *Italian* Princes were diſpos'd to favour his Deſigns: All which made him begin to be dubious of his Succeſs. He had at the ſame Time a violent Suſpicion of *Lodovic*'s Infidelity, there being a Report ſpread, that notwithſtanding the latter had promiſed to come back to the King, yet it was doubtful whether he would keep his Word or not. And as Poiſoning was a Practice very little known among the Nations beyond the *Alps*, *Charles* and his whole Court, on this Account, were not only ſuſpicious of *Lodovic*'s [7] Treachery, but began to abhor his very Name: It was therefore a Matter of no ſmall Concern to the King, when he reflected, that a Perſon who did not ſtick at ſuch Villanies, had been the chief Inſtrument of his coming into *Italy*. However, having brought Affairs ſo great a Length, he could not think of going back.

No ſooner then did he leave *Piacenza*, than the very ſame Day, *Lorenzo*, and *John de Medici*, having privately left *Florence*, came to meet him. Their chief Buſineſs was to ſollicite the King to march directly to that City [8]; aſſuring him, that the *Florentines* were altogether diſpos'd to favour the *French*, having conceiv'd a perfect Hatred againſt *Peter de Medicis*, who was no leſs odious in the King's Eye: For his Majeſty having, while he was at *Aſti*, ſent his Ambaſſador to *Florence*, to make ſeveral advantageous Propoſals to *Peter*, if he would allow a free Paſſage to his Army thro' the *Florentine* Dominions, and not aſſiſt *Alphonſus*, he had not been able to obtain any Thing from him but ambiguous Anſwers, pretending, that his Requeſt could not be granted without the unanimous Conſent of the Senate and People, and that, conſequently, the Affair would require Time. The King therefore being reſolv'd to advance with his Army, it was agreed that their March ſhould be thro'

[5] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 27.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. p. 27.
[8] Ibid.

Tuſcany

[9] *Tuſcany* and the Territory of *Rome*, rather than by the Way of *Romagna* and *La Marca* to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* in *Abruzzo*; being judged more for his Majeſty's Honour, not to ſhew as if out of Fear he ſhunn'd paſſing thro' thoſe Dominions whoſe Governours he knew were not his Friends. Nor did he think it prudent to leave the Enemies Countries unſecured in his Rear: Hence, directing his March towards *Tuſcany*, he was determin'd to paſs the *Appennines* over the Mountains of *Parma*, as *Lodovic Sforza* had adviſed him at *Aſti*. Accordingly the Vanguard, commanded by the General *Monpenſier*, who was of the Family of *Bourbon*, marched to *Pontremoli*, a Village belonging to the Duke of *Milan*, his Majeſty following with the reſt of the Army. From thence they enter'd the Country of *Lunigiano*, where they were join'd by a Body of *Swiſs*, who had been employ'd in the Defence of *Genoa*. Thence paſſing through Part of the *Florentine* Territory, there were two Places which made the greateſt Reſiſtance to their March; the one called [1] *Serezana*, a ſmall Town; the other *Serezanella*, a Fort which, on Account of its Situation, was exceedingly ſtrong. Nor indeed could the Army remain any conſiderable Time there, by Reaſon of the Barrenneſs of the Country; or Proviſions be brought thither, but from Places at too great a Diſtance. And although the King's Affairs could not permit the Loſs of much Time there, yet they were unwilling to leave behind them two ſuch important Places in the Enemy's Hand; and this made them at a Loſs what Courſe to take. Nor could they miſs of being thereby greatly embaraſs'd, had not an unexpected Remedy preſented to their View; for [2] *Peter de Medicis* finding himſelf ſo mortally hated by the Citizens of *Florence*, on Account of the vigorous Oppoſition he made againſt the *French*, by which their advantageous Commerce with that Nation was interrupted and quite ruined; and at the ſame Time perceiving the *French* Affairs in *Italy* to proſper more and more, and that their Army began actually to paſs over the *Appennines*; reflecting alſo on the hard Uſage which the Inhabitants of *Fivizano* had met with from that Nation, by endeavouring to oppoſe them; *Peter* being likewiſe conſcious of his own Want of Experience in the Affairs of War, and that his Country was in a very bad Poſture of Defence, and intirely incapable to reſiſt ſo powerful an Enemy; withal conſidering the Diſguſt which

[9] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 27. [1] Ibid. p. 28. [2] Ibid.

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the Inhabitants had at his Family, for aſſuming a Kind of Sovereign Sway in the *Florentine* Republick; as alſo his Diſappointment from the Pope and *Alphonſus* in ſending Succours: All theſe, and many other Conſiderations, made him reſolve at laſt, precipitantly, to go in ſearch of a Remedy for his own Safety amongſt his Enemies, which he could not hope to obtain amongſt his Friends. Being thus determin'd, he left *Florence* with a Deſign to go to [2] *Charles*. No ſooner had he begun his Journey towards the *French*, than he received News that the Body of Horſe commanded by [3] *Pagolo Orſino*, together with three hundred Foot, ſent out of *Florence* to ſuccour *Serezana*, having been encounter'd by the *French* Troops, were entirely diſcomfited, the greateſt Part of them being ſlain and taken Priſoners. Which bad News made him halt at *Pietra Santa*, until he could obtain a ſafe Convoy from the *French*: Which being demanded and granted, the Biſhop of St. *Malo*, together with ſundry others, were diſpatched thither, on Purpoſe to conduct him to the *French* Army, where he arriv'd at *Serezanella*: Which Place was then cloſely beſieged by the King's Troops; but they had not advanc'd ſo far in the Siege, as to be in any great Hopes of becoming Maſters thereof in a little Time. Being therefore introduced to the King, his Majeſty gave him a Reception more favourable in Appearance than Reality. But his Indignation was the more eaſily mitigated, on Account of the large Conceſſions which *Peter* made to the exorbitant Demands of the *French*: The Subſtance of which was, That the Forts of [5] *Pietra, Santa' Serezana*, and *Serezanella*, which; by the by, were the Keys of the *Florentine* Dominions, ſhould be deliver'd up to the *French*, together with the Garriſon of *Piſa*, and the Harbour of *Leghorn*, both which, in like manner, were to be given into the King's Hands; and which his Majeſty, by a Writing, obliged himſelf to reſtore to the *Florentines*, as ſoon as he had made a Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*: Moreover, That *Peter* ſhould provide the King the Sum of 200,000 Ducats; for which his Majeſty made a verbal Promiſe to take him into his Alliance, and under his Protection, and that, in the mean Time, theſe Writings ſhould be ſent to and ratify'd in *Florence*, where his Majeſty deſign'd to march very ſoon. To all which *Peter* acquieſced, and accor-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 28.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 28.
[4] Ibid. p. 29.
[5] Ibid.

dingly

dingly deliver'd the abovemention'd Places over to the King. The *French* were, however, not a little ſurpriz'd to find that *Peter* had ſo eaſily conſented to thoſe important Demands; more eſpecially ſince they knew his Majeſty would have been contented to have accepted of far leſs advantageous Terms.

I ſcarcely can omit to acquaint the Reader with a very ſharp [1] Reply which *Lodovic Sforza* made to *Peter* on this Occaſion. *Lodovic* arriving at the *French* Camp the very Day after theſe Articles were agreed upon, *Peter* told him that he had gone out of Town on Purpoſe to meet him; but was ſorry to learn, that *Lodovic*, in coming thither, had loſt his Way, by which he ſaid he had been depriv'd of an Opportunity of ſaluting him on the Road. *Lodovic* replied, 'Tis true indeed one of us has loſt our Way, and perhaps it was yourſelf; alluding to *Peter*'s Miſmanagement.

But to proceed, theſe vaſt Conceſſions not only ſecured all [2] *Tuſcany* to the *French*, but remov'd every Obſtacle out of the Way, which could have prejudiced their Affairs in *Romagna*, where the *Aragoneſe* Army began to diminiſh every Day. For mean while *Ferdinand* was ſecurely encamp'd near *Faenza*, the *French* returning to the Country of *Imola*, Part of their Army having in vain beſieg'd the Fort of *Bubano*, which was ſurrounded almoſt on every Hand by Water, yet they made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Mordano*, a Place which was both well garriſon'd and defended; where, after having furiouſly batter'd it with their Artillery, many of their Men were drown'd, paſſing the Moat: On which, being exaſperated, they attack'd the Place Sword in Hand, and made ſuch a cruel Slaughter of the Inhabitants, that they ſpared neither [3] Age nor Sex; which Cruelty filled every Part of *Romagna* with Horror and Confuſion. On which *Catarina Sforza*, deſpairing of Succour from the *Florentines*, made an [4] Agreement with the *French*, obliging herſelf to furniſh their Army with every Kind of Proviſion which could be procured within her Son's Dominion. On this Account, *Ferdinand*, not putting much Truſt in the People of *Faenza*, and judging his Army in a dangerous Situation between *Imola* and *Forli*; moreover, being inform'd of *Peter de Medici*'s

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 29.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 29.
[4] Ibid.

Conduct

Conduct at *Serezana*, on this Account he retired with his Army under the Walls of [1] *Ceſena*. From thence marching through very rugged Paths, he came to *Caſtro Caro*, a Fort belonging to the *Florentines*: After this he retired to *Rome*; and about the ſame Time that Don *Frederic* left the Harbour of *Leghorn*, he came back with his Army to the Territories of *Naples*, where he found too great Occaſion for employing his Forces in the immediate Defence of that Kingdom. But there his Affairs were [2] not in a more proſperous Condition than in *Romagna*; for having been unſucceſsful in beſieging *Neptuno*, he was obliged to quarter his Troops in *Terracina*: At which Time the *French* Fleet, which was commanded by the Prince of *Salerno* and Monſigneur *Sernon*, had come as far as *Oſtia*, but had landed none of their Forces there, being reſolved not to moleſt the Pope's Territories at any Rate.

In the mean Time, News of *Peter de Medici*'s Agreement with the *French* King having been brought to [3] *Florence*, and that he had given up ſo many powerful Places belonging to the Republick, and, in an unprecedented Manner, without Conſent of the Senate and People, given ſo fatal a Wound to their Country, their Minds were filled with ſo much Indignation on this Procedure, that *Peter*'s Name became odious in every one's Mouth. On this, the Citizens were unanimous to defend their Liberty, being determin'd to [4] ſhake off the Bonds which they had been under by his Male-Adminiſtration; nor could any of *Peter*'s Friends diſſuade them from that Reſolution: The *Florentines* having little Hopes that the King would recede from the Agreement made with *Peter*, and knowing they had not ſufficient Force to defend *Piſa* and *Leghorn*, unleſs they ſent Ambaſſadors to treat with his Majeſty: But ſeeing thoſe who were deputed on that Embaſſy were known to be Enemies to the *Medici* Government, *Peter*, upon this Account, began to ſuſpect a Change of Affairs; accordingly, in order to provide for his own Security, he took leave of the King, under Pretence of going to fulfil the Stipulations made between them.

After this, the King left *Serezana*, and marched directly towards [5] *Piſa*: At which Place *Lodovic Sforza*, having paid the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 29.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 29.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid. p. 30.

King

King a large Sum of Money, obtain'd from him the Inveſtiture of *Genoa*, which ſome Years before he had granted to [1] *John Galleazzo* and his Deſcendents. Upon which *Lodovic* returned to *Milan*.

In the mean Time *Peter de Medici* came back to *Florence*, where he found the Minds of the Magiſtrates entirely [2] alienated from him, and the other Inhabitants on the Point of revolting from his Government; ſo that on the ninth of *November*, going to the Palace where the Senate uſually ſate, he was not [3] allowed to enter there, the Magiſtrates being all in Arms, ready to defend the Place: Upon which the People over the whole City roſe up in a tumultuous Manner; which *Peter* perceiving, and being informed that the Magiſtracy declared him a [4] Rebel to the Republick, his Mind was thereby filled with ſo much Fear and Confuſion, that he immediately fled from *Florence*, in Company with his Brothers the Cardinal and *Julian*, hurrying directly towards *Bologna* [5]; where he was received by *John Bentivoglio* not with that Humanity which ought to be ſhewn to a Perſon of his Rank in Adverſity: On the contrary, [6] he chid him for his Folly in being the Occaſion of having precipitated himſelf from his former Pitch of Greatneſs, to the low Condition into which he was then reduced.

In this Manner, for the Temerity of one [7] Youth, fell the Family of *Medici* from a Grandeur which they had poſſeſſed for ſixty Years within the City of *Florence*.

It happened likewiſe, that the very ſame Day in which the Government of *Florence* was changed, *Charles* being arrived at *Piſa*, the Citizens there, in a tumultuous manner, came flocking to the King, demanding [8] their Liberty, and to be freed from the Yoke of the *Florentine* Government; repreſenting to his Majeſty the many Grievances they had ſuffer'd under their Dominion.

The King no ſooner heard their Complaints, than, by the Advice of ſome of his Counſellors, he declared them a free

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 30.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid. p. 30.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

People [1]; not adverting, however, that ſuch a Grant was contrary to the Stipulations made between him and *Peter de Medici*. On this the People immediately betook them to their Arms, and broke down the *Florentine* [2] Enſigns of Magiſtracy in every Part of the Town where they had been placed, exulting greatly on Account of their new acquir'd Liberty.

But the King not being diſtinctly informed of the Nature of their Pretenſions, permitted the *Florentine* Magiſtrates to exerciſe their ordinary Functions within the Place; but at the ſame Time gave the old Citadel into the Hands of the People of *Piſa*, and kept the new one, which was of the greateſt Importance, to himſelf.

While Things were in this Confuſion at *Piſa*, *Charles* left it, and march'd directly towards *Florence* [3], not being determin'd in what Manner he ſhould ſettle the *Piſan* Affairs. On his Journey he halted at *Signa*, a Place about ſeven Miles from *Florence*, till the Tumult in the abovementioned City ſhould be ſomewhat appeaſed, the People not having as yet laid down their Arms, which they had taken up the ſame Day that *Peter* was driven from thence. *Charles* was the more inclinable to tarry in the aforeſaid Village until he ſhould hear of the Arrival of *Obigni*, with the reſt of the Forces, that thereby his Entry into *Florence* might be the more formidable. Accordingly he gave Orders to leave the heavy Artillery behind at *Caſtro Caro* [4], and diſcharge the *Italian* Troops which were kept in his Pay, and thoſe alſo which had been ſent him by *Lodovic Sforza*, reſerving only three hundred of the Light-Horſe to be continued in his own Service.

There was, however, very great Reaſon to ſuſpect, that *Charles* intended to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Florence*, and, by the Terror of his Arms, oblige the Citizens to conſent to it: Nor did he even diſſemble the ſame with their Ambaſſadors.

In the mean Time he enter'd the City of [5] *Florence* at the Head of his Army, in a very pompous Manner, both with re-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 30.
[2] Ibid. *Idem Vid.* Philip. de Comin. Cap. VII. p. 38
[3] Philip. de Comin. Cap. VIII. p. 39. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 31.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

gard to the Magnificence of his own Court, and the great Preparations made for his Reception by the Citizens: He paſſed through the Streets, himſelf and Horſe being both cloathed in Armour, reſting his Lance on his Thigh, in a triumphant Poſture.

No ſooner did he diſmount from Horſeback, than the Agreement formerly made at *Serezana* [1], was immediately concluded, but not without very great Difficulty; for not only did many in his own Retinue ſhew themſelves favourable for *Peter de Medici*'s Intereſt, but likewiſe the *French* Demand for Money was very exorbitant: Moreover, *Charles* did not ſcruple to declare, That the Dominion of *Florence* appertain'd to himſelf [2]; alledging, That as he had entered their City in Arms, by the military Law he had legally acquired a Right to their Sovereignty.

On the other Hand, the *Florentines* were obſtinate not to part with their Liberty at any Rate; ſo the Determinations on this Head being various and very wide of one another, the Minds of both Parties began thereby to be extremely inflam'd. Yet neither of them were willing to decide the Matter by Arms; for on one Hand, the People of *Florence*, having been more accuſtomed to Trade than War, were in great Conſternation, to ſee a foreign King [3], with a powerful Army of fierce and warlike Strangers, within their Walls: On the other, the *French* were not a little apprehenſive of the Numbers of the Inhabitants, who, from the very Day that they had changed the Form of the Government, had ſhewn incredible Boldneſs and Reſolution in preſerving their Rights and Liberties; beſides, it was reported, that, on the [4] ringing their great Bell, a vaſt Number of the Country People in the Neighbourhood were ready to come with their Arms to the Aſſiſtance of the Town. From which mutual Fear ſundry Alarms being ſpread abroad, both Parties were ſeen in a tumultuous Manner to run to their Weapons for their reſpective Securities: But after all this, none of them had Reſolution enough to come to Blows.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 31.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 32.
[4] Ibid.

Peter

Peter de Medici, in the mean Time, having taken Refuge among the *Venetians*, ſhewed an Inclination to return to his own Country, and to put himſelf under the *French* King's Protection. But the *Venetians*, imagining that if he did ſo, it would more effectually promote the Deſigns of *Charles*, which they imagin'd would very much prejudice their Intereſt; on this Account they diſſuaded *Peter* from truſting himſelf in the King's Hands. And that they might be ſure of prevailing on him, they [1] promiſed that whenever a proper Opportunity offer'd, they would aſſiſt him in recovering his wonted Authority amongſt the *Florentines*. Nay, that they might ſtill provide for the better ſecuring of his Perſon, and hinder him from effecting the aforeſaid Scheme which he had in View, they privately order'd his Lodging to be ſurrounded with Guards; giving ſtrict Charge, that he ſhould not leave *Venice* under any Pretence whatſoever.

In the mean Time, Affairs at *Florence* were ſtill in a great Confuſion, and the Animoſities of both Parties wrought up to ſuch a Height, that Things were upon the very Point of coming to a Rupture: For the King had determined not to recede [2] in the leaſt from his Demands; and, on the other Hand, the *Florentines* were as reſolute to maintain their Liberties; the latter peremptorily refuſing to grant thoſe vaſt Sums of Money which the *French* demanded at that Time, or, indeed, to ſuffer the leaſt Change in their Government; which Difficulties were not to be ſurmounted: Nor could the Affair poſſibly have been decided, but by Arms, had it not been brought to an amicable Iſſue by the Magnanimity and Reſolution of one ſingle Man, whoſe Name was [3] *Pietro Capponi*, a Citizen, of a good Family, and one of the four Deputies appointed by the Senate to treat with the *French*. As this *Pietro* was one Day in the King's Preſence with the others of the Deputation, he heard one of the *French* Secretaries read the Articles, in which were contained *Charles*'s immoderate Demands; and full of Indignation at the Extravagancy of their Pretenſions, in a furious Paſſion [4] ſnatch'd the Paper out of the Secretary's Hands, and tore it in Pieces before the King's Face, telling him, with an undaunted Counte-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 32.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 32.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

nance,

nance, *Since* [1] *I perceive, Sir, you demand of us Terms ſo very unreaſonable and unjuſt, ſound your Trumpets for an Alarm if you pleaſe, we ſhall ring our Bells.* After which he flung out of the Room in a very abrupt Manner. This bold and intrepid Action ſtruck ſuch a [2] Damp in the *French*, who judg'd his Threatnings would be very ſoon put in Execution, that on this, they began to think a little more coolly on the Matter, and accordingly made *Capponi* be called back; where they propoſed a more amicable Agreement, and concluded the Affair in the following Manner:

[3] Firſt, That *all former Injuries on both Sides ſhould be entirely forgot, and the City of* Florence *remain in Friendſhip and Confederacy with* France, *and under her immediate Protection. Next, that the City of* Piſa, *and Town of* Leghorn, *together with their Fortreſſes, ſhould, for the King's Security, be inſtantly put into the Hands of the* French; *which Places* Charles *was to oblige himſelf to reſtore back to the* Florentines, *without any Charge to them, as ſoon as he either had made a Conqueſt of* Naples, *or agreed upon a Truce with his Enemies: All this to be determined within the Space of two Years, or when the King ſhould think fit to leave* Italy. *Moreover, that whoever were appointed Governors of thoſe Places, they ſhould bind themſelves by a Solemn Oath, to reſtore them, according to the Tenour of theſe Stipulations. It was likewiſe agreed upon, That the Dominion, Juriſdiction, and Revenues of the* Florentine *Territory, ſhould remain to the Inhabitants on the ſame Foot as they had enjoy'd them before, together with the Towns and Fortreſſes of* Pietra-Santa, Serezana, *and* Serezanella; *but as the* Genoeſe *had a Pretenſion to theſe laſt Places, the King ſhould, according to Juſtice, dicide that Affair; and if Matters could not be adjuſted, to reſtore them back to the* Florentines. *Moreover, that the King might leave two* French *Miniſters in* Florence, *without whoſe Approbation, and Conſent, nothing, during his Expedition to* Naples, *ſhould be tranſacted there, relating to that Expedition. Likewiſe, that they ſhould not, without Liberty from the* [4] *King, make Choice of a Captain General for commanding the* Florentine *Troops: That the Towns which had been taken from them, or by Rebellion ſever'd from their Dominions, ſhould be reſtor'd them, and that they ſhould not be hinder'd to recover ſuch Places with*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 32. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

their own Arms, in Caſe the Inhabitants ſhould not be brought to conſent thereto by fair Means. Likewiſe, that they'd oblige themſelves, within the Space of fifteen Days, to advance the King a Sum of [1] 50,000 *Ducats, other* 40,000 *in the following Month of* March, *and* 30,000 *in* June *enſuing: Alſo, that the Inhabitants of* Piſa *ſhould be pardon'd for their Rebellion, and the ſevere Decree publiſh'd againſt* Peter de Medicis, *and his Brothers, be revoked and anulled, and their Effects, which were confiſcated, reſtor'd them; but on Condition that* Peter *ſhould not approach within* 100 *Miles of the Dominion of* Florence, *or his Brothers, within the like Number of Miles of that City.*

[2] Theſe, being the principal Articles of the Agreement, were ratified by the King and the Magiſtrates of *Florence*, with much Solemnity, at the great Altar of the Church of St. *John*, where both the contracting Parties bound themſelves, with a ſolemn Oath, inviolably to obſerve them in every Point.

[3] While *Charles* was at *Florence*, the Pope and his Son *Valentine*, finding that the *French* had march'd thro' *Tuſcany* in a triumphant Manner, and were daily meeting with incredible Succeſs, began in good earneſt to apprehend their own Danger, and to conſider how they might beſt ward off the Blow with which they ſeemed to be threatned. In this Perplexity it was at length agreed, That *Valentine* ſhould go directly to *Marino*, a Village belonging to the Family *Colonna*, whither Cardinal *Aſcanius Sforza* had retired ſome Time before from the Pope's Court, in which he had not judg'd himſelf ſecure. *Valentine*'s Deſign in going thither, was to perſuade the ſame Cardinal to haſten [4] to the King of *France* at *Florence*, to try if he could effect a friendly Accomodation between that Monarch, the Pope, and *Alphonſus*; more eſpecially ſince *Francis Piccolomini*, the Miniſter employ'd before for that Purpoſe, had not been able to ſucceed therein, or even ſo much as to be admitted to an Audience of the King. However, that the ſaid Cardinal *Aſcanius* might not ſuſpect any fraudulent Deſign by this Overture, *Valentine* offer'd his own [5] Perſon as a Pledge for his Father's Fidelity, and to remain in the Hands of the *Colonneſe*, his Adverſaries, till the ſame was effected.

[1] Phil. de Comin. Cap. IX. p. 43.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 33.
[3] Phil. de Comin. ibid.
[4] Tom. Tom. p. 60.
[5] Ibid.

The Cardinal accepted the Offer, and accordingly returned to [1] *Rome*, where he immediately had a private Audience of the Pope, who ſhewed him all imaginable Reſpect and Confidence, more on Account of the Neceſſity his Affairs were in at that Time, than out of any real Good-will from his implacable Mind. It was therefore decreed in the Conſiſtory, that *Aſcanius* ſhould forthwith go to *Florence*, and endeavour to bring about an Accommodation between the two Parties.

The Cardinal accordingly ſet out on his Journey thither: And ſince his leaving *Rome* took away all Suſpicion of [2] Treachery towards him on the Pope's Part, the *Colonneſe*, of their own Accord, allowed *Valentine* to return to *Rome*.

Charles in the mean Time, from the Example he had of the [3] *Florentine* Conduct, found, that the *Italian* Maxim was, not to bring home a War upon themſelves, in order to remove it from another: On this Account he perſiſted in the Reſolution not to liſten to the Propoſals made by Cardinal *Sforza*, for adjuſting Matters between him and *Alphonſus*; but at the ſame Time declared that he was not averſe to make up Matters with the Pope, ſeparate from the others, knowing that his Holineſs had neither Courage nor Force to oppoſe him. By this, however, he perceived the Fear and Anxiety which the Pope and *Valentine* had been in at that Time. However, that his Holineſs might be undeceived in the Matter, *Charles*, in order to make his Intentions the better known to the World, thought fit, when at *Florence*, to publiſh a [4] Manifeſto in *Latin*, the Subſtance of which was, *That in Conſideration the* Turks *had committed, and were daily committing, innumerable Cruelties and Devaſtations on the Chriſtians in divers Parts of* Europe; *the King therefore, according to the pious Example of the Monarchs of* France, *his Predeceſſors, was determined to uſe his utmoſt Efforts for oppoſing thoſe Enemies of the true Religion, and to put a Stop to their Rage, hoping God would proſper his good Intentions that Way. And ſince his Forefathers had before that recovered the Kingdom of* Naples *out of the Hands of thoſe Infidels,*

[1] Tom. Tomaſi, p. 61.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 29, & 62.
[4] Vid. *Appendix, where this Manifeſto is tranſcribed in the original Language, verbatim. Vid.* etiam Tom. Tomaſ. p. 62.

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reſtoring it unto the Dominion of the Holy Roman *Church*; *moreover, by Reaſon of the juſt Title which his Majeſty had to the ſaid Kingdom, and confirm'd to* France *by no leſs than twenty-four different Inveſtitures*; *namely, twenty two Times by the Popes of* Rome, *the other two by General Councils*: *notwithſtanding of all this, Pope* Pius II. *in order to exalt the* Plebeians *of his own Family to princely Dignities, had, with very great Injuſtice, taken that Kingdom out of the Hands of the* French, *and given it to* Ferdinand *of* Arragon. *In order therefore that the King's Forces might the more effectually invade the* Turkiſh *Dominions from the Harbour of* Vellona, *and the other contiguous Sea-ports of that Kingdom*; *his Majeſty therefore, with God's Aſſiſtance, deſigned to recover* Naples, *but not to moleſt the City and Territory of* Rome, *as the* Aragoneſe *had done*; *on the contrary, would protect the Subjects of the Holy See, promote and defend its Honour and Dignity againſt all Inſults and Oppreſſions whatſoever, in the ſame Manner as his Predeceſſors the Kings of* France *had formerly done. And ſeeing it was neceſſary, for the better recovering the aforeſaid Kingdom of* Naples, *that he and his Army ſhould march through ſome Parts of the Territories of the Church*; *he therefore exhorted his Holineſs Pope* Alexander VI. *together with the Cardinals, Governours of Cities, Towns and Villages, Officers, Magiſtrates, Citizens, and Inhabitants, within the Juriſdiction of the Holy See, to aſſiſt him againſt his Enemies, and not to obſtruct his Paſſage, or hinder him from procuring, with his own Money, what Proviſions was neceſſary for his March. But in Caſe of not complying with theſe Demands, his Majeſty was then determined to uſe Force*; *which he hoped would not be imputed to him, but to thoſe who, in a wicked and malicious Manner, had a Mind to hinder him from putting his Deſigns in Execution.*

[1] But the Pride of the *Borgeans*, their new Relation and League made with the *Aragoneſe*, and the Favour which they had ſhewn for that Intereſt, the open Enmity which they ſhew'd to the *French*, whoſe Indignation they had raiſed, and provok'd their Paſſions in a thouſand Ways: On theſe Accounts, neither the Pope, Cardinal *Valentine*, nor the Duke of *Gandia*, could think of permitting *Charles* to come to *Rome* with ſo formidable

[1] Tom. Tomaſi, p. 66.

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an Army. And what increas'd their Concern the more, was, that the *French* were to be accompanied in this Expedition with the Cardinals *de la Rovere*, *Sforza*, *Savello* and *Colonna*, who were the firſt of the College of Cardinals both for Wealth and Power, and all of them bitter Enemies to the Pride and Inſolence of the *Borgian* Family, having declared themſelves ready to enter into any Meaſures which could humble their Arrogance, and bring them to Reaſon; inſomuch that they had actually conſulted Means to get *Alexander* [1] depoſed, and ſtript of the Papal Dignity: For which Reaſon the Pope and his Adherents were determined to raiſe what Forces they could, to [2] oppoſe *Charles*'s Deſigns: Accordingly he order'd all his Troops which were in *Romagna* to haſten to *Rome*; moreover made inliſt as many more Soldiers as he poſſibly could; at the ſame time diſtributed a great Quantity of Arms to the Citizens of *Rome*, whom he [3] brib'd with large Sums of Money to adhere to his Intereſt. Notwithſtanding of all this, not thinking himſelf throughly ſecure, he made *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* come with his Army likewiſe to *Rome*, for which End he ſent his Nephew the Cardinal *Monreale* in the Character of Legate to meet him.

Charles, much about the ſame time, had diſpatched Cardinal *Sforza*, *Proſpero Colonna*, and *Monſieur Tremoglia*, together with the Preſident *Gannai*, as his [4] Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, in order to treat with the Pope about an Accommodation agreeable to his Intentions publiſh'd in the *Manifeſto*.

But the Pope being puffed up by the Preparations which were making for his Defence, and intirely diſſatisfied with the Terms of the propos'd Accommodation; he accordingly made [5] arreſt within the Palace the Cardinals *Sforza*, *San-Severino*, and *Lunate*, the Biſhop of *Ceſena*, *Proſpero Colonna*, and *Jerolamo Tuttavilla*, who were all in the *French* Intereſt, ſo that next Morning after concerting ſome Affairs in a private Conſiſtory, at which the three above-mention'd Cardinals were preſent, The Pope immediately commanded *Colonna* and *Tuttavilla* to be led thro' the ſecret Paſſage from the *Vatican* Palace, to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, where they were made Priſo-

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſi, p. 67.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. p. 68.
[5] Ibid.

ners; but *Sforza* and *San-Severino* were kept in the Palace under a ſtrong Guard. The Biſhop of [1] *Ceſena* was however ſet at Liberty, and Cardinal *Lunate* ſent to *Oſtia*, to treat about reſtoring that Fortreſs to the Pope, which the *Colonneſe* had ſome time before taken, by a Stratagem made uſe of by *Savello* and *Tuttavilla*, and one of the Governour's Domeſticks.

It happen'd likewiſe that the very ſame Day in which *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria* came to *Rome*, his People made the *French* Ambaſſadors Priſoners; but the Pope hearing thereof, order'd them immediately to be [2] releaſed, being afraid to provoke too much a powerful King in Arms, and perhaps upon the Point to put his Revenge in Execution.

In the mean time theſe *French* Ambaſſadors, who were propoſing an Accommodation, met with nought from the Pope but Repulſes, expreſſed in very bold and invective Terms, which he concluded with bidding them tell the King, That he was reſolved not to grant his Army Proviſions, or a Paſſage thro' the Dominions of the Church, pretending that they were come for no other End, but to diſturb the Peace of *Italy*: Nor indeed were the Anſwers given by *Valentine* leſs diſagreeable and provoking.

But the true Reaſon why the *Borgians* appear'd ſo violent againſt the *French* in their Progreſs, was, becauſe they imagined that ſome time or other the Greatneſs of their Family was to [3] fall, by means of that Nation. They could have therefore with Pleaſure beheld all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* leagued together to oppoſe the *French*: And they actually uſed their utmoſt Endeavours, by Means of the Ambaſſadors of other Potentates at *Rome*, to excite ſundry Powers in *Europe* to form a Confederacy againſt them. They applied in particular to the Prince of [4] *Analt*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, whom the Pope one Day called to a private Audience; and before the Miniſter of the King of *Naples*, and Monſignor *Lopez* his Datary, took occaſion to ſhew the *French* King in a very diſadvantageous Light, giving out, *That* [5] *He was not only acting in prejudice of the Holy See, but had form'd treacherous Deſigns againſt the*

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſi, p. 69.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 70.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

Empire,

Empire, as having a reſtleſs Ambition to emulate his Predeceſſor Charles the Great, *not being contented with any thing leſs than to eſtabliſh the Imperial Crown of* Germany *on the Heads of the Kings of* France; *adding, That as for himſelf he was determined, even altho' a naked Sword was at his Throat, to oppoſe thoſe preſumptuous Schemes with all his Might; and therefore he hoped the Ambaſſador would not fail to apprize the Emperor* Maximilian *of theſe Machinations, that ſo his Imperial Majeſty, as chief Protector of the Church, might join with the other* Chriſtian *Princes, not only in Her Defence, but alſo for preſerving the Rights of the Empire, and the Liberties of all* Italy.

This Speech being ended, the Imperial Ambaſſador promis'd, on his Part, to give his Court Intelligence of all that the Pope had communicated to him: However, the ſaid Miniſter and others, had afterwards many Occaſions to ſee plainly, that the Pope's Declarations were not built on either Integrity or Conſtancy.

For no ſooner did the *French* Army arrive on the Confines of the Eccleſiaſtical State, than *Alexander* begun to [1] waver in his Mind, doubting whether the Defence, on which he hitherto had ſo much depended, would not ſerve rather to irritate *Charles*, than to ſecure him from his Revenge. On this Account he was induced to [2] renew the propoſed Accommodation, which *Sforza* had firſt attempted, and which afterwards was in ſome meaſure forwarded by the Biſhops of [3] *Concordia*, *Terni*, and *Gratiano* his Confeſſor. For this End he releaſed the [4] Cardinal *San-Severino*, who had been confin'd in the *Vatican*, that ſo he, whoſe Family the King greatly reſpected, might, as Mediator, ſollicit that King to enter into an Accommodation with him, *Charles* being already advanc'd as far as *Nepi*.

However, the Inſtructions which the Cardinal received were ſo made up of Ambiguities, that one might have plainly perceived the Pope had a Mind only to amuſe the King, by ſetting on Foot a Treaty, without reſolving to conclude any thing: But it was not long after that the Pope was forced to [5] lay aſide

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſi, p. 71.
[2] Ibid. p. 72.
[3] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 33.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

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all Artifice, and underhand Proceedings; for he had News brought him, that the *French* were already enter'd within the Territories of the Church, and a good way advanced on the *Roman* Side of the *Tyber*, and become Maſters of the *Campagna*, having penetrated as far as *Monte Mario*; that moreover the [1] *Colonneſe* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Coaſt, from the Town of *Nettuno*, even to the Mouth of the *Tyber* at *Oſtia*, and that the reſt of the Country, as far as *Rome* itſelf, by their hindring the Arrival of Proviſions, was in a manner at their Mercy: That withal, the *Orſini*, by a formal Agreement, had delivered their Eſtates over to the *French*, and entered themſelves into that King's Service.

On theſe Tidings the Pope was ſeized with ſuch [2] Conſternation and Abjectneſs of Mind, that being as it were deſtitute of all manner of Council and Aſſiſtance, with Intreaties and Tears in his Eyes he begun to recommend his Affairs, and the Safety of his Perſon, to his Domeſticks, being diſpoſed to leave *Rome*, and retire to a Place of more Safety, in Company of thoſe Cardinals, whom ſome time before he had in a Conſiſtory, oblig'd by a Writing to [3] follow him.

But *Valentine* thinking that if the Pope left *Rome*, it would not be ſo much yielding the Field of Battle to the Enemy, as the ruining of their Family to ſuch a degree, that it might chance never to riſe again, he therefore perſuaded the Pope not to depart from the City on any Account, aſſuring him, That the Inhabitants would defend both his Perſon and the Place, with all Fidelity.

And to effect this, he acted himſelf in a very [4] humble and affectionate Manner towards the People, making them great Promiſes, and at the ſame time diſtributing Largeſſes among the Heads of the Factions: Beſides, the better to ſtrengthen his Intereſt, he recommended his Affairs to the foreign Miniſters at *Rome*, and all thoſe alſo who had [5] Intereſt with the *French*, and were there at that time; but he could obtain no other Anſwer from them, than, that as they were the [6] Subſtitutes of their reſpective Princes, they could not act any other way, than

[1] Tom. Tomaſi, p. 72.—Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 33.
[2] Ibid. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 73.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid. 74.

as

as they were directed by their Principles; which plainly ſhews, that the Generality were more inclinable to favour the *French*, than to engage themſelves in the Pope's Defence: And what ſeems to have made thoſe Foreigners perſiſt in this Reſolution, was a Declaration ſent them from the Army of *Charles*, by the Cardinal [1] *de Gurk*, a *Frenchman* by Birth, who had been advanc'd to the Cardinalat at the Requeſt of the Emperor *Maximilian*; in whoſe Country, during three preceding Pontificats, he had borne the Character of apoſtolick Legate, to raiſe Money for defraying the Charges of a War againſt the *Turk*.

The Subſtance of this Declaration, or rather [2] *Manifeſto*, I have here tranſlated in *Engliſh*; the Direction whereof is to his Brethren and Friends of the apoſtolick Palace, the Prelates and Cardinals of the *German* Nation, and the other Subjects of the Arch Duke of *Auſtria*, reſiding at that Time in *Rome*; in which Manifeſto the ſaid Cardinal declares *how much he was concerned that his Endeavours for bringing about a good Underſtanding between the Pope and the King of* France, *were in vain*; *but ſeeing that the* French *were determin'd to march with their Army through* Rome, *he aſſured all the Emperor's Subjects, that they ſhould not be wronged in their Perſons or Fortunes, unleſs they were found in Arms againſt his moſt* Chriſtian Majeſty: *He therefore adviſed them not to oppoſe the King in the ſaid Expedition, who, if his Army ſhould be obliged to enter* Rome *by Force, he had already ſent Orders to the Cardinal of* Lyons, *Secretary to the* French *Nation there, in that Caſe to protect them and their Effects.*

Matters being come to this Iſſue, that it was as eaſy for the King of *France* to act againſt the City of *Rome* offenſively, as it was impoſſible for the Pope to defend it; his Holineſs therefore judging it in vain to refuſe complying with what he knew could be extorted by Force, reſolved [3] to yield to Neceſſity, and rather undergo the Inconveniencies of a precarious Peace, than expoſe himſelf to the certain Danger of a War.

[1] Tom. Tomaſi. p. 74.

[2] The Reader is deſired to look into the Appendix, where this *Manifeſto* is tranſcribed verbatim from the Original Latin, as it is printed in *Burchardi's Memoirs*, p. 11, 12. — *Etiam Tom. Tomaſi.* p. 75.

[3] Tom. Tomaſi. p. 77.

Upon this, the King, on *Chriſtmas-Eve*, ſent new Ambaſſadors to the Pope, namely, the Seneſchal *Belcari*, the Marſhal *de Gies*, and the Preſident *Gannai*, whoſe Inſtructions were to adjuſt Matters for his Entry into *Rome*, and to require, that [1] *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*'s Troops, ſhould be obliged to retire from thence, and the *French* Army have Proviſions allowed them at the King's Charge. Theſe were Terms of a hard Digeſtion for the Pope, but of two Evils, he choſe the leaſt, and accordingly yielded to the King's Deſire. The next Day he ſent his Nephew the Cardinal *Monreale* to acquaint *Charles*, that he might [2] paſs through *Rome* when, and in what Manner he pleaſed: And the ſame Morning having expoſtulated with the Duke of *Calabria*, in Preſence of all the Cardinals, he told them, *That hard Fate had obliged him at laſt to yield to the Career of* Charles's *Fortune, to evade the Fury of his Enemies, the Inſolence of the Soldiery, and that the Dignity of the Pontificat, and the holy Things at* Rome, *might not be expoſed to the Injury of Arms*: Accordingly he begged the Duke to retire with his Army, which was ſtill entire, to a Place where he might have an Opportunity of exerting his Valour, in the defending his Right, and where, he hoped, he would encounter ſuch good Fortune, as he had always wiſhed might attend him. He told them likewiſe, *That for this End he had obtained Liberty from the* French, *to let the* Arragoneſe *Army march through the Eccleſiaſtical Territory without Moleſtation.* To which the magnanimous Youth made Anſwer, *That ſince he had not the Fortune to ſerve his Holineſs according to his Wiſh, in coming thither, he was therefore willing to retire; and as to that which the Pope ſaid he had obtained for him, he gave him Thanks, but that it was the Maxim of the Princes of* Arragon, *not to ſeek Security from the Enemy by any other Means, than what they carried along with them*, pointing to his Sword. Accordingly, after Maſs was celebrated, he took leave of the Pope and Cardinals, and marched his Army directly towards *Naples*, being accompanied Part of the Way by Cardinal *Sforza* and by [4] *Valentine*, as far as the Gate of St. *Lorenzo*, where the latter at parting, endeavour'd, with repeated

[1] Tom. Tomaſi. p. 77.
[2] Ibid. p. 78.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. p. 79.

Expreſſions

Expreſſions of Favour and Reſpect, to perſuade the Duke, that it was nothing but downright Neceſſity, which had obliged the Pope to yield to the *French* King's Deſire, in the Manner he had done, at the ſame time aſſuring him, that a forced Compliance could never be able to interrupt that Union of Blood, Affection, and Intereſt, which was between his Family and the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Arragon*. All this he back'd with an Oath; that he wiſh'd for nothing ſo much, as for an Opportunity of giving him unqueſtionable Proofs thereof by his Actions.

Four Days after this, in the end of the Year 1494, [2] *Charles* entred *Rome* in a moſt triumphant Manner, rather as a Conqueror and abſolute Maſter of the Place, than any thing elſe; bringing along with him, an Army conſiſting of 20000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe.

The Pope ordered the Biſhop of *Nepi*, his Secretary, and others who were appointed to meet the King, with one of his Maſters of the Ceremonies, to Compliment *Charles* on the Part of his Holineſs, the College of Cardinals, and People of *Rome*, and to inform him in what Manner his Entry was to be performed, and learn his Pleaſure on that Head.

On their Arrival the King declared, That his Pleaſure was to enter *Rome* in the [2] Night-time, without any Pomp or Ceremony; but I think the Magnificence of his own Army made it appear Pompous enough, more eſpecially if we conſider the Splendor of the illuminated Streets, through which they paſſed in their Arms, where, from every Corner, ecchoed the loud Huzzas and Acclamations of the People, who cried out to them as they paſſed along [3] *Viva Francia! Viva Francia! Colonna vincula!*

Nor, indeed, for many Ages had the People of *Rome* ſeen any thing ſo Tremendous, and at the ſame time ſo truly Noble; but while they were thus marching, the Maſter of the Ceremonies took upon him to inſtruct the King, in what Manner he

[2] Guicciard. lib. 1. p. 34. Burchardus p. 13. Platin. vit. Alex. vi. p. 312. Edit. Lucii Fauni. Phil. de Comines chap. x. p. 48. Paulus Jovis. lib. 2. p. 53.

[3] Tom. Tomaſi. p. 80.

was

was to perform the [4] Ceremonial with the Pope, in publick and private Conſiſtories; and how he was to behave towards the Cardinals, the Pope's Children, and others of the Court; but *Charles* could not help ſhewing a kind of Diſdain at thoſe officious, or rather impertinent Directions, and in a genteel Manner, gave the ſaid Maſter of the Ceremonies to underſtand, that he was only to be directed by [5] his own Courteſy.

The King alighted at the Palace of St. *Mark*, which Place was appointed for his Lodging, and near which, a certain Number of Horſe and Foot were quartered as a Guard to his Perſon, and ſeveral Cannons, upon Carriages, were brought thither, and placed at the Mouth of each Street; the reſt of the Army was diſperſed over the other Parts of the City; at the ſame time the Marſhal *de Gies* demanded the Keys of the Garden of *Belvedere*, and of the other Gardens about the City; not ſo much out of any Apprehenſion of Danger, as that his Maſter might have the ſame Privilege this way, as had been granted to the Duke of *Calabria* all the Time he and his People were at *Rome*.

In the mean time, until the Articles of Accommodation were agreed upon, the Pope kept retir'd within the [6] Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, never appearing in Publick, except at ſome religious Ceremonies, and notwithſtanding there were many Difficulties in adjuſting Matters, the King was viſited by the College of Cardinals; but *Caraffa* and *Urſini* would never come near him; but choſe to remain always with the Pope and *Valentine*, the latter of which uſed all the Arts of Diſſimulation that can be imagined, to perſuade *Charles*, that [7] his Holineſs had not entered into any League with his Majeſty's Enemies, or acted in Oppoſition to his Deſigns, but at a Time, when it was the Opinion of all *Italy*, that his Majeſty did not intend to put thoſe Threatnings againſt *Naples* in Execution; but as ſoon as he perceived the Reality of his glorious Intentions, he then wanted but an Opportunity to free himſelf, honourably, from the En-

[4] Vid. Burchard. p. 13. Tom. Tomaſi. p. 80.

[5] Burchard. p. 13. Tom. Tomaſi. p. 80.

[6] Vid. Tom. Tomaſi. p. 82. Phil. de Comines cap. x. p. 48. Guicciard. lib. 1. p. 34. Platin. vit. Alex. vi. p. 312. Edit. L. Fanni.

[7] Vid. Tom. Tomaſi. p. 82.

gagements

gagements he was under with the King of *Naples*, that he might afterwards, with Sincerity of Mind, and the Forces he could raiſe, concur with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in putting his heroick Deſigns in Execution; and for this end, the King might rely on his own Faith, and on the Faith of the whole *Borgian* Family, of which, in a ſhort time, by their Actions he ſhould have convincing Proofs.

However, as we had occaſion to mention before, there were not wanting many among the Cardinals and *Roman* Barons, who endeavour'd at that time to perſuade the King not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity of [1] freeing the Church from the Adminiſtration of one, who, as he had obtained the Pontificate, ſo had continued to govern it in a ſcandalous Manner: They were ſure, they ſaid, that as ſoon as the Fear of his Arms was removed, the Pope would return to every Method of Tyranny for aggrandizing his Family, and cutting off his Oppoſers: So that if *Charles* would bring about the dethroning of *Alexander*, ſuch an Action would greatly redound to his Glory, equal him to *Conſtantine*, *Charles* the Great, *Lewis* the Pious, or any others of the Kings of *France*, who had exalted the Church, and conferred upon Her and the Popes innumerable Favours.

But none of thoſe Motives could [2] prevail on the King to do any thing which might ſeem to violate the Authority and Dignity of the Pontificate, his Mind being ſolely bent on the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

The Pope, inform'd of the Complaints made againſt him to *Charles*, and dreading Ruin to himſelf and his Family, imploy'd ſeveral People of Note to bring about an Accommodation with the King, if poſſible. The Perſons intruſted with this Affair, were the Cardinals *Pallavicino*, *Aleſſandrino*, *Carvaiale*, and *Riario*, by whoſe Mediation the Difficulties on both Sides were got over, and Things amicably terminated; particularly with regard to the delivering up the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* into the King's Hands, as a Pledge of *Alexander*'s Integrity; which Article was obſtinately refuſed by the Pope, who by this time had taken Refuge within

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 83.— Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 34. Idem.— Phil. de Comines Cap. XII. p. 56.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 83. Guicciard. ibid. p. 35.

the ſaid Caſtle, together with the Cardinals *Caraffa*, *Cantuarienſe*, *Monreale*, *Orſino*, and *Valentine*: The Difference about delivering up that Fort had very near occaſion'd Matters to have come to an open Rupture, the *French* having thought fit to bring their [1] Artillery twice from the Place of St. *Mark*, in order to batter the ſaid Caſtle. At length the King yielded that Point, and both Parties agreed, [2] *That a good Harmony ſhould ſubſiſt between them for the future, and a Confederacy be enter'd into for their mutual Defence: Moreover, That the Pope ſhould give* Charles *the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of* Naples, *which Article was however reſerved to be ſettled on another Occaſion:* It was likewiſe agreed upon, *That* Civita-Vechia, Terracina, *and* Spoleto, *ſhould be deliver'd over to the* French, *during the whole time they ſhould be employ'd in his Expedition of* Naples; *likewiſe, That all the Injuries which the Pope thought he had received from ſome Cardinals and* Roman *Barons in the King's Intereſt ſhould be forgot, and that the twenty thouſand Crowns, lent to the King, ſhould be paid back within ſix Months, for which the* Venetian *and* Florentine *Merchants were to be Sureties; Next, That* [3] Geme, *or as ſome call him* Ziſimus, *Brother to* Bajazet *the Grand Seignor, ſhould be deliver'd up into the King's Hands: Laſtly, That Cardinal* Valentine *ſhould go along with the King to* Naples, *with the Character of Apoſtolick Legate, but in Effect to remain a Pledge for his Father's Fidelity.*

But thoſe who were acquainted with the Pope's Mind, did prognoſticate, [4] that this Peace would laſt no longer than while the *French* Army continu'd at *Rome*, one of the Parties having accepted it out of Neceſſity, and the other obtained it by Force, as Conquerors extort Conditions from the Conquer'd. And certain it is, that many of the Cardinals embrac'd the King's Party, with no other View, but to engage him to revenge their private Injuries, which they had much more at Heart, than to ſee *Charles* Maſter of *Naples*. They appear'd very uneaſy at the Agreement concluded between the Pope and that King, againſt which they made very heavy Complaints, giving out, That in the firſt Place it was uſeleſs; next, that it was too haſtily patch'd

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 35. — Tom. Tomaſ. p. 84.—Phil. de Com. Cap. XII. p. 56.

[2] Ibid. p. 57. *Vid.* Burchard. diar. p. 25. *N. B.* For the Original in *Latin*, *Vid.* Appendix.

[3] *Of this* Geme *the Reader will be fully informed in the Sequel.*

[4] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 85. [5] Ibid.

up,

up, in a Manner unbecoming the Majeſty of the King of *France*, and prejudicial to all thoſe of his Party; nay, *Sforza* and *Lunate* were ſo much enrag'd, that on the very Day in which the King was to have an Interview with the Pope, they went away diſguſted directly for *Milan*, with a full Reſolution to ſtir up new Revolutions in *Italy*, and to act upon different Principles of Policy.

The Interview between the Pope and the King of *France*, was contrived to be for the firſt time in the [1] private Garden of the *Vatican*, whither, from the Chambers of that Palace, the King deſcended, as ſoon as he was inform'd, that the Pope had paſſed thro' the Gallery which leads from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*.

No ſooner did the Pope enter the Garden, than the King advanc'd towards him, and at ſome Diſtance kneeled according to the *Roman* Ceremonial. At firſt the Pope made as if he had [2] not ſeen him, but approaching a little nearer, and *Charles* having kneeled twice, the Pope then, as if it had been the firſt time he had ſeen him, took off his Cap, and moved forward, lifting the King up by the Arm, then kiſſed his Mouth; nor would he be cover'd till his Majeſty firſt put on his Hat, which the Pope offer'd to do with his own Hand. After ſundry Compliments paſſed between them, the King deſir'd a Favour of his Holineſs; namely, to create the Biſhop of St. *Malo* a Cardinal, a Prelate who had attended him in all his Expeditions, and was along with him at that time in the Character of one of his Principal Miniſters. The King's Demand was immediately [3] granted, and by the Pope's Orders a Cardinal's Cap was inſtantly brought from *Valentine*'s Apartment, and deliver'd to the aforeſaid Biſhop. The King believ'd, that the Ceremony of the Creation would have been perform'd on the Spot, and accordingly tarried ſome time to ſee it; but he was ſoon undeceiv'd in this, ſeeing the Pope led him by the Hand into the Chamber called *del Papagallo*, where they no ſooner arriv'd, than *Alexander* pretended to fall into a Swoon, where, being ſet into a great Chair, the King placed himſelf on a Stool near the Window; the Whole being artfully contrived by the Pope to avoid any Diſorder, which

[1] Burchard. diar. p. 26.—Tom. Tom. p. 86.—*Vid.* Appendix.
[2] Ibid. p. 87.
[3] Phil. de Com. Cap. XII. p. 58. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 87. Burchard. diar. p. 26. Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 35. *Vid.* Appendix.

otherwiſe

otherwiſe might have happen'd in the Ceremonial, about Precedency.

As ſoon as the Pope ſeem'd to recover, he propoſed the Biſhop of St. *Malo* to be a Cardinal, to which the whole College unanimouſly conſented, and he accordingly was exalted to the Purple Dignity; after which Cardinal *Valentine* conſigned the outer Door of the *Vatican* Palace to the *Scots*, who were the King's Life-Guards at that time; as in like manner he did the others, which more immediately led to the King's Apartment.

The Day following while the Pope, together with ſome Cardinals, particularly *Valentine* and the Maſter of the Ceremonies, were conſulting in what manner the Solemnity of receiving the King in the publick Conſiſtory ſhould be perform'd, *Charles*, whoſe Mind was above Ceremonies [1], came unexpectedly to the Pope, to adjuſt thoſe Articles of Agreement, that were ſtill depending between them; particularly that about the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which the Pope had ſtrenuouſly denied to give *Charles*, in Prejudice of thoſe who were in Poſſeſſion thereof: The other was about Security for ſending back the Grand Seignor's Brother to *Rome* within ſix Months, which laſt Article run counter to his Majeſty's Deſigns in going againſt the *Turks* after the Conqueſt of *Naples*, ſo the King was willing at any rate to ſee if he could fall upon Means to free himſelf from his Engagements that Way.

Two Days after the Pope held a Conſiſtory, in which the King had agreed to perform [2] Homage to the Pope, and accordingly came thither, attended with a ſplendid Train of Prelates, *French* and *Italian* Nobility, having been met by four Cardinals, amidſt whom the King walk'd, till he came to the Chamber were the Pope was; where, after the Ceremony of kiſſing his Feet, Hands and Mouth, *Valentine*, who aſſiſted there as Dean of the Sacred College, gave a Sign to begin the Ceremony: Accordingly the firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris* addreſſing himſelf to the Pope, ſpoke in the following Manner:

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 89. — Burchard. diar. p. 30.

[2] Phil. de Comin. Cap. XII. p. 58. —Tom. Tomaſ. p. 90. — Burchar. diar. p. 31.

Holy

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[1] *Holy Father, here is my King come in Perſon to pay Homage to your Holineſs; and as it is the Cuſtom in* France, *that whoever makes an Offer of Vaſſalage to his Lord, receives by way of Recompence a Grant of whatſoever Favour he demands; on this account his Majeſty, not doubting but he would obtain of your Holineſs thoſe Things which he ſhall demand, aſſures you, on his part, he is likewiſe ready to grant what will compenſate the Favours: There are therefore three Things which the King demands of your Holineſs; firſt, A Confirmation of the Privileges granted to Himſelf, the Queen his Conſort, and the Dauphin his Son, and of all the others contained in the Book, the Title of which was before now mention'd to you by the King: The ſecond Demand is, The Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of* Naples *for himſelf and his Succeſſors for ever: The third is, That all the Obligations and Security given by his Majeſty for ſending back the Brother of the Grand Seignor within ſix Months, be aboliſh'd and made null.*

The Pope was very much ſurpriz'd at theſe unexpected Demands; however, with a remarkable Preſence of Mind, he made Anſwer, [2] *That he very willingly granted the foremention'd Privileges as uſual, but as to the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of* Naples, *as it was an Affair in which the Intereſt of another was concerned, ſo it could not be determin'd till after mature Deliberation, and the Advice of the Cardinals taken therein, with whom he would uſe his beſt Endeavours, that his Majeſty ſhould receive Satisfaction.*

But as for Geme *the Grand Seignor's Brother, he would take a fitter Opportunity to talk that Matter over with his Majeſty, and the Sacred College, not doubting but as to that Point there ſhould be no Difference between them.*

Charles ſeem'd ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and accordingly proceeded in performing his Homage to the Pope, which he ex-

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 90. Burchard. p. 31. N. B. *The Reader is deſired to ſee the Appendix, where every thing relating to the Ceremony of the King's doing Homage is tranſcrib'd from* Burchard. *in the original* Latin *verbatim.* In Capitula conventionis Papæ & Regis Franciæ, *&c.*

[2] Ibid. Burchard. diar. p. 31.—*Vid.* Appendix in Artic. conventionis Papæ, *&c.*

preſſed in very few Words; where ſtanding up on Foot, the above-mention'd Preſident ſpoke as follows. [1] *Holy Father, it is an antient Cuſtom among the Chriſtian Princes, particularly the moſt Chriſtian Kings of* France, *to teſtify by their Ambaſſadors the Veneration they have for the Holy See, and for thoſe Popes whom the Almighty places over the Church; but the King here preſent, having been deſirous to viſit the Sepulchres of the Holy Apoſtles here at* Rome, *is come in Perſon to perform that Duty: On this Account he acknowledges you, Holy Father, to be Vicar of Chriſt, and lawful Succeſſor of the Holy Apoſtles St.*Peter *and* Paul, *rendring willingly that Filial Obedience which the moſt Chriſtian Kings of* France, *his Predeceſſors, uſed inviolably to profeſs towards the Popes: His Majeſty therefore offers himſelf and his Power for the Service of your Holineſs and the Church.*

The Pope holding in the mean time the King's right Hand with his left, confer'd on his Majeſty all imaginable Marks of Honour and Eſteem, ſtiling him firſt begotten Son of the Church. The Ceremony being ended, the Pope led the King by the Hand to the Chamber where his Veſtments are put off, and ſhew'd a Deſire to accompany him to his Apartments, but *Charles* would not permit that.

This Ceremony was perform'd on the 20th of *January*, and the King ſtay'd a Week after it in *Rome*; during which time he aſſiſted at another Function in the Pope's Chapel, and made a publick Convalcade with his Holineſs and the Cardinals, as far as the Church of St. *Paul*; and was preſent at another private Conſiſtory, in which, at the King's Deſire, the Pope created the Biſhop of *Mans*, who was of the Family of *Luxembourg*, a Cardinal.

Three Days before the King left *Rome*, he retired to his former Lodgings in St. *Mark*'s Place; hence being to march directly for *Naples*, and having ſent before Part of his Troops, he rode in Armour ſtrait to the *Vatican*, accompanied by a great Train of Nobility, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, and went directly to the Pope, who, in Company of thirteen Cardinals, attended his coming. There he ſpent a conſiderable Time in

[1] Tom. Tomaſi, p. 92.—Burchard. diar. p. 32.

Conference

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Conference with the Pope alone, and then with him and *Valentine*; after which the King kneeling, asked the Pope's Benediction, and took leave; nor would his Holineſs permit him to kiſs his Foot at that time, but ſupporting him in his Arms, kiſſed his Mouth with the ſeeming Affection of an indulgent Father, notwithſtanding at his [1] Heart there lurk'd the Malice of an implacable Enemy. As ſoon as the King came down from the *Vatican*, he mounted again on Horſe-back, and tarry'd a conſiderable time for Cardinal *Valentine*, who, according to Agreement, was to go along with him to *Naples*; but had ſtay'd behind with the Pope concerting Matters together, in what Manner both were to delude the King; and how they might give vent to their mutual Rage which they had againſt him, not only with Regard to the Contrariety of their Intereſt and Politicks, but alſo for ſome recent Affronts which the Family of *Borgia* ſeem'd to have received from his Majeſty; and altho' they did not appear to take Notice of it to the King, yet they reckon'd themſelves highly injur'd, and were determin'd to ſue for as ſpeedy a Revenge as they could; the Particulars of which I ſhall mention fully in its due Place.

In the mean time Cardinal *Valentine* leaving the Pope, came directly towards the Entry of the private Garden, near which Place the King was waiting for him. As ſoon as he arrived there, he mounted on a Mule; at the ſame time made his Majeſty a Preſent of ſix very fine Horſes, ſo very beautiful, that they were deem'd a Gift not unworthy of the Acceptance of ſo great a King.

After this *Charles* and his whole Army march'd directly towards [2] *Marino*, whither *Geme* the Grand Seignor's Brother had been already ſent, having been deliver'd over to the King, without any Articles of Reſerve, or of being reſtor'd, Matters having been ſo contrived, that there was indeed no Occaſion of ſending him back; which Circumſtance I ſhall relate fully within a little.

The Cardinal St. *Pietro in Vincula*, *Savello*, *Colonna*, and *Gurck* or *Gurgenſe*, went along with the King, the laſt of which a few Days before had been to make his Submiſſion to the Pope;

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 94. [2] Ibid. Et Burchard. p. 34.

but

but it happen'd, that, inſtead of a Reconciliation, they parted greater Enemies than before; for in the very Act of Submiſſion on the Cardinal's Part, the Pope having dropt ſome haughty and cutting Expreſſions, the warm Temper of the Cardinal, unable to bear ſuch Uſage, took Fire; ſo that, in Terms full of Indignation, he upbraided the Pope with the Crime of [1] Simony in his Election, Laſciviouſneſs, Falſhood, Diſſimulation in his Treaties, want of Faith; but above all, with the Correſpondence which he had at that time with the *Turks*; that for his own private Ends he had given the Grand Seignor Intelligence of all the *French* King's Deſigns, eſpecially of his intended Expedition againſt the *Turks*; and that inſtead of aſſiſting ſo pious a Deſign, which deſerved the Concurrence of all Chriſtian Princes, he had eſpous'd the Intereſt of Infidels, to the Scandal of one who pretended to be the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt.

The firſt Night after *Charles* left *Rome*, he halted at *Marino*, where News was brought him that *Alphonſus*, being ſeized with a pannick Fear, had [2] fled from *Naples* to *Sicily*, under the Convoy of four Gallies, in which were his Things of the greateſt Value, and had left the Kingdom and its Concerns to his Son *Ferdinand*, who, for his many excellent Qualities, had been ſaluted King by the People.

The next Day *Charles* with his Army came as far as *Velletri*. Cardinal *Valentine* having accompanied him to his Lodging, retired to his own; and there, in the Dusk of the Evening, diſguiſing himſelf in the Habit of a Groom, he walked out of the Town undiſcover'd about half a Mile, where he, and his Servant who waited for him with two Horſes, mounted, and returned to [3] *Rome* on the Spur. He alighted at the Houſe of Monſieur *Flores* Auditor of the *Rota*, where the Pope next Morning received him without any Surprize, and welcomed him in the moſt chearful Manner imaginable, perceiving that they had been ſucceſsful in effecting what both of them had been concerting between themſelves.

The *French* were not appriz'd of *Valentine*'s Flight till the next Morning, about the Hour that he ordinarily came to the King's

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 95. Burchard. p. 33. | Comines, Cap. XI. p. 53. Tom. Tom. p. 96.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 36. Phil. de | [3] Ibid. Burchard. diar. p. 34.

Levee,

Levee, but his Majeſty having Notice thereof, immediately order'd Monſignor *Breſſa* to go directly for *Rome*, and, in his Name, to make heavy Complaints of it to the Pope, and to declare, that he knew very well that it had not happen'd without *Alexander*'s Connivance, and was a plain Indication of his want of Sincerity in all his Actions with his Majeſty: Moreover, that he was ſure he had but little to hope, that that Pope would ever fulfil thoſe Articles of Agreement ſtipulated between them: Likewiſe, that he had no great Reaſon to disbelieve the Report which he had often heard of his having kept private Correſpondence with his Enemies. That upon this Account *Fonſeca*, [1] Ambaſſador of *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, who in that Character had been ſent to the *French* Army, with unuſual Inſolence, and contrary to Agreement made between the moſt Chriſtian King and his Maſter, had endeavour'd to diſſuade him from proceeding in his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*; at the ſame declared War, and tore the Articles of Agreement ſigned by the King, and his own Hand, and in his Maſter's Name, order'd all the *Spaniſh* Captains in the *French* Army to leave their Service, under pain of Rebellion. *Charles* however ſignified to the Pope, that all this, did not give him great Diſturbance, ſince he had Reaſon to confide in the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Valour of his Troops, by which he hoped ſome People's Artifices would be ſoon confounded, and the Machinations of his Enemies render'd abortive.

There was indeed very little Reaſon to doubt but *Valentine*'s Flight had been concerted before that time: one Circumſtance ſeem'd unqueſtionably to confirm it, namely, that in order to give the greater Credit to the Engagements which he was under to the King, particularly with Regard to his accompanying him to *Naples*, *Valentine* made prepare [2] nineteen Carriages richly cover'd, and, in Appearance, loaded with valuable Things, two of which he made empty the firſt Day the King halted, in which was a great Quantity of Silver Plate, which he ſaid he had brought along with him for his own Service. By this every one imagin'd, that the others were alſo filled with the like Kind of valuable Things; hence it was natural to conclude that of one who brought along with him ſuch Furniture, there would be no Suſpicion of his not proceeding in his Journey: But *Valentine*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 97. [2] Ibid. p. 98. Burchard. diar. p. 34.

had order'd underhand that thoſe two Carriages where the Plate was, ſhould be kept behind the others, at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Army, until they were out of Sight; then to turn about, and drive as quick as they could for *Rome*; which accordingly was executed with the ſame Eaſe that other fraudulent Contrivances are generally effected, eſpecially when none could have ever had any manner of Suſpicion of ſuch an unaccountable Stratagem.

But no ſooner was the Cardinal's Flight known in the Army, than the Soldiers, in a furious Manner, ran to plunder the reſt of his Carriages, where, inſtead of Gold and Plate, they found, to their great Surprize, nothing but [1] Stones and Trumpery of no manner of Value: whereas the two Carriages, in which the real Riches were the Day before, had arrived ſafe, and were ſecure. The Cardinal, at *Rome*, notwithſtanding all this, denied every Thing that had been done, alledging, that his Departure from the *French* Army, was for certain Reaſons of Moment, unknown of till then: Moreover, that the nineteen Carriages, wherein he had put his Things of Value, had all of them been ſeiz'd and plunder'd by the *French* Soldiers.

The Pope, in the mean time, told Monſieur *de Breſſa*, that he had no Hand in the Matter; accordingly ſent his Secretary the Biſhop of *Nepi*, with Apologies and Excuſes, and to acquaint the King, that the Cardinal's Flight had been entirely without his Knowledge. In like manner the People of *Rome* diſpatched Monſieur *Porcari*, Dean of the *Rota*, to the Army, with other two Gentlemen, on purpoſe to ſignify their Diſpleaſure at ſuch an Action, and to beg that his Majeſty would not be angry with them, or revenge the Affront on the City of *Rome*: At the ſame time implor'd the Continuance of his Protection, they being in a ſingular Manner devoted, and even partial to his Glory and proſperous Fortune.

But the King did not think it worth while to reſent the Affront immediately, notwithſtanding it gave him a great deal of Uneaſineſs, being perſuaded, that it had not happen'd without the Pope's Connivance, and to give vent to the Hatred which

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 99. N. B. In Burchard. mention is made of three Carriages loaden with Plate, &c. *Vid.* Burchard. diar. p. 34.

the

the *Borgians* had conceived againſt him: And the Truth is, his Majeſty was not deceived in ſo thinking, tho' perhaps he was not altogether informed of the Reaſons thereof; one of them however was the following.

It happen'd that while the *French* Army lay at *Rome*, ſome of the Soldiers (notwithſtanding they were kept under ſtrict Diſcipline) had plunder'd a few Houſes in that City, the Owners of which were not very well affected to the *French* Intereſt; amongſt which was the oppulent Houſe of [1] Madam *Vanozza*, Mother to Cardinal *Valentine*, which was plunder'd from Top to Bottom, not without ſome other Injuries done to the Lady, and her Domeſticks. Hence one may naturally judge whether or not ſuch an Affront and Indignity would touch the very Soul of this Woman, whoſe Covetouſneſs was equal to her Ambition, eſpecially at a Time when ſhe thought her ſelf at the very Height of Fortune, to be in ſuch a Manner ſlighted, vilify'd, and even ridicul'd by common Soldiers; ſtript of all her Wealth and rich Furniture which either Induſtry, Iniquity, or the greateſt Fortune could procure her, and which ſhe had kept together for ſo many Years, even from the Time of *Calixtus*'s Pontificate, to that of *Alexander*. Let then any one conſider what Pride and Intereſt can do in a Woman's Heart on ſuch an Occaſion: In fine, there was nothing left in her Houſe but herſelf, who by this Time was become a downright Mad-Woman, or rather a Fury, being all Rage, and all Vengeance; in which Plight ſhe would have run ſtrait to the *Vatican*, but durſt not for ſeveral Reaſons. At another Time ſhe had it in her Thoughts of raiſing an Inſurrection amongſt the People, againſt the *French*, in order to have them deſtroy'd in their Quarters by Fire and Sword: but ſhe fear'd this could not be put in Execution, or if it could, perhaps prove not only deſtructive to herſelf, but to the Pope and his Children alſo, if not to all *Rome*. Hence, not knowing in what Manner to act, ſhe determin'd at laſt to ſend for her Son Cardinal *Valentine*, who about the ſame Time had ſome way or other been inform'd of the whole Matter; where, tranſported with Confuſion and Rage, he went directly to his Mother's, and found her, and her Houſe, in ſuch a diſorder'd Condition, as was amazing to every Body: there being led into one of the empty and plunder'd

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 101. *Vid.* etiam Burchard. diar. p. 14. *But inſtead of* Catarina, Burchard. *calls* Valentine's *Mother* Roſa Vanozza.

Rooms,

Rooms, the afflicted Lady was over-heard by one of the Domeſticks to expreſs herſelf in the following Manner.

[1] *Do you ſee, Sir, the Effect of your noble Politicks, in having driven away from this City your good Friends, in order to introduce your Enemies, who, ſince it has been your Choice to nouriſh ſuch Serpents in your Boſom, it is no wonder they ſhould ſting, poiſon, and even kill you: Would to God it had been my Fortune that they had made an end of my Life alſo, that ſo I might not have ſurvived my Grief, and the Injuries done me, but above all your Shame, which of itſelf is Injury enough to me. For no other Reaſon have my Effects been a Prey to the deteſtable* French, *and my Reputation a Mark for them to ſhoot at, and even my very Body been perhaps ſubjected to the Luſt of a common Scoundrel, had not mine Age been my Protection; and all this for no other Reaſon, but for having been your Mother; ſo has it pleas'd* Charles *to think, that by injuring me, he has had an Opportunity of publiſhing to the World your Shame: Whereas I being the Mother of thoſe, who, by having ſo great a Share in the Government of Affairs, it might have been expected that I ſhould have enjoy'd thereby the Height of Felicity and Content: But, on the contrary, it has only ſerv'd to precipitate me into an Abyſs of Misfortune and Ignominy; for if this City had been taken Sword in Hand, and ranſacked by the moſt barbarous Enemies of Chriſtians, they could not poſſibly have dealt worſe with me: Nay, I have been treated with a Barbarity of which* Turks *would have been aſham'd; and yet ſuch People are, forſooth, to be careſſed by us, reverenc'd and obey'd as our Maſters: But if your Father, your Brothers, and your ſelf have ſo good a Stomach as to digeſt this, you may be aſſured I ſhall not; for it being impoſſible for me to comport with ſuch Injuries without Revenge, I ſhall with a Dagger finiſh thoſe Vitals in which I have conceiv'd and nouriſh'd you? You, I ſay, who have been the Occaſion of all my Misfortunes, ſo that as I have loſt my Honour, and my Effects, with them I am determin'd to loſe my Life and Soul alſo.*

The Words of this Woman, which were always forcible on the Mind of the Cardinal, finiſh'd in venoming the Gall which was within his Breaſt, againſt the *French*: however, in order to

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 102.

appeaſe

appeaſe the Wrath of his Mother, he was forc'd, in ſome meaſure, to diſſemble his own internal Rage; accordingly ſpoke to her in as ſoft a Manner as he could, [1] telling her, That the Reaſon why *Charles* was received into *Rome* in ſuch a pacifick Manner, was out of meer Neceſſity, they having been obliged to yield to his ſuperior Strength, againſt which they could not pretend to make Reſiſtance, without having been in danger of falling into the greateſt Misfortunes; ſince it was certain that his Holineſs's Forces, united with the *Arragoneſe*, were by no Means able to diſpute the Matter with the *French*, neither with regard to Number or Diſcipline; and that the plundering of her Houſe was but the leaſt Degree of Misfortune and Violence, which they might have appehended, had a War been begun, which muſt have ended in the Subverſion of the Pontificate, and the total Ruin of the *Borgian* Family; ſo that the ſame Greatneſs of Mind which ſhe had ſhewn before on every Occaſion, ought ſtill to ſupport her under a Loſs, which, while the chief Power was preſerved in their Family, as it had been by Virtue of the late Agreement, it would be very eaſily made up to her: As to what regarded the Injury it ſelf, ſhe had Reaſon to believe that it did not proceed from the King's own Will, but from the mere Inſolence of the common Soldiers; conſequently, that it was not worth her Regard. But ſuppoſe, he ſaid, the Thing had ſprung from a higher Source; on Account of their Intereſt, there was an abſolute Neceſſity to diſſemble the ſame at preſent, in order not to give the Enemies Army an Opportunity, by reſenting a ſmall Offence, to proceed to greater ones; a Thing not a little deſired by thoſe who hate our Family, and who perhaps had induſtriouſly ſtirred up theſe Provocations, with a Deſign that the Soldiers, having Arms in their Hands, might be at length order'd to make uſe of them in Prejudice of thoſe, againſt whom, for a long Time, they had been plotting Miſchief: That, in fine, it was a Time in which they were oblig'd to bear with every Thing, in order to wait for a more favourable Change, and in which they might revenge all Injuries at one Stroke.

[2] *Vanozza* made many Anſwers to all that the Cardinal had ſaid, and, incapable of being ſoftned with Reaſon, eſpecially where Intereſt and Paſſion prevailed, at length told him, That

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 103.

[2] Ibid. p. 105.

ſhe would not take upon her the Name of his Mother, if he would not revenge her: On which the Cardinal finding that nothing would appeaſe her Anger, reply'd, That ſince it was ſo, he ſhould not aſſume the Name of her Son, if ſhe was not very ſoon revenged. In this the Cardinal, more than in any Thing elſe, ſpoke the Truth of what he intended to put in Execution, ſince his proud Mind could not brook the Affront done his Mother, judging it equivalent as if it had been offer'd to the Pope, himſelf, and all his Family. This, together with the natural Averſion which he had to the *French* Intereſt and Grandeur, made it an eſtabliſh'd Reſolution in his Mind to be their Enemy, in a Manner as hurtful as it ſhould be deceitful: ſo notwithſtanding of the external Formalities of an Accommodation, and the Appearance of Friendſhip between the *Borgians* and the *French*, yet the Pope and *Valentine*, on Account of the aforeſaid Affront, kept a ſtrong Revenge in their Breaſts, inſomuch that they were determin'd to leave nothing untry'd which could do them an effectual Miſchief, as will appear in the Sequel.

'Twas therefore contriv'd between the Pope and him, that he ſhould make his Eſcape as ſoon as they ſaw *Charles*'s Army engag'd elſewhere, knowing that he would ſcarcely return on that Account to take Revenge on *Rome*, without diſconcerting his own Affairs in his Expedition againſt *Naples*.

By this time *Fabricius Colonna* having, with Part of the King's Army, march'd into the Province of *Abruzzo*, took [1] Poſſeſſion thereof for *Charles*; having likewiſe ſubdu'd the Counties of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*, to which laſt Places he claim'd an antient Right, notwithſtanding for a long Time they had been in *Virginius Orſino*'s Poſſeſſion. The King however left *Velletri*, judging it convenient, without loſs of Time, to march directly for *Naples*, in order to compleat that great Enterprize.

The [2] Van-Guard paſſed thro' *Montefortino*, a Village within the *Campagna* of *Rome*, belonging to *Jacomo Conti* a *Roman* Baron, who, notwithſtanding he had been before that Time an Officer in *Charles*'s Army, yet on Account of the Hatred which he had to the *Colonna* Family, he had deſerted the *French* Service, and embrac'd the Meaſures of the *Arragoneſe*. In this

G. G.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 106.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 36.

Place

Place was a Caſtle, which, on Account of its Situation, was very ſtrong, and againſt which the *French* brought their Artillery, and by battering it, became Maſters thereof in a very few Hours, where they put the whole Garriſon to the Sword, except three of *Conti*'s Sons, and a few others, who had at firſt rendred themſelves Priſoners. From thence the Army march'd to *Monte* St. *Giovanni*, a Village belonging to the Marquis *de Peſcara*, ſituated on the Confines of the Kingdom; at which Place there was another Fort, not only ſtrong by Situation, but alſo had a very conſiderable Garriſon within it, conſiſting of 300 foreign Troops, and 500 Natives, who were able enough to have defended it, ſo that they judged the *French* could not be Maſters thereof in a long time: But the latter having batter'd it with their Artillery, their King being preſent (who ſome time before had come from *Veruli*) they proceeded next to a general Storm, with ſuch Fierceneſs and Impetuouſneſs, that having ſurmounted all Difficulties, they made themſelves Maſters thereof the very ſame Day. And in order to give Example to other Places not to oppoſe their Arms, they made a vaſt Slaughter of the Inhabitants; where, after much Barbarity and ſpilling of Blood, they committed even Cruelty as it were on the very Edifices, which they burned down to the Ground, a Kind of Warfare which had not been ſeen for many Ages in *Italy*; accordingly filled the whole Kingdom of *Naples* with great Horror and Confuſion. However, this was all the Reſiſtance the *French* met with in conquering ſo noble and oppulent a Kingdom, in the Defence of which was neither ſhewn [1] Spirit, Council, Deſire of Honour, Power, Fidelity, or any Thing praiſe-worthy. For the Duke of *Calabria*, who, after he had left *Rome*, had retir'd to the Confines of the Kingdom; being afterwards called to *Naples* on Account of his Father's Flight into *Sicily*, he had, as I have ſaid before, the Title of King given him. This Prince having muſter'd up all his Forces, which were in all about 500 Squadrons of Horſe, and 6000 Foot, choſen Troops, and commanded by the moſt expert Officers in all *Italy*, he had halted at St. *Germano*, in order to put a Stop to the Enemies proceeding further, being excited thereto by the critical Situation of the Place, which on one Side was ſurrounded with high Mountains, and on the other by Water and *Moraſſe*, and in the Front by the River *Garigliano*. Hence this Place, by reaſon of its Situa-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 36.

tion,

tion, is deſervedly called one of the principal Keys of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The new King likewiſe ſent ſome of his Troops up the Mountains, to guard the Paſs called the *Cancelle*; but his Army being under a ſort of Dread at the very Name of the *French*, ſhew'd no kind of Reſolution or Courage for defending the Place, ſo that the greateſt Part of the Commanders began to think in what Manner they might ſave themſelves and Eſtates, ſeeing they deſpair'd of being able to defend the Kingdom: And what added to their Fear, was, the Accounts that they had of a Revolt in ſome Parts of the Kingdom, ſo that they judged if they ſhould be overcome, they would probably ſhare the ſame Fate with thoſe of St. *Giovanni*: Moreover, they had Intelligence that the Marſhal *de Gies* was advancing with 300 Spear-men, and 2000 Foot, on which all of them [1] retired from St. *Germano*, with ſo much Precipitation and Fear, that they left eight Pieces of their Artillery behind them, and march'd back directly to *Capua*, in which City the new King, confiding in the Fidelity of the Inhabitants (who appear'd always affectionate to the Houſe of *Arragon*) and in the Strength of its Situation, having the River *Vulturno* in the Front, which hereabouts is very deep; he therefore hoped to defend it, at the ſame time by not diſpoſing of his Troops elſewhere to keep *Naples* and *Gaeta* ſafe.

The *French*, in the mean time, were by little and little continuing their March forwards, but diſpers'd, and without Order, ſeeming rather to be going a Journey, than on an hoſtile Expedition, plundering every where as they came along, ſometimes chancing to lodge at the very ſame Places where *Ferdinand*'s People had been in the Morning. But it happen'd at *Capua* that the *Arragoneſe* had no better Fortune, nor did they ſhew more Courage than before, for from the Moment that *Ferdinand* had retir'd from St. *Germano*, his Army diminiſh'd very much in Number; more than that, the Queen ſent him an Account that there was ſuch a Tumult within the City of *Naples*, that if he did not come in Perſon thither to calm the Sedition, much worſe might be expected.

On this *Ferdinand*, accompanied by few of his People, rode directly thither, in order to give a Remedy to the preſent

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 36.

Danger,

Danger, having however promis'd to return to *Capua* the Day following; but *Gianiacopo Trivulzi*, to whom *Ferdinand* had conſign'd the Government and Care of that Place, having by a Herald privately deſired a Safe-guard of the King of *France*, to treat with him, and accordingly being granted; he, with ſome other Gentlemen of *Capua*, went directly to *Calvi*, in which Place *Charles* had arrived, where, notwithſtanding many were diſpos'd to keep firm to *Ferdinand*'s Intereſt, yet no ſooner was *Trivulzi* brought into the King's Preſence, than, in the Name of the Inhabitants of *Capua*, and the Soldiers, he ſpoke to *Charles* to the following Purpoſe; namely, [1] *That ſeeing he had not ſufficient Force to defend the Place for his Maſter* Ferdinand, *whom, as long as there were Hopes of Defence, he had ſerved faithfully; and ſeeing that it was in vain for them to reſiſt his Majeſty's Forces, they were therefore willing to give up the Place, provided they could obtain juſt and honourable Terms*: To which he added, *That he did not deſpair of even bringing* Ferdinand *himſelf before his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, provided he would receive and acknowledge him in a ſuitable Manner*: To all which *Charles* return'd a moſt gracious Anſwer, namely, *That he was* [2] *willing to accept the Offer made by the Inhabitants of* Capua, *and Soldiers; likewiſe, That* Ferdinand *might come to him if he pleaſed, where, if he renounc'd all his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of* Naples, *he would confer on him Eſtates, and the higheſt Honours within* France.

On *Trivulzio*'s Return to *Capua*, he found, to his Aſtoniſhment, that the Soldiers had plunder'd *Ferdinand*'s Lodging, and carried away his Horſes, and the other Troops had diſpers'd themſelves in different Parts of the Country. In like manner *Virginius Orſino* and the Count *Pitigliano*, together with their Companies, had retir'd to *Nola*, the Government of which City had been given the Count by the *Arragoneſe*.

The next Day *Ferdinand*, according to his Promiſe, return'd to *Capua*, who, by the Hopes he had given the *Neapolitans* in defending that Place, he had thereby calmed the Tumult within the ſaid Capital, not knowing any thing that had happen'd after his Departure from *Capua*, where, being within two Miles of that Place, he was inform'd, that the People hearing of his

[1] Guicciard. Lib. 1. p. 37. [2] Ibid.

Return, had taken up Arms on purpoſe to [1] hinder his Entry again into that City: Moreover, a particular Meſſage was ſent him by the Nobility of that Place not to approach further, for the City finding it had been abandon'd by him the Day before, and *Trivulzio* the Governour gone over to the *French*; that his Majeſty's Lodgings were plunder'd, and his Horſes carried away; *Virginius* and *Pitigliano* retir'd to *Nola*, and his Army diſpers'd; upon Account of theſe Things they were oblig'd to yield to the Conqueror: All which deplorable News *Ferdinand* hearing, with Tears in his Eyes, deſir'd to be admitted within the Town; but being refus'd, he was forc'd to return to *Naples*, where he was convinc'd that all the other Cities of his Kingdom would follow the Example of *Capua*; among the Number of which, *Averſa*, ſituated between *Capua* and *Naples*, began among the firſt, having ſent Meſſengers to the *French*, to declare, that their Inclination was to ſurrender to them. In like manner *Naples* itſelf was upon the very Point of revolting; on which the poor unhappy King, finding himſelf abandon'd by every Body, determin'd no longer to ſtrive againſt adverſe Fortune; accordingly having convened a Number of Gentlemen and others on the Market-Place *Del-Nuovo*, he made the following Speech.

[2] *I can call God to witneſs, and thoſe who before now have known my Intentions, that my greateſt Deſire in coming to the Crown, was to convince the World that I deteſted the many wrong Steps taken in my Father's and Grandfather's Reigns, that ſo by my good Conduct and Actions, I might in part regain the Affection and Good-will of my People, which they had loſt. But now the Misfortunes of our Family are ſuch, that they have deprived me of an Opportunity to reap that Fruit, which I ſhould eſteem more valuable to me then a Crown, becauſe to reign depends upon Fortune, but to be really a King, whoſe chief Maxim is the Welfare and Happineſs of his People, that depends entirely on himſelf, and his own Virtue. Now our Affairs are brought to a very low paſs indeed, and we have Reaſon to complain we have loſt this Kingdom more thro' the Infidelity and Cowardice of the Commanders of our Army, than on Account of any real Valour which our Enemies can boaſt of: For all this, if we live a while longer, we ſhall not be altogether out of Hopes to recover our former Condition, ſince both the King of* Spain,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 37. [2] Ibid.

and

and moſt of the Princes of Italy, *are preparing powerful Succours in our Favour, thoſe Peoples Eyes being open'd who at firſt had not foreſeen the Flame which at this Time burns our Kingdom; the like Fate now threatning the Territories of others, if they do not provide againſt it: As for my ſelf, I ſhall not want Opportunity, if I loſe this Kingdom, to loſe my Life honourably alſo, and with a Glory becoming a young Monarch, who by lineal Succeſſion am deſcended from a great many Kings: Neither ſhall my Endeavours be wanting, if I ſurvive, ſtill to act in an adequate Manner to thoſe Expectations you all have had of me. But ſince theſe Things cannot be effected at preſent without expoſing our native Country to very great Hardſhips, I am therefore willing more readily to yield to my preſent Fate, and reſerve any native Valour which might be found in me, for a fitter Opportunity, than by ſtriving to preſerve a Kingdom, be the Occaſion of producing Effects contrary to the End for which I have deſired to be a King. I therefore both adviſe and am willing you ſhould ſend to the* French, *and agree Matters with them; and in order that you may do this, without blemiſhing your Honour, I accordingly abſolve you from the Homage and Oath of Allegiance, which but a few Days ago you took to me; and I am apt to think, if with Submiſſion and Readineſs you embrace this Injunction at preſent, you may perhaps thereby mitigate the natural Haughtineſs of the* French: *But if afterwards their barbarous Procedure beget a Hatred to their Government, and a Deſire that I ſhould return among you, I hope to be in a Condition ere long to acquieſce to your Pleaſure that Way, and be ready at all Times to hazard my Life for you. But on the other Hand, if the* French *Government ſhall prove to your Satisfaction, I ſolemnly promiſe in that Caſe, neither this City, or Kingdom, ſhall ever be moleſted on my Account; For my own Misfortunes will be the more tolerable to me, if from them, you can reap any Good: But much more, I confeſs, will it be for my Comfort and Satisfaction, if I ſhall hear you remember that while I was the eldeſt Son of your King, and King my ſelf, I never acted with open Violence againſt any Perſon; nor can I be juſtly accuſed of either Avarice or Cruelty, but that my Father's Failings, and not my own, were the real Cauſe of my Misfortunes; nor ſhall I ever, out of a Deſire for preſerving this Kingdom, or recovering it, be the Occaſion that any of you ſhall be obliged to leave your native Country, for I am more grieved that I have loſt the Opportunity of amending my Father's and Grandfather's*

Failings,

Failings, than the loſing my Authority among you; and even when I am an Exile, forc'd from my native Home, and ſtript of my Kingdom, I ſhall not reckon my ſelf altogether unhappy, if you, my dear Countrymen, retain the Memory of theſe Things, and be perſuaded that had I continued to be King among you, I ſhould have been more like Alphonſus *my Great Grandfather, than* Ferdinand *and the laſt* Alphonſus.

Such a moving Speech as this, could not miſs raiſing Compaſſion in thoſe who heard it, and indeed had the Effect to draw Tears from the Eyes of many there preſent; but the Name of the laſt King was ſo odious to the Nobility, and People, that their Deſire was thereby the more fervent for the *French*: Nor for all this did the Tumult ceaſe within *Naples*, for no ſooner had *Ferdinand* retir'd into the Caſtle, than the Populace began to [1] plunder his Stables in the Market-Place, which Indignity he could not bear: Accordingly, with a few Attendants, he ruſh'd out to reſtrain their Rudeneſs; and indeed ſo great Influence had the Royal Name over the Rebels, that, on his Approach, they deſiſted from plundering, and went off.

On *Ferdinand*'s Return within the Caſtle, he made the Ships lying in the Arſenal to be [2] burnt, and ſunk, on purpoſe to deprive the Enemy of having them in their Poſſeſſion; but while this was doing, there was a violent Suſpicion, that the *German* Guards within the Caſtle, about Fiue hundred in Number, had a Deſign to make the King a Priſoner. On this, a Stratagem was thought of to prevent it, namely, To give the Goods aud Furniture of the ſaid Caſtle as a Prey to them; where, while they were buſy in parting the Spoil, *Ferdinand* order'd all the Nobility, who by his Grandfather had been detain'd within the ſaid Fort as Priſoners, to be ſet at Liberty, the Prince of *Roſſana* and Count *Populi* excepted. After this he ſlipt out by the Gate called *Del-Soccorſo*, and went on board the Light Gallies within the Harbour, which were waiting to receive him, in Company of the Queen his Grandfather's Wife, Don *Frederick*, and his Daughter *Giovanna*; where being follow'd by a few of his own People, they ſailed ſtrait for the Iſland of [3] *Iſchia*, which is but a few Miles from

[1] Guicctard. Lib. I. p. 38. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Naples;

†

Naples: And while, on his going away, the fine Proſpect of that City was within his View, he was often heard to repeat the following Words in the *Pſalms*, *Unleſs the Lord keep the City, the Watchmen watch in vain.* But it ſeem'd as if Troubles and Difficulties had been deſtin'd for the Lot of this Prince in all his Actions; for on his Arrival in *Iſchia*, he had freſh Occaſion preſented him of having all his Virtue and Patience put to the Trial, occaſion'd by the Ingratitude and Infidelity of the Governour of the Caſtle there, who had the Boldneſs to [1] deny his Majeſty Entrance, unleſs, he ſaid, he came accompanied by one ſingle Perſon. At length, with great Difficulty, by Entreaties and Promiſes, he got Entrance, on which the King's Wrath and Indignation was ſo incenſed, that he could not forbear falling upon the ſaid Governour with great Impetuouſneſs and Fury, inſomuch, that the others perceiving the ſame, and the Memory of Majeſty remaining in their Minds, they immediately yielded, giving the King a full Poſſeſſion of the Fort.

On *Ferdinand*'s Departure from *Naples*, every Thing was yielded to the Conqueror, whoſe Fame, like a Torrent, bore down all before it; where the *Neapolitans* acted with ſo much Baſeneſs and Cowardice, that 200 of the *French* Cavalry, under the Command of *Ligne*, having gone to *Nola*, whither *Virginius* and the Count *Petigliano* had fled, with 400 of the *Neapolitan* Troops, were all of them taken Priſoners by the *French*, and carried to the Fort of *Mondragone*.

In the mean time *Charles* having arrived at *Averſa*, he met Ambaſſadors ſent by the People from *Naples* thither, to deliver up their Capital to his Majeſty, on which Place the King confer'd ſeveral new Privileges and Immunities. Next Day, which was on the 21ſt of *February*, *Charles* made his publick [2] Entry into *Naples*, where he was received with ſo great Applauſe and Joy, that it would be in vain to expreſs it; People of all Ranks, Sexes, Ages and Conditions, running with Pleaſure to meet him, as if he had been the Father and new Founder of that City; as, in like manner, did thoſe ungrateful Wretches, who, either themſelves, or their Anceſtors, had been rais'd by the Family of *Arragon*: where the King having marched directly to the great Church, he was afterwards conducted to the Lodgings

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 38.

[2] Ibid.

which were prepared for him in the Caſtle *Capuana*, which Place was the antient Habitation of the Kings of *France*, for the Caſtle *Del-Nuovo* was ſtill holding out for the *Arragoneſe* : But the Truth is, *Charles*'s whole Expedition conſider'd, muſt ſurely be eſteem'd, in the Eyes of every Perſon, as extraordinary a Run of [1] Felicity as perhaps was ever heard of, even exceeding that of *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, having conquer'd before he ſaw the Conqueſt, the Whole being effected with ſo great Eaſe, that in all the Expedition he never had occaſion to diſplay one Banner, or break a Spear againſt an Enemy in the open Field ; and as Pope *Alexander* uſed to ſay, *The* French *had overrun all* Italy *with wooden Spurs* : Nay, a great many Preparations which he had made, were found altogether ſuperfluous, particularly his Fleet which had been equipped at a great Charge, and by the Violence of Weather, being driven to the Iſland of *Corſica*, was not yet arrived in any Part of the Kingdom : So that on Account of domeſtick Broils, the Wiſdom of the *Italian* Princes was baffled, and a large and moſt powerful Part of their Dominions alienated from their native Governour, and deliver'd up to Foreigners, to their Proprietors Shame and Ignominy, and the Deriſion and Contempt of the *Italian* Arms.

For altho' old *Ferdinand* was a *Spaniard* by Birth, yet having been from a Child either King himſelf, or the Son of a King reſiding in *Italy*, and not having any other Principality elſewhere, and his Sons and Nephews all born and bred up in *Naples*, they were therefore juſtly reckon'd *Italians*.

Charles having in this manner acquir'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, there were however ſome few Things left to be done, namely, the taking Poſſeſſion of the two [2] Forts within the City, the one called *Nuovo*, the other called *Vuovo* : But that Impediment was ſoon removed : The firſt, by the Avarice of the *German* Foot, who garriſon'd it, and were 500 in Number, was render'd to *Charles*, on Condition that their Perſons and Effects ſhould be ſafe, among which there was a great Quantity of Corn ; *Charles*, without conſidering what might enſue, gave the whole away amongſt his People.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 38.

[2] Ibid. Lib. 2. p. 44.

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The other Fort, called *Caſtel-Del-Vuovo*, being continually batter'd by the *French* Artillery, promis'd to ſurrender, if it was not ſuccour'd by the *Arragoneſe* within the Space of eight Days. As for the Caſtle of *Gaeta* it was given up at Diſcretion; as in like manner were all the other garriſon'd Places within the Kingdom of *Naples*, except the Iſland of *Iſchia*, the Fortreſs of *Brindiſi*, *Galipoli* in *Puglia*, and the Caſtle of *Reggio* in *Calabria*, which laſt Town is ſituated oppoſite to *Meſſina* in *Sicily*: In like manner did the City of *Ottranto* invite the *French* to take Poſſeſſion of that Place, which the latter neglecting, they continu'd ſtill under the *Arragoneſe* Government.

In the mean time *Charles*, before the Caſtle of *Del-Vuovo* had ſurrender'd, being deſirous to eſtabliſh his Conqueſt, ſent, as it were by Agreement, for Don *Frederick*, *Ferdinand*'s Uncle, whoſe Perſon was very acceptable to the *French*, on Account of his Relation to their King, and for having been bred up a long Time at their Court. *Charles* gave his Royal Word and Honour to ſend him back ſafe, when and where they pleaſed, being deſirous to propoſe ſome Overtures to him by way of an Accommodation with his Family, promiſing that if they would recede from their Pretenſions on the Kingdom of *Naples*, he would beſtow on them all imaginable Honours within the Kingdom of *France*.

But Don *Frederick*, knowing too well the Reſolutions of his Nephew, and that he would accept of no other Conditions but to be put in Poſſeſſion of the Province of *Calabria*, told *Charles*, on his Arrival, *That* [1] *ſeeing Providence had given into his Hands the Kingdom of* Naples, Ferdinand *had no Mind to oppoſe the Decree of Fate; and that thinking it no Shame to yield to the Fortune of ſo great a King, he only deſired of him to allow him the Province of* Calabria, *in which he would live quietly, without aſſuming the Title or Character of King, and like one of his private Barons.*

Many are of Opinion, that if *Charles* had granted this Demand, it would have redounded to his Glory, no leſs than to his Intereſt; ſeeing whilſt *Ferdinand* was reduc'd in this Manner

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 45.

under

under his Obedience, it would have effectually ſecur'd the Kingdom of *Naples* to *France*, and taken away all Apprehenſions which could have enſued afterwards from the Mutability of Fortune.

But *Charles* judging that if he yielded any Part of the Kingdom to his Antagoniſt, he put the reſt of his Acquiſitions in manifeſt Danger, made Anſwer in the [1] Negative; upon which Don *Frederick* went away very much diſguſted. Mean while *Ferdinand* ſtay'd at *Iſchia*, until he heard that the Forts within *Naples* had ſurrender'd; after which, with 14 Light Gallies, he ſailed ſtrait for *Sicily*, there to remain until Fortune ſhould preſent him with a more favourable Opportunity of bettering his Affairs.

The Fort of *Iſchia* he left to the Care of *Inico D'Avalo*; but *Charles*, in order to deprive the Enemy of this Hold, the Situation of which would have been dangerous to him, if any Diſturbance ſhould happen, he accordingly ſent his Fleet thither, which by this Time was arrived at *Naples*: On their Approach, they found the Iſland abandon'd of its Inhabitants; notwithſtanding which, the Fort was ſo very inacceſſible and ſtrong, that they deſpair'd of taking it in a long Time: Upon which the King determin'd to make other Veſſels be brought from *Provence* and *Genoa* for that End, and to ſecure the Seas, which thereabouts were very much infeſted by *Ferdinand*'s Ships. But the *French* Diligence and Counſel were by no means equal to their good Fortune, inſomuch that every Thing within the Kingdom of *Naples* began to be govern'd in a [2] remiſs and negligent Manner; where, on Account of their great Proſperity, they became not only inſolent, but ſuffer'd Things of Conſequence to be manag'd as if by Chance, their Minds running upon nothing elſe but Feaſting and Pleaſure; where the great Men about Court did all they could to make the King's Proſperity redound to their private Intereſt, without conſidering whether or not ſuch Doings were for their Sovereign's Dignity and Honour.

But to return to the other Part of our Narration. The Reader is already inform'd how *Geme*, Brother to the Grand Seignor,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 45. [2] Ibid.

had

had been ſent along with the King of *France* from *Rome*; where, on his Arrival at *Naples*, *Charles* order'd Lodgings for him in the Caſtle *Capuana*, his own Habitation. This *Geme* or *Ziſimus*, as ſome call him, was Son to the famous [1] Sultan *Mahomet*, the firſt *Turkiſh* Emperor, who took Poſſeſſion of *Conſtantinople*, and Brother to *Bajazet*, at that Time Grand Seignor.

Geme was endowed with many excellent Qualities, of a majeſtick Countenance, a courteous Behaviour, and had an admirable Genius; and, moreover, was poſſeſſed of Courage equal to his other good Qualities; and altho', by Birthright, he was but the ſecond Son, yet his Soul, for all that, was equal to his Father's, and much ſuperior to that of his elder Brother. On this young Prince's Account, a Conſpiracy was rais'd in *Aſia Minor*, to ſet him on the Throne; but good Fortune, which does not always attend Merit, ſmiled not on the Enterprize; for the mutual Pretences of the two Brothers to the Empire, being to be decided by a ſingle Battle at *Barſia*, the elder remained Conqueror, and the younger loſing both his Army, and Hopes of a Diadem, was obliged to take Refuge in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, at that Time in Poſſeſſion of the Knights of St. *John*.

This credulous and unfortunate Prince was perſuaded into a Belief, that his taking Shelter there would not be unacceptable to the *Chriſtians*, becauſe on his own and Party's Account, they would be willing, he thought, to have an Opportunity thereby to revenge the Injuries they had lately received from *Bajazet* his Brother: But it's too true a Maxim, that whomever bad Fortune attends, 'tis in vain to think of bettering it by changing Climate. So did it happen to this illuſtrious *Mahometan*, every thing fell out contrary to what he had imagin'd; for the *Chriſtians*, among whom he took Refuge, were ſo far from commiſerating his adverſe Fate, and ſympathizing with the Misfortunes of one of his Rank, that no other Uſe was made of him but to ſerve their own vile Intereſts and Deſigns: For no ſooner did this fugitive Prince take Shelter among the Knights of St. *John*, than their great Maſter *Bouſſon* made him a Priſoner, having been for more Security ſent to *Provence* in *France*: Hence, by an Agreement made with Pope *Innocent*,

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 108. Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 56. [2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 102.

he was brought to *Rome*, there to depend ſolely on his Holineſs's Pleaſure.

Bajazet his Brother being fully inform'd of the Matter, was above-meaſure deſirous that he ſhould be kept at as great a Diſtance from his Dominions as poſſible, leſt new Commotions ſhould be excited in his Favour. In order therefore to gain over the Pope, he ſent his Holineſs the Spear which pierced Chriſt's Side, and gave a Settlement of 40,000 Golden Ducats, by Way of Annuity for *Geme*'s Maintenance; but in Effect to be a Bait for the Popes, that by having this Money annually paid them, they might be influenced not to ſend his Brother elſewhere, for he knew the Court of *Rome* would not, upon any ſlight Occaſion, or without a far more valuable Conſideration, part with a Perſon who brought in ſuch a Revenue.

This Youth lived for ſome Years happily at *Rome*, in the Pontificate of *Innocent*, and for a conſiderable Time in *Alexander*'s alſo; but the King of *France* bringing his Arms into *Italy*, it was found convenient for the *French* Intereſt, that this *Geme* ſhould be delivered up into his Hands, becauſe, after the taking Poſſeſſion of *Naples*, the ſaid King intended an Expedition againſt the *Turks*: Accordingly *Charles* demanded him of the Pope; but his Holineſs, in plain Terms, refuſed to gratify the King therein, inſomuch that the latter was in a manner obliged to take him from the Pope by Force; which Action ſo very much exaſperated *Alexander*, that he, together with *Alphonſus*, had both recourſe to *Bajazet* the Grand Seignor for Help and Revenge. Accordingly the latter ſent one *Camillo Pandone* to *Conſtantinople*, with Inſtructions for that End; as in like manner did the Pope, one *George Buſardus*, a *Genoeſe*, very well skill'd in the Oriental Languages, and before that Time had, upon another Occaſion, been ſent to *Conſtantinople* by *Innocent* VIII. And whereas the Inſtructions with which this *Buſardus* was intruſted, contain in them ſeveral Particulars well worth remarking, I refer the Reader to the [1] *Appendix*, where I have tranſcrib'd them verbatim from the *Latin*, as they are printed in *Burchard*'s Journal of Pope *Alexander*'s Life.

[1] *See the Appendix in Articulo* Inſtructions données par le Pape Alexandre au Nonce, &c.

The Subſtance of theſe Inſtructions was as follows; *That when the ſaid Nuncio* Buſardus *arrived at* [1] Conſtantinople, *he ſhould ſalute the Grand Seignor in the Pope's Name, and inform him that the King of* France *was preparing a powerful Army, with which he deſign'd to come to* Rome, *and take away* Geme *his Brother by Force, out of the Pope's Hands, and from thence march to* Naples, *on purpoſe to diveſt* Alphonſus *of that Kingdom; after that, to invade* Greece, *and other Parts in the* Turkiſh *Dominions; to effect which, he propoſed to ſend the ſaid* Geme *with a Navy thither*: However, he gave the Grand Seignor to underſtand, *That he was reſolved to oppoſe the* French *in theſe Deſigns, in the executing which, he would of Conſequence, he ſaid, be put to great Charge and Expence; for this Reaſon he had Recourſe to his Sublime Highneſs, in order to have the annual Subſidy of* 40,000 *Gold Ducats, which he deſired might be remitted him, being, about the End of* November *enſuing, due on* Geme's *Account, and that his Compliance with this would very much oblige him, becauſe at that Time he had urgent Occaſion for Money, particularly for defraying the Expences he would be at in oppoſing the* French, *whoſe Arms he confeſſed were much ſuperior to his own; for which Reaſon he had ſolicited the* Venetians *to join with him; but they, inſtead of complying with his Demand, ſeem'd rather to be in the* French *Intereſt, ſo that he could not help having Recourſe to his Highneſs for Aſſiſtance; and that, if the* French *ſhould prevail, and ſeize his Brother* Geme *by Force, in that Caſe he might very ſoon expect that they would make an Attack upon the* Turkiſh *Dominions; and, no doubt, be aſſiſted therein by ſundry* European *Powers, particularly the* Spaniards, Engliſh, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, *all very powerful Nations. On this Account, conſidering the Friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and his Highneſs, he could not help acquainting him with the Neceſſity there was to ſend an Ambaſſador to the* Venetians, *and to acquaint them with* Charles's *Deſigns, and to exhort them to join with him and* Alphonſus *againſt the* French; *and if the latter agreed to this, the* Turkiſh *Ambaſſador ſhould not leave* Venice *till it was put in Execution; and, if not, to treat them as*

[1] *Vid.* Burchard. Diar. p. 15. & Tom. Tomaſ. p. 112. *Vid.* Appendix in Artic. Inſtructions donnees, &c.

Enemies

Enemies, and accordingly leave Venice: *However he ſignified, that if his Highneſs would take ſome Pains to manage the Matter well, they would certainly comply with his Demands.*

In the laſt Part of this Letter the Pope enjoin'd his Nuncio to preſs the Grand Signor to a Compliance with theſe Propoſals, this being, he ſaid, the greateſt Aſſiſtance on which he could rely, and, if executed, would put a Stop to the many Injuries he received of his Enemies: Therefore recommended Diſpatch to be his Nuncio's principal Care, and to put the Grand Seignor in Mind, that when an Ambaſſador was ſent before that Time from the Port to *Rome*, on his Brother *Geme*'s Account, great Preſents were offer'd him, the Particulars of which were ſpecified in the Articles drawn up by the ſaid Ambaſſador; and that, for his Part, he promis'd to cultivate a ſtrict Friendſhip with the Grand Seignor, and to be ſincere with him in all his Actions: However, adviſ'd *Bajazet*, in the preſent Juncture, not to attack the Territories of any of the Chriſtian Powers in *Europe*, leſt they ſhould be excited to eſpouſe the *French* Intereſt: At the ſame Time ſignified by the ſame Nuncio, that he had ſent the ſaid *Bajazet* two Letters, both which were to be deliver'd into his own Hands: In one were Directions in what Manner his Highneſs ſhould ſend the 40,000 Gold Ducats due on his Brother's Account: The other, contain'd the ſaid Nuncio's Credentials; and after his Embaſſy was executed, he was directed to leave *Conſtantinople*, and return Home with the Money as ſoon as poſſible.

On the Nuncio's Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, [1] *Bajazet* received him with all imaginable Marks of Honour, and his Embaſſy met with the greateſt Expedition and Succeſs he could deſire; after which he was ſent back to *Rome*, in Company of one *Caſime Dautius*, diſpatched thither by *Bajazet*, in Quality of his Ambaſſador to Pope *Alexander*. In their Voyage they encounter'd a great many Hazards and Inconveniencies, occaſioned by the Violence of Storms and bad Weather, but at length arrived ſafe in *Italy*, not without meeting with another Kind of Shipwreck, they were very little expecting; for having landed between *Sinigaglia* and *Ancona*, they, and their Veſſel, were [2] ſeized by *Giovanni Del-la-Rovere*, Lord of that Place, who had been

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 117. [2] Ibid. p. 118.

well

well apprized of their coming thither, and accordingly was waiting for their Arrival, on purpoſe to ſtrip them of all their Writings, and the Money which *Bajazet* had ſent the Pope, being to the Value of 50000 Gold Ducats, which Sum *Del-la-Rovere* pretended was owing to him by the Pope for Pay due ever ſince the Pontificate of *Innocent*.

As for *Bajazet*'s Ambaſſador, both he and the Nuncio were immediately ſet at Liberty, but *Del-la-Rovere* would not part with the Money at any Rate, notwithſtanding *Alexander* employ'd the *Venetians* and others for that Purpoſe : but the other confiding in the Aſſiſtance of the *French* Arms, which he knew were daily meeting with more and more Succeſs; on this Account he gave a deaf Ear to their Sollicitations.

The Papers were all of them ſent to the [1] King of *France*, while he was at *Florence*, with an Intention to have them publiſh'd to the World, and thereby to remain as a laſting Ignominy on the Pope, for having kept up a Correſpondence with the *Turks* and his Majeſty's Enemies. Among theſe Writings, there were not only found the above-mention'd Inſtructions, but likewiſe five Letters wrote by the Grand Seignor to the Pope, two of which contain'd his Ambaſſador's Credentials, another was a Letter of Thanks to *Alexander* for the Intelligence he had given him about the *French* Deſigns, with a Promiſe of ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to be ſent *Alphonſus*, and to acquaint him that an Ambaſſador from the Port ſhould be diſpatched with all poſſible Expedition to the *Venetians*, who ſhould uſe his Endeavours to engage them in the Pope's Party : In the fourth Letter the Sultan deſired *Alexander* to promote *Nicholas Cibo*, Archbiſhop of *Arles*, to the Cardinalate, which Prelate had upon another Occaſion been ſent to *Conſtantinople* by Pope *Innocent*, and afterwards by the ſame *Alexander*, being a Perſon very acceptable to the Port. The fifth Letter was concerning the Grand Seignor's Brother *Geme*, which, ſeeing it belongs to the Subject in Hand, and is in itſelf not only curious, but a Confirmation of the preſent Narrative, as I found it in its original Language, contain'd in *Burchardus*'s Journal of Pope *Alexander* the VIth's Life, I have printed it Word for Word in the [2] Appendix, to which the Reader is re-

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 118.

[2] *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo — Inſtructions donnees par le Pape Alexandre VI. &c. Letter the ſixth. *See alſo* Tom. Tomaſ. p. 119. etiam Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 46.

ferr'd; but that he may not loſe the Satisfaction of knowing the Contents of the ſaid Letter, I have tranſcrib'd it into *Engliſh* verbatim, as follows.

Sultan *Bajazet-Chan*, Son of Sultan *Mahomet*, by the Grace of God, Emperor of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and of all the Sea-Coaſt, *&c.* To the Father and Lord of all Chriſtians, *Alexander* VI. Pope of the *Roman* Church.

AFTER due Salutations from the Sincerity of our Soul, and a pure Heart, we now ſignify to your Greatneſs, by George Bozardus *your Servant and Nuncio, that we have with much Pleaſure heard of your Welfare, and of every Thing your Greatneſs deſired him to impart to us; among other Things, that the King of* France *has deſign'd to take our Brother* Geme *out of the Hands of your Greatneſs, which would be very diſpleaſing both to you and us, and would redound to the Prejudice of all Chriſtians: therefore we have, in Concurrence with the above-mention'd* George, *judg'd it proper, that for the Quiet, Utility and Honour of your Powerfulneſs and my Satisfaction, that ſeeing my Brother* Geme *is mortal, and now a Priſoner in the Hands of your Greatneſs, it would be a good thing if you at any Rate, ſhould put him to Death, which would be Life to him, and of Benefit to your Powerfulneſs, as alſo convenient for your Quiet, and moſt acceptable to me: And if in this your Greatneſs would be pleas'd to indulge us with a Compliance, as we truſt in your Prudence you will, 'twould therefore be better for your Powerfulneſs and our Satisfaction, as ſoon as poſſible, and in the beſt manner your Greatneſs pleaſes, to make remove the aforeſaid* Geme *from the Miſeries of this World, that ſo his Soul may be tranſported to a happier Place, where he may enjoy more Quiet: And if your Powerfulneſs would cauſe this to be executed, and accordingly ſend us his Body any where beyond the Seas, we, the above-mention'd Sultan* Bajazet, *do promiſe to give to your Greatneſs the Sum of* 300,000 *Ducats, to be conſign'd any where your Greatneſs pleaſes to appoint, for purchaſing ſome Territories to your Sons, and even before the Body of my Brother be deliver'd by your People into the Hands of my Subjects. Moreover, for your Greatneſs's further Satisfaction, I promiſe that no Damage ſhall be done to the Dominions of the Chriſtians, either by my ſelf, my Servants, or any belonging to my Countries,*

of

of what Quality or Condition ſoever, either by Land or by Sea, unleſs they be the firſt Aggreſſors and Moleſtors of our Subjects: And for the further Satisfaction of your Greatneſs, that you may reſt aſſured, without the leaſt Scruple, that all I have promiſed at preſent ſhall be perform'd, I have, in Preſence of the above-mention'd George, *ſworn and affirmed by the true God whom we adore, and by our Goſpel, to adhere to, and fulfil every Thing which I have now promiſed, without the leaſt Deficiency. And ſtill for your Greatneſs's further Security, leſt there ſhould remain any Scruple in your Mind, I the above-mention'd Sultan* Bajazet-Chan *do again ſwear by the true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and every Thing contain'd in them, in whom we believe, and whom we adore, that if on your part you agree to the Requeſt above-mention'd, by the ſame Oath I have made, I promiſe to perform every Thing above-mention'd nor in any wiſe to oppoſe or thwart your Greatneſs. Written at* Conſtantinople *within our Palace, according to the Chriſtian Æra, the* 12*th of* September 1494.

To this was added by way of Evidence, for the Truth of the above-mention'd Letter, theſe Words:

I Philippe de Patriarchis *Clerk of* Forli, *by Apoſtolical and Imperial Authority, Notary-publick underwritten, do atteſt, that theſe original Letters written in* Latin, *and on long* Turkiſh *Paper, having had the Grand Seignor's Seal annex'd to them, and ſent here within a black Box, I did tranſlate the whole into the* Italian *Language, Word for Word, with my own Hand, and ſubſcrib'd them accordingly; and in Teſtimony thereof, I affixed my own Seal thereunto, at* Florence *the* 25*th of* November 1494. *within the Convent of the Croſs of the Minor's Order* [1].

'Tis uncertain whether or not theſe intercepted Letters came ever into the Pope's Hands; I am rather of Opinion that their Contents were only [2] told by Word of Mouth by *Bozardus* his Nuncio, who knew them very well. And as to what regarded the unfortunate *Geme*'s Death, *Alexander* and *Valentine* being ſtrongly tempted by the vaſt Promiſes, and haraſſed continually

[1] *See likewiſe* Paulus Jovius *who confirms alſo this Embaſſy to, and the Tranſactions of Pope* Alexander, *with the Grand Seignor*, Lib. II. p. 58.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. 122.

by

by *Vanozza* the Cardinal's Mother, who made a perpetual Clamour about the Violence done her; On theſe Accounts the Pope and *Valentine* reſolv'd to have the ſaid *Geme* put to Death; accordingly, before they deliver'd him up to *Charles*, they gave him a Doſe of Poiſon mixt with Sugar, of a [1] white Colour, and apt to envenom any Sort of Liquor, without being diſtinguiſh'd by its Colour or Taſte.

This helliſh Method of poiſoning was an Art by which both the Pope and his Son *Valentine* us'd to take many out of the World, the Particulars of which the Reader will learn more of in the Sequel. But to proceed;

Before *Geme* ſet out on his Journey for *Naples* with the King, at the Time that he was to be deliver'd over by the Pope to him, with a Deportment and Civility equal to his high Birth, he kiſſed the King's Hand and Shoulder; after which in a very genteel Manner turning about to the Pope and Cardinal *Valentine*, he thanked them for the good Uſage he had met with from them; at the ſame time entreated they would recommend him to the Favour of his new Protector, telling, that they ſhould not repent their having ſet him at Liberty; nor ſhould his Majeſty, he ſaid, have Occaſion to be diſpleaſed for taking him into his Protection, and for his Intention to employ him in his deſign'd Expedition to the *Levant*.

This obliging Behaviour muſt have made an Impreſſion even on thoſe brutal Souls, had they been capable of being touch'd into any Sentiments of Humanity; but their Treachery and Barbarity to that ſtranger Prince, is perhaps not to be match'd in Hiſtory: For mean while he was chearfully marching on his Journey to *Naples*, the mortal Poiſon began to diffuſe its Venom thro' his Vitals, ſo that on his Arrival in *Naples* (and not in *Gaeta* as [2] *Jovius* ſays) he was immediately ſeized with an incurable Diſſentery, of which he died.

Bajazet in the mean time having been inform'd of his Brother's Death, was overjoy'd, as the Reaſons of State and Self-intereſt had a ſtronger Influence on his Mind, than the Ties of Nature and Relation, and only ſollicited *Charles* to have his

[1] *Vid.* Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 61. [2] Ibid.

Brother's

Brother's Body ſent him to *Conſtantinople*: It was accordingly granted, and his Corps ſent thither: nor indeed was *Bajazet* wanting on his Part to fulfil his Promiſes to his Brother's Murderers. But to return to the other Part of the Hiſtory.

Valentine, as we have already ſaid, having made his Eſcape from the *French* Army, went with Cardinal *Orſino* out of *Rome*, to take the Diverſions of the Country, or rather to concert Meaſures how he might raiſe new Commotions, and by a ſuperior Force ſecure himſelf from thoſe Injuries which his Enemies might make him ſuffer. About this time he began to contrive that Revenge for which he had ſo long thirſted, in Execution of which he acted in ſuch a Manner, by Means of his Ruffians and Cut-throats, whom he never wanted about him for carrying on his helliſh Deſigns: With ſuch Villains he had filled all *Rome*, and the adjacent Places, employing them to do all the Miſchief that was poſſible to the *French*, and their Adherents, to revenge, in ſome meaſure, the Injuries done his Mother; ſo that moſt of the *French* who reſided at that time in *Rome*, were by him deprived of their Effects and Lives: Others who were travelling about their lawful Affairs in the Country, were either robbed or aſſaſſinated. Among which Number a Nobleman of *France* was ſet [1] upon at *Ponte Molle*, who, with a good many Attendants, was returning at that Time into *France*, bringing Home with him three Carriages, in which there was Money to the Value of 500 Crowns, in thoſe Days no ſmall Sum. The Nobleman, indeed, eſcaped with his Life, but his Effects were plundered: However the Cardinal of St. *Malo*'s Son had not the like good Fortune, for on the Road between *Baccano* and *Iſola*, with a Sum of 3000 Crowns, he was ſeized and inhumanly butchered by theſe Aſſaſſines.

But the moſt tragical Story of any, was that which happen'd to the *Swiſs* Soldiers within *Rome*; for while *Charles*'s Army was there, thoſe who had the greateſt Hand in plundering Madam *Vanozza*'s Houſe were the *Swiſs* in his Pay. Seeing therefore *Valentine* could not be revenged on thoſe who did the Fact, he determin'd to vent his Fury on ſome of their Countrymen, who were at that Time in the Pope's Guards, and had no manner of Concern with the *French*, nor their Affairs; of the latter there

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 125.

were about 150 in *Rome*, all which the Cardinal made immediately be diſcharged out of his Holineſs's Service, with Orders that within a limited Time they ſhould depart from *Rome*, and out of the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions; which harſh Command the poor People were, out of dire Neceſſity, oblig'd to obey; and accordingly one Morning were upon the Point of ſetting out, with their Women, Children and Baggage; nay, 50 of them had already actually marched out of the Gates, about 40 others ſtay'd behind in St. *Peter*'s Church at their Devotions: The remaining Part, about 60 in Number, were aſſembled on the Place before that Church, where they were immediately [1] ſurrounded by 2000 *Spaniards*, the greateſt Part *Valentians* and *Catalans* in the Pope's Pay, who firſt aſſaulted the 60 which were neareſt them, and ſlew moſt of them, grievouſly wounding all the reſt; ſome they dragged by the Hair of the Head within the very Chambers of the *Vatican*, not ſparing even thoſe who were at their Devotions; ſuch was the unrelenting Cruelty of thoſe Barbarians. In fine, they plunder'd thoſe poor People of their Goods, Cloaths and Money. Thoſe who had gone already out of the City, hearing of their Companions Misfortunes, immediately took Shelter in a Houſe, which they fortified ſo well, that when the *Spaniards* attack'd them, they made a gallant Reſiſtance, until the Pope ſent the Captain of his Guard, and ſome ſelect Troops, to the *Swiſs* Aſſiſtance, for the Affair, was by this Time become publick in *Rome*, and gave Indignation and Horror to every one.

But the *Borgians*, not content with this, ſince it did not immediately concern *Charles*'s Perſon or Intereſts, and gave but a ſmall vent to their Revenge, determin'd therefore in good earneſt to ſet about another of far greater Conſequence; namely to join with the firſt Princes of *Chriſtendom*, in a League againſt the *French*, a great deal being effected this Way by Means of the Chevalier *Georgi*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and inſtigated by ſeveral Cardinals and Miniſters there, who were the Subſtitutes of other Princes, and in a particular Manner by *Aſcanius Sforza* and Cardinal *Lunate*, both of which having arrived in *Rome* a few Days before, were become the Pope's great Confidents, inaſmuch as they conſpired againſt *Charles*, from whom they had ſeparated for no other Reaſon, but (as

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 126.

we

we mention'd before) becauſe he would not join with them on another Occaſion in *Alexander*'s Prejudice; the Inclinations of thoſe who paſs for great Politicians, varying continually with their Intereſts.

As for *Lodovick Sforza*, from the Deſire he had of uſurping the Dukedom of *Milan*, and out of Fear of the *Arragoneſe*, and *Peter de Medici*, he had been induced to G. G. call the *French* Arms into *Italy*, by whoſe coming he indeed obtain'd his ambitious Aim: but ſeeing the *Arragoneſe* were ſo reduced, that they could ſcarcely ſupport themſelves, he [1] began then to conceive another more rational Fear, namely, of ſeeing his own Dutchy, and the Liberty of all *Italy*, in the utmoſt Danger, if *Charles* ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs his new Acquiſitions of the Kingdom of *Naples*, having imagin'd to himſelf at firſt, that that Prince would have met with far greater Difficulty then he did, eſpecially in the *Florentine* Dominions; but being deceived in this Point, and perceiving that *Charles* had likewiſe paſſed thro' the Eccleſiaſtical State, without the leaſt Oppoſition, and had actually made himſelf Maſter of *Naples*; on this he thought it was Time for him to fall in with new Meaſures.

The ſame Way of thinking poſſeſſed the Minds of the [2] *Venetians*, who, notwithſtanding they had hitherto perſiſted in their Reſolution of keeping an exact Neutrality, yet ſeeing the *French* had met with ſuch a prodigious Run of Proſperity, and penetrated into the utmoſt Bounds of *Italy*, without the leaſt Reſiſtance, on this, they began to be of Opinion, that the Misfortunes of others were at length to become their own; more eſpecially ſince *Charles* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Piſa*, and the other ſtrong Holds of the *Florentines*, and left a Garriſon within *Sienna*: On this they began, with *Lodovick*, to think on the common Welfare and Safety of *Italy*, and conſequently of their reſpective Dominions, to find out ſome Means to put a Stop to the victorious Career of the *French*, and to join with the other Powers of *Italy*, in forming a League againſt them. But *Charles* ſuſpecting *Lodovick*'s Treachery, after taking Poſſeſſion of *Naples*, ſent *Trivulzio*, Cardinal *Fregoſo*, and *Objetto de Fieſco*, with ſome Forces to ſecure *Genoa*, and to raiſe a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 46. [2] Ibid.

Party

Party for him within that Place; which Thing being known to *Lodovick*, he arreſted 12 Gallies which were arming for *Charles* in *Genoa*, prohibiting any more Veſſels to be equipped for the *French* within the Harbours of his Territories.

The Pope and *Valentine* perceiving that the Treaties for making a League were ſo far advanced, that the Affair could be put in Execution whenever they pleaſed; on purpoſe therefore to make the World believe, that all they acted for promoting their particular Intereſts, ſprung from no other Motive but the Zeal they had for the Glory of God, the publick Welfare, and the Advantage of the Holy See; *Alexander*, on this Account, convened together ſeveral [1] Cardinals, many of which were his own Creatures, to whom he gave a diſtinct Account of all *Charles*'s Procedure, and of the Progreſs which his Arms had made in *Italy*, ſaying, That the greater his Succeſs had been, the more Jealouſies had it raiſed in the Minds of Princes, and conſequently the more had they been induced to unite together for their common Defence and Safety. And ſince therefore he had no other View for engaging him to concur in thoſe Matters, but what belonged to his Function, as the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and the common Father of all Chriſtians, he therefore prayed thoſe who were Companions with him in ſupporting the Weight of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and who by their Practice and Knowledge of State-Matters, were able to judge therein, that they, with all imaginable Freedom, would declare their Sentiments about this grave and important Affair. T. T.

There were, however, few in that Meeting but who knew on what Side of the Queſtion his Holineſs was; ſo that the Cardinal of *Naples*, who I believe was a very upright and impartial Man in every Thing, except the Intereſt of his *Arragoneſe* King, he, as Dean of the College, to whom it belong'd firſt to ſpeak in that Aſſembly, expreſſed his Sentiments in the following Manner:

Holy Father, I am well apprized that ſome wiſe and ſagacious Princes have deſired to bring the French *Arms into* Italy; *and others, not being apprehenſive of any Danger which might enſue therefrom, did accordingly not oppoſe them on their firſt*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 128. [2] Ibid. p. 129.

coming,

coming, merely becauſe they judg'd thoſe very Arms might have been the Means to check many growing Diſorders, which, by exceeding their Bounds, would have interrupted the Quiet of Italy ; *a Country, which, according to the Opinion of many, has an equal Ballance of Power within herſelf ; but we find the intended Remedy has wrought beyond Expectation, and, inſtead of curing, brought along with it a far more dangerous Diſtemper, which, if it is not timely removed, threatens unavoidable Death. For my Part, I cannot be perſuaded that any one, zealous for the Welfare of* Italy, *can help thinking but that at this time it behoves her Princes to unite with all their Forces, to drive from their Country the growing Power of the* French, *whoſe Government threatens a general Ruin ; for I don't believe any Body imagines the* Italian *Princes are now claiming Superiority over one another, tho' we have too great Evidence to believe, that one of the firſt Foreign Princes of* Europe, *has already got ſuch Footing among us, that it is in his Power with Violence to trample under Foot the Dominions of others ; and indeed it ſeems evident, from the Plan already concerted by him, that the Courſe of his Victories will not ſtop, until he does ſubdue all* Italy. *This is the common Language of every one, even of thoſe who don't pretend to be deeply skill'd in Politicks : Is it not certain, that the Forts of* Serezana, Serezanella, Pietra-Santa, Piſa, Leghorn, *all theſe ſtrong Places in* Tuſcany, *are actually kept and garriſon'd by* Charles ? *And in like manner the Caſtle of* Civita-Vecchia, Oſtia, *and* Terracina, *have they not been taken from the Church and poſſeſſed by him ? and all this plainly with a View, that, on going to* Naples, *this* Charles *might have in his Hands the moſt important Keys of thoſe States, by which, in his Return, as a Conqueror he may the better open a Door for having the abſolute Dominion of them, and conſequently of the reſt of* Italy. *What elſe do the hard Articles threaten, by which he has in a manner compelled the* Luccheſe, Sieneſe, Florentines, *and even your Holineſs, to accept, and thereby ſhewn plainly what great Advantage he has taken of thoſe who were too weak to oppoſe him, at the ſame Time manifeſtly affronted the Pontifical Authority ? Now ſince he thinks his Conqueſts ſecure, a Thing indeed of the greateſt Importance to him, he has determined to abuſe good Fortune, and the Power put into his Hands, by enſlaving as many as he can. But let us ſuppoſe* Charles *ſhould be hinder'd from uſing open Violence againſt the Holy See, (which, conſidering the Diſobligations he ſays he has lately met*

with, join'd with the former he pretends to have received) we can ſcarcely hope for: but take it in any View, I'd gladly know in what Degree of Security would the Spiritual and Temporal Juriſdiction of the Pope remain, when the French *King, by his Arms, will have it in his Power to force every one to be obedient to his Nod? And if the Papal Seat ſhall continue to be kept at* Rome, *'twill, for all that, in ſundry Caſes, not be very different from that held for ſo many Years at* Avignion, *a Place ſurrounded every where with the* French *Power; by which the Popes had no greater Deference ſhewn them by the Kings of* France, *than if they had only been their ſuperior Kind of Chaplains. Since therefore your Holineſs is more intereſted in this Affair than any other Prince of* Europe, *and the injuring you brings more dangerous Conſequences with it, than it can another; You, therefore, Holy Father, are invited by the greateſt Potentates of* Chriſtendom, *to join with them in a League, of which if you was not ſollicited, you ought nevertheleſs to be the chief Promoter, and to give it Countenance and Sanction by your Authority, and to aſſiſt your Allies with Money and Troops, to ſtem the Violence of this* French *Inundation, which hitherto has brought Ruin along with it, in-ſo-far as its Fury has met with no Oppoſition. I therefore conclude, that a ſpeedy Stop being put to* Charles's *Career, for hindering him from being confirmed in his yet unſtable and precarious Conqueſts, may probably make up that Evil, which a longer Delay will render irreparable.*

Raphael Riario, called Cardinal St. *Georgio*, being preſent at this Congregation, and judging it more eligible and honourable, by ſpeaking ingenuouſly to incur the Pope's Diſpleaſure, than, by a tacit Compliance, to be wanting in Duty, after the other had finiſh'd his Speech, having roſe up, ſpoke thus:

' *Holy Father, I am apt to believe that I ſhould be injurious to your Holineſs, and indeed deal unfairly with this Sacred Congregation, if I did not ſpeak freely what my Conſcience and Reaſon now dictate, eſpecially in an Affair of ſuch Conſequence as this, of which we are at preſent deliberating: Here we are treating of a League to be form'd againſt a moſt Chriſtian King,*

' Tom. Tomaſ. p. 132.

and

and that it ſhall receive the Pontifical Sanction and Authority; but if we reflect impartially on the Matter, and conſider if ſuch an Affair was to be deliberated in the Councils of any other Prince, either Chriſtian or Heathen, whether or not we ſhould exceedingly diſapprove of the ſame: can it then be otherwiſe expected, but that all the World will condemn us, if, in a Congregation held in Preſence of your Holineſs, and the firſt Prelates of the Church, we ſhould employ our Thoughts on any Thing but what concerns the Service of God, and the maintaining of Juſtice? I therefore humbly think, that a Pope of Rome *ought to abſtain from being the firſt Promoter of a War, let it be never ſo juſt, much leſs that he ſhould not excite one, which (laying aſide Partiality) can neither be proved juſtifiable or holy: For my ſhare, I cannot underſtand it as ſuch, much leſs can I give my Conſent thereto. The King of* France, *'tis true, has, beyond what the* Italian *Princes could expect or imagine, made a ſucceſsful Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples; *which new Acquiſition, as it has greatly increaſed his Power, ſo has it render'd his Arms the more terrible to his Neighbours. But is it, on this Account, juſt, to form a League in his Prejudice, and by common Conſent to begin a War againſt him? Are not the Pretenſions of the Houſe of* Anjou *to the Kingdom of* Naples *very well known in* Europe, *and that the Counties of* Provence *and* Anjou *fell by legal Inheritance to the Crown of* France? *Has not this thing been very often approved of, and many Inveſtitures given by the Popes, and even by your Holineſs, in the very firſt Article of the Confederacy lately eſtabliſh'd betwixt you and King* Charles? *Nor can I ſee for what Pretence you are not to adhere thereto; have you not promiſed him the Inveſtiture of that Kingdom? which, altho' you have not as yet confirmed, yet your Obligations were not the leſs for ſo doing, as ſoon as you heard he was proclaimed King in* Naples; *nor is it preſumeable you would have promiſed it, had you not found that he had a juſt Pretenſion thereto. If then his Title and Pretenſions are juſt, and he in actual Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; which laſt, according to the Reaſons of State, in a manner makes Injuſtice itſelf lawful: Since therefore, I ſay,* Charles *has in this very Place obtained your Faith, and Promiſe of Paternal Love to him, and ſince he has not acted any ways contrary to the Stipulations made between you, nor given any Cauſe of undeſerving it; with what Shadow of Juſtice can then your Holineſs, inſtead of defending him agreeable to your Promiſe, be endeavouring at preſent with a violent Hand,*

Hand, to act againſt him, and to ſtrip him of his Conqueſts? I am not ignorant but that ſometimes a Prince may not have ſlight Reaſons to fear another's uſurping his Dominions, and therefore endeavour all he can, by Force of Arms, to prevent ſuch Injuries: But what ſolid Grounds has your Holineſs to fear the like from Charles? *Has he not had already within theſe Walls an Army, which, by one Word of his Mouth, he could have laid the Grandeur of the Holy See as low as the Ground, and, on its Ruins, erected for himſelf a new Empire in* Rome? *Yet has he been ſtedfaſt in adhering to his Duty, and greatly reſpectful to the Vicar of Chriſt; and here in Perſon has he perform'd the ſame Obſequiouſneſs to the Church, which was frequently practis'd by his Forefathers; nor has he made uſe of Force, but rather Intreaties, and enter'd into Engagements, for obtaining from your Holineſs thoſe Advantages which were indiſpenſably neceſſary for forwarding his Expedition. Now ſince the Succeſs of his Undertakings has been ſuch, as to unite a Kingdom in* Italy *to his other vaſt Dominions, this gives him the greater Opportunity to abaſe the Grandeur of the Church, if ever he ſhould be provok'd thereto: But every one knows that the Kings of* France *have rather, on every Occaſion, made uſe of their Power for exalting the Holy See, and pulling down her Enemies.* Pipin, Charles *the Great,* Louis *the Pious, and many of their Succeſſors, were much more powerful in* Italy, *than* Charles VIII. *yet their Power was for the moſt Part made uſe of to ſupport the Church, and to promote her Intereſts, beſtowing Honours and Dominions upon her; and if at any time, either at* Avignon *or* Rome, *the Popes have fallen from that Pitch of Greatneſs, in which they formerly had been, it was always the Fault of other Princes, but never of the Kings of* France, *who, on every Occaſion, declared themſelves the Church's Protectors: And if they have done ſo before, what Reaſon have you not to expect the ſame Effect of their Piety in the Future? Do they make Innovations in our Religion? or, in few Words, does the Kingdom of* Naples *belong to them in real Juſtice or not? Has not the Family of* France *reigned* 150 *Years in that Kingdom, without ever violating the Pontifical Juriſdiction? As for the* Arragoneſe, *the firſt of whom, namely* Alphonſus, *the Father of the deceaſed* Ferdinand, *poſſeſſed at one time the Crowns of* Arragon, Naples *and* Sicily, *yet* Italy *was not in an Uproar on that Account, nor did it diſturb her general Repoſe; nor were the Pope and other Princes exciting Novelty, and contriving*

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to injure ſuch a Neighbour, having made no offenſive League or Combination in his Prejudice: If then the Caſe is in a manner the ſame, why ſhould not the Reſult of your Councils be the ſame alſo? The French *are not more anxious to extend their Dominions, or leſs obſervant of their Promiſes, than the* Spaniards: *If then the Power of the one gave* Italy *no Fear, it is not reaſonable ſhe ſhould be diſmay'd at the Greatneſs of the other. 'Twas thought wholeſome Counſel at that time not to irritate the one, by raiſing a general War againſt him: 'Twill, in like manner, be found advantageous not to provoke the other, by forming a League in his Prejudice, the which, if its Event is unſucceſsful, your Holineſs, in that Caſe, cannot complain if you ſuffer as a Pope, that is, as a common Father to all Chriſtians; and if you ſhould be found in Arms, you would be treated like an Enemy, yea, in a very particular Manner.*

Riario's free Way of ſpeaking had, in Appearance, little Effect on thoſe who ſhew'd themſelves already determin'd: But for all that, it ſunk very deep into the Pope and *Valentine*'s Minds, notwithſtanding they endeavour'd each of them not to diſcover it in their Looks and Behaviour: but Cardinal *Carvaiale*, who profeſſed himſelf a faithful Subject to the Houſe of *Arragon*, and an obliged Servant to the *Borgians*, was determin'd not to loſe an Opportunity of making *Riario* an Anſwer; accordingly ſpoke in the following Manner:

[1] *The Quiet of the* Italian *Princes was not diſturb'd by Jealouſies ariſing among them, on Account of the Kingdom of* Naples *and* Sicily*'s being joined to* Arragon, *and poſſeſſed by* Alphonſus, *becauſe it was well known that he ſucceeded thereto, by Virtue of a juſt Adoption, and not by old Pretenſions, which either had no Foundation at all, or were aboliſh'd by another's quiet Poſſeſſion of them; in which laſt Manner,* Charles *is now endeavouring to give a Colour to his cloudy Schemes. But it cannot be ſaid that ever* Alphonſus *uſed Violence for making the People embrace his Meaſures, nor did he extort Money and uſurp other Peoples Properties, and ſeize to himſelf their Places of Strength; all which* Charles *has done for proſecuting his immoderate Deſigns: But the* Arragoneſe, *on the contrary, never undertook any Enterprize againſt the Inclination of the Popes,*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 137.

and in ſpite of their Spiritual Prohibitions; all which, not without Scandal, we have obſerved ſince Charles's *coming into* Italy: *no wonder then the People are jealous of his Deſigns, for, as 'tis commonly ſaid, By the Morning one may gueſs what kind of a Day it will be. What Notion can we have of the* French *Procedure, ſince, upon their firſt coming, they have ſhewn ſo very little Reſpect for the Pontifical Authority, nor indeed even Juſtice, with regard to the Rights of other Princes? The Uneaſineſſes which that turbulent Nation have always brought along with them, are, I think, pretty well known every where, and the manner in which they deſpiſe and ſlight thoſe who appear to ſtop the Courſe of their Violence: A People eaſy to be moved, but furious in proſecuting what they once begin; whereas, 'tis certain, the* Arragoneſe *are Friends to Juſtice, and Enemies to Novelty, free from Violence, and moderate in their Ambition; not inſolent on Account of their good Fortune, but conſiderate in their Reſolutions, and ſlow to move; all this being conſider'd, let us ſee if the Jealouſy of the* Italian *Princes is not as reaſonable as the Expedition of the* French *againſt* Naples *is unjuſt; and ſtill more unjuſt are the Means by which it has been effected, and the Purpoſe to which it tends. On this Account, therefore, let any be dubious about it who will. The Counſel already given of entering into a League for preventing the Ruin of* Italy, *will, upon Examination, be found attended with all that is requiſite for determining the Reſolutions of a Pope therein. Let People therefore ſay what they pleaſe; as for me, Holy Father, I am of the Opinion, that without making Uſe of the Sword, there will be no curing that Evil which ſeems daily to be gaining Ground, not only for oppreſſing* Italy, *but perhaps all* Europe.

The Majority of the Cardinals, who were of the Pope's Party, agreed to the laſt Opinion, and accordingly gave their Votes in the Affirmative, for making the League: but the Pope perceiving that *Riario* was nettled at what *Carvaiale* had ſpoke, and on the Point of anſwering him, put an end to the Meeting, telling them, that they need not trouble themſelves in ſpeaking any more, ſince he very well knew the general Sentiment of the Cardinals about it; and as he himſelf was very well ſatisfied, ſo he hoped within a ſhort time to ſhew how much he eſteem'd ſome of their Counſels.

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Mean while theſe Treaties were tranſacting at *Rome*, the Pope's Miniſters at *Venice*, and thoſe of other Princes, were upon the Point of concluding the above-mention'd League; ſo that in a little time thereafter it was determin'd in this Manner; namely, [1] That between the Pope, the Emperor *Maximillian*, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* King and Queen of *Arragon* and *Caſtille*, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, a Confederacy ſhould be eſtabliſh'd, for the publick Welfare and Defence of their reſpective Territories, reſerving an Opportunity for other Princes to join with them, and even to *Charles* himſelf, provided he would agree thereto on honeſt Terms. This was the ſpecious Title by which this League was diſtinguiſh'd to the Publick; but as every individual Prince united therein, had imagin'd to himſelf that their publick Safety, and Defence of their Property, were impracticable, whilſt *Charles* was poſſeſſed of his new Acquiſitions in *Italy*; there were therefore private Articles, in which it was agreed, That each of them ſhould attack the *French* in different Places with all imaginable Vigour, at one and the ſame Time.

The News of this League's being concluded, filled the Pope and *Valentine*'s Minds with great Joy; accordingly with much Solemnity and Oſtentation the ſame was publiſh'd within [2] St. *Peter*'s Church, on the *Palm Sunday* following, where *Te Deum* was ſung; after which the Biſhop of *Concordia* made a moſt eloquent Oration on that Occaſion, which was afterwards publiſh'd.

The King had an Account of all this, but ſeem'd not much diſturb'd thereat; on the contrary, out of Deriſion he order'd [3] Comedies to be acted within the *Caſtel Del-Nuovo*, in which the Confederates were brought upon the Stage; as alſo thoſe who had the chief Hand in forming the League, among which Number Cardinal *Valentine* had no ſmall Share: But notwithſtanding all theſe outward Appearances of Indifferency, *Charles* could not, however, but be [4] troubled pretty much in his Mind, eſpecially when he began to conſider what Prejudice it might

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 139. Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 47. Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 74. Phil. de Comines, Cap. XV. p. 78. Burchard. diar. p. 35.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 140.

[3] *Vid.* Burchard. diar. p. 35.

[4] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 140. Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 48.

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bring his Affairs, being in reality one of the moſt conſiderable Leagues that ever was agreed upon among Chriſtian Princes; for it not only put a Stop to his further Advancements, but proved in the End a manifeſt Detriment to the Chriſtian Religion, by hindering *Charles* from proſecuting his Deſigns againſt the *Turks*; for being obliged to provide for his own Safety and Defence, he could not of conſequence have an Opportunity to act offenſively againſt others. And notwithſtanding the Loſs of *Geme* was of great Importance to the King, yet he having perſiſted in his magnanimous Reſolution of invading *Turkey*; he accordingly had ſent the [1] Archbiſhop of *Durazzo* into *Greece*, to prepare the Way for ſuch Deſigns, and to excite a Revolt, if poſſible, in *Albania*, *Macedonia*, and the *Morea*; which laſt Deſign ſucceeded very proſperouſly, not only on Account of the Correſpondence which was kept up between that Biſhop and the Malecontents of thoſe Countries, but alſo becauſe the *Greeks* had aſſiduouſly fomented the ſame, in hopes to ſhake off the *Ottoman* Tyranny, having been informed that the victorious Arms of the King of *France* had penetrated to the utmoſt Limits of *Calabria* and *Ottranto*, which laſt Country is no more than 60 Miles from *Albania*. All this had ſtruck ſuch a Terror among the *Turks*, that they had [2] abandon'd the moſt of thoſe contiguous Provinces in which they kept Garriſons; and even in *Conſtantinople* itſelf, was to be ſeen the utmoſt Confuſion, inſomuch that it was reported, that 12 of the *Turkiſh* Prieſts there had reſolved to preach the Doctrine of Chriſt publickly. But as ſoon as *Charles* had got Intelligence of all the particular Articles contain'd in the League, he determin'd to leave *Naples*, and return to *France*, as ſoon as the pompous Solemnity of delivering him the Royal Enſigns within *Naples* was perform'd; ſo that an effectual Stop was put to his intended Invaſion on the *Turks*.

The League in the mean time, as we have ſaid, was ratify'd at *Venice*, on the 1ſt of *April*, and publiſh'd at *Rome* the 12th of the ſame Month. As to the King's Deſign for returning into [3] *France*, it proceeded rather from too ardent a Deſire to be at Home, than the Effect of good Counſel; yet for all that he was reſolute in his Intentions, determining not only to return himſelf, but

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 46. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 141.

[2] Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 71. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 142.

[3] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 48. Ibid.

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to carry the beſt of his Troops along with him, ordering the reſt of his Forces to be ſent to the garriſon'd Places, and to the others of the greateſt Importance within that Kingdom. Accordingly he left *Gilbert Montpenſier* Vice-Roy, and Lieutenant General of his Army, and the other Provinces to the Care of his moſt renowned and experienc'd Officers; namely, The Government of *Calabria* to *Obigni* the *Scotchman*, whom he made Great Conſtable of the Kingdom: *Gaeta* was put in Poſſeſſion of the *Seneſchal Belcari*, who had the Office of High Chamberlain given him; and the Province of *Abruzzo* was deliver'd into the Hands of his valiant General *Gratianus*. The King promiſed to ſupply them ſpeedily with Money, and to ſend Reinforcements as ſoon as poſſible; however, left them no other Subſidies but what they could raiſe in the Kingdom, which by this Time was beginning to waver a little in its Loyalty, and the Name of the *Arragoneſe* to be whiſper'd about.

Charles, in the mean while, had an ardent Deſire to have a [1] perſonal Conference with the Pope, and to come to a good Underſtanding with him, and, if poſſible, to ſeparate him from the other Confederates; to effect which, ſome Days before he left *Naples*, he ſent Monſieur St. *Paulo*, Cardinal *Luxemburgh*'s Brother, to *Rome*: and when he was upon the Point of ſetting out on his Journey, he likewiſe diſpatched the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, with a Commiſſion to aſſure his Holineſs, that he was diſpoſed to cultivate a very ſtrict Friendſhip with him, and to grant him whatever he pleaſed, provided he could be induced to be diſengaged from thoſe who had combined againſt him, and to obtain from him the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, and even with that Clauſe annex'd thereto, not to Prejudice the Pretenſions of others.

The Pope and *Valentine* as they were willing, on the one Hand, not to deſiſt in their declared Enmity againſt *Charles*, ſo on the other, they thought it a hard Caſe to abandon *Rome*, the Pontifical Seat of their Greatneſs. For this Reaſon, ſome time before *Charles* had left *Naples*, they had ſollicited the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, to ſend Forces to *Rome*, in order to hinder *Charles* from entering that City, and to defend it if he perſiſted in coming there by Force: And altho' at firſt they

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 145.

agreed to the Pope's Requeſt, and to ſend 1000 Light Horſe, and 2000 Foot thither, with a Promiſe of 1000 more, in a very little Time: yet being aſſured how little the Pope was to be truſted, and remembring how he had ſerved *Ferdinand* ſome time before; on this Account they did not judge it adviſeable to venture ſuch a great Body of their Troops ſo far of, into the Hands of one whoſe Infidelity was ſo well known; nor were they certain how they might have occaſion for their Forces themſelves. On this they adviſed the Pope not to ſtay at *Rome*, and wait for the King's Arrival, thereby not to expoſe the Majeſty of the Pontificate to the Mercy of the Enemy, and not to hazard his All, by making a Defence in Perſon, which might be very fruitleſs, but rather to fortify the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* as well as he could, and retire to a Place of Security, being certain that when the King came to *Rome*, he would ſtay but a very ſhort time there.

Charles however was not out of hopes of concluding a new Treaty with the Pope, and to gain him and his Son *Valentine* over to his Side; for which Cardinal *Dionigio* promiſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours: Accordingly he was diſpatch'd to *Rome*, not without ſome Hopes of Succeſs, ſeeing the Pope was beginning to [1] liſten to ſome Overtures this Way.

But the *Borgians* being conſcious in what a vile Manner they had treated *Charles*, and of the Machinations which they had raiſed in his Prejudice; they were therefore not ſo willing to venture themſelves in his Hands, or to ſtay at *Rome*, and truſt to his Word; nor indeed had they at any rate a real Inclination to break off from the Confederacy which they had lately enter'd into, and on which depended their Hopes of driving him their Enemy from *Italy*.

On this both the Pope and *Valentine* determin'd to leave *Rome*: Accordingly they retired to [2] *Orvieto*, and with them the greateſt Part of the Cardinals, and the reſt of the Pope's Family, *Alexander* carrying along with him for his Guard, 200 Men at Arms, 1000 Light Horſe, and 3000 Foot; leaving the Cardinal *Anaſtaſia* Governor of *Rome*, with Orders to re-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 50.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 147. Guicciard. Ibid. Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 75.

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ceive the King with all the Marks of Honour and Reſpect which were due to ſo conſiderable a Monarch.

Charles accordingly enter'd *Rome*, and indeed in a very pacifick Manner, having taken up his Lodgings on the North Side of the *Tiber*, on Purpoſe not to be within the Sight of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, which was in a Readineſs to be defended if beſieged by *Charles*: But the King had no ſuch Thing in view, for if he had, it would have coſt him but very little Labour, conſidering how very much diſaffected the Citizens and Garriſon were towards the *Borgian* Family: nor is it to be doubted, but that if the King had pleaſed, he might with his ſuperior Force have made himſelf, not only Maſter of *Rome*, but of the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, and of all *Tuſcany*, and thereby have eſtabliſh'd to himſelf within *Italy* one of the moſt formidable Empires that any Prince ever did, ſince the Time of *Conſtantine* the Great: But ſo far was he from violating the Rights of the Church, or breaking his Promiſes and Engagements, that he punctually [1] reſtored *Civita-Vechia* and *Terracina* to the Holy See, leaving *Oſtia*, as it was at firſt, under the Government of the Cardinal St. *Pietro in Vincula*. Accordingly having ſtayed three Days at *Rome*, he went from thence, marching directly towards *Viterbo*; which, as ſoon as *Alexander* knew, imagining that *Charles* was in purſuit of him, not thinking himſelf ſecure at *Orvieto*, he fled to *Perugia*, reſolving firmly, that if the King ſhould follow him, to go from thence to *Peſaro*, to which Place he was invited by *Giovanni Sforza* his Son-in-Law; and if he was not ſafe there, he determin'd to take [2] Shipping at *Ancona*, and embark for *Venice*.

But while the Pope was thus contriving in what Manner he might ſhun thoſe Dangers of which *Charles* had never dreamt, the King marched directly towards *Sienna* and *Piſa*: Having however tarried a little too long in thoſe Places, he gave the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, an Opportunity of raiſing a very [3] conſiderable Army againſt him; notwithſtanding of which it is certain that if the King had pleas'd, he might have returned to *France* without the leaſt Moleſtation: but having reſolved to take the Road which leads by *Pontrimoli*, ac-

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 147.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 50.
[3] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 148. Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 51. Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 82.

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cordingly march'd towards *Taro*, on Purpoſe to encounter his new Enemies, the Confederates of the League; at which Place he knew they had gather'd the moſt of their Forces together.

The 300 foreign Troops which had been ſent to the Garriſon of *Pontrimoli*, had, ſome time before *Charles*'s Arrival, been ſent away from thence, for which Reaſon the Inhabitants had the more readily liſten'd to the Perſuaſion of *Trivulzi*, for giving up that Place to the *French*, which accordingly they did, on Condition that their Perſons and Effects ſhould be ſafe. But the *Swiſs*, notwithſtanding of this, having enter'd the Place in a forcible Manner, [1] plunder'd and burnt the Village, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, pretending thereby to revenge an Injury which they formerly had received at that Place; where, while the Army was paſſing thro' the Country of *Lunigiana*, ſome Difference having riſen between the *Swiſs* and the People of *Pontrimoli*, about 40 of the former had been ſlain.

In the mean time the confederate Army was gathered together in the Country of *Parma*, whoſe Number was in all about [2] 2500 Men at Arms, 8000 Foot, and upwards of 1000 Light Horſe: the greateſt Part of the latter were *Albanians*, and had been brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, from the Neighbouring Provinces of *Greece*, which Troops were called *Stradiotti*, a Name given them in their own Country. The moſt of the above-mention'd Army conſiſted of *Venetian* Forces, who were its main Strength, the Duke of *Milan*'s Troops having been ſent to *Novara*. The Confederate's chief General was *Francis Gonzaga*, Marquiſs of *Mantua*, who, altho' he was but young, his Bravery and Valour nevertheleſs exceeded his Years. With this Army was ſent two Commiſſaries, called *Proveditors*, choſen from among the chief Senators of *Venice*: The Name of the one was *Luca Piſano*, the other *Marchion Triviſano*; but the *Milaneſe* Forces were commanded by the Count *Gaiazzo*.

In the mean time thoſe aforeſaid Generals held a Council of War, whether or not they ſhould pitch their Camp at *Fornuovo*, a ſmall Village at the Foot of the Mountains; but becauſe of the Narrowneſs of its Situation, and that the Enemy might have the better Opportunity of deſcending into the Plain, it was reſolved

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 53. [2] Ibid.

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that *Badia* ſhould be the Place, which was but three Miles diſtant from thence; ſo that by this Determination, the *French* Van-Guard had an Opportunity of Lodging at *Fornuovo*, having arrived over the Mountains much ſooner than the reſt of the Army, which was greatly retarded on Account of their heavy Artillery, brought over the *Apennines* with great difficulty.

On the Arrival of the *French* Van-Guard, the Marſhal *de Gies* ſent a [1] Trumpet to the Confederates, demanding, in the King his Maſter's Name, a Paſſage for his Army, which he ſaid was determin'd to march that Way in their Return to *France*, without moleſting any one's Territories. In the mean time the ſaid Marſhal order'd ſome of the Light Horſe to make an Excurſion towards the Enemies Camp, with a View to learn the Nature of their Situation, and to diſcover the Country; but they were very ſoon driven back to their Quarters, by the aforeſaid *Stradiotti*, who were ſent by the Marquiſs of *Mantua*, on Purpoſe to meet them; and it is believed if the *Italians* had, on this Occaſion, attack'd the Enemy's Van-Guard, they might, in all Probability, have cut them in Pieces; and if ſo, the reſt of the *French* Army would certainly not have advanced further. And indeed they had the very ſame Opportunity the Day following, without making any Advantage of it; but the Marſhal being apprized of the Danger, retir'd with his Men to the higher Grounds; nor had the *Italians* Reſolution enough to follow him, the Situation which the *French* choſe being ſo very commodious for them, and conſidering that many of the *Venetian* Troops had delay'd joining the Confederates, till the very Day that the Van-Guard retir'd, if *Charles* had not lingered a little too long in *Tuſcany*, he might have made his way thro' the whole Country of *Italy*, without the leaſt Oppoſition.

The Day following, *Charles*, with the whole Army, join'd the Van-Guard, and encamped at *Fornuovo*; the Confederates however all along had believed, that the King, with an inferior Force, would never have had the Reſolution to march over the *Apennines*, but that he would have left the moſt of his Troops at *Piſa*, and afterwards embark with the reſt of his Army, and ſail ſtrait for *France*. And even when

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 53.

they heard that he had determin'd to march by Land, they imagin'd he would have induſtriouſly avoided their Army, and rather choſen to have marched by way of *Burgo* in *Valditaro* and *Centocroce*, which was a Road not very difficult to paſs: After that, they concluded he would proceed for the *Tortoneſe*, and there meet the Duke of *Orleans* in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria*: but perceiving their Error, and that *Charles* had actually come to *Fornuovo*, at firſt they were pretty much animated, becauſe the Enemy was inferior in Number, but afterwards their Courage began to abate, when they conſider'd the Valour of the *French* Lances, and the *Swiſs*, to whom the *Italian* Infantry was much inferior; beſides, when they reflected on the Dexterity of the *French*, in the Management of their Artillery; but above all, their unexpected Boldneſs in approaching them with ſuch an inconſiderable Handful; on this the *Italians* were very much diſpirited. However, they held a Council of War, about what Anſwer they were to return by the Trumpet ſent thither by the Marſhal *de Gies*, and thought it a very hazardous Affair to venture the Liberties of *Italy* on the Fortune of a ſingle Battle: on the other Hand, they judged it greatly to the Shame of the *Italian* Arms, if they ſhould, on that Occaſion, ſhew the leaſt Unwillingneſs to encounter the Enemy, or ſuffer them to paſs unmoleſted before their Eyes.

Among this Variety of diſagreeing Opinions, at laſt they determin'd to ſend an Account of *Charles*'s Demands to *Milan*, and to act as they ſhould be directed by the Duke, and the Ambaſſadors of the Confederate Powers there: The Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, were accordingly of Opinion, the *French* might have leave to march unmoleſted, becauſe the Territories of thoſe two Powers were more expoſed than the others to an immediate Danger, fearing, what very often happens, that Neceſſity converted into Deſpair, might prove fatal to them. But the Repreſentatives of the other Confederate Princes judg'd differently of the Situation of Affairs, and thought it abſolutely neceſſary not to loſe the preſent Opportunity to defeat and diſſipate the *French* Army, which, if entire, would continue the Affairs of *Italy* in the ſame Condition as before, or rather throw them into greater Danger, becauſe the *French* having in their Hands *Aſti* and *Novara*, all *Piemont* was of conſequence at their Diſpoſal: And the Kingdom of *France* lying contiguous to that of the *Swiſs*, the

the latter were always ready to enter into their Service, and capable to furniſh them with what Number of Troops they pleaſed: Beſides, conſidering what great Reputation the *French* Arms had acquir'd in *Italy*, if the Confederates ſhould be ſo cowardly as to let them paſs unmoleſted, they would, without Queſtion, tyrannize over *Italy* with greater Fierceneſs than ever: So that if they did not attack them in that Conjuncture, theſe Repreſentatives aſſured them, their Maſters would certainly embrace new Meaſures, and likewiſe conclude, that the *Italians* either would not, or had not Courage to fight the *French*: After this Declaration the Confederate Army reſolved to couch their Anſwer by the Trumpet, in as ambiguous Terms as poſſible, and at length concluded, after much Diſpute, to act [1] offenſively, and to attack the *French* upon their March; to which Determination the *Venetian* Proveditors agreed, particularly *Triviſano*, who ſeem'd much better pleas'd with that Reſolution, than his Collegue *Piſano*.

On the other Hand, the *French*, having hitherto met with no Reſiſtance, marched their Army forward with greater Boldneſs and Security than ever, being of Opinion, that the Confederates would not have Courage enough to attack them; and if they did, they doubted not of Victory, having on every Occaſion ſhewn a Contempt of the *Italian* Arms. But as they deſcended from the Mountains, perceiving the Enemy's Army took up ſo large a Tract of Ground, and were much ſuperior to them in Number, their Spirits began to fail them a little, and would have been very glad to get free of them, eſpecially, ſeeing *Charles* ſome time before had wrote to the Duke of *Orleans* to come to his Aſſiſtance, and join him with all his Forces at *Piacenza*; which Order the aforeſaid Duke aſſured him he ſhould punctually obey; but afterwards had given him to underſtand, that *Lodovick Sforza* intended to intercept him in his March thither, and had prepared to oppoſe him with a very conſiderable Army, conſiſting of 900 Men at Arms, 1200 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, a Force ſo much ſtronger than his, that he could not attempt to join the King's Army without the greateſt Danger.

Charles, on this, finding it in vain to hope for Succour from *Orleans*, was obliged to concert new Meaſures, and accordingly

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 54.

order'd

order'd *Philip Mons* of *Argentone*, who had formerly been his Ambaſſador at *Venice*, to ſend a Trumpet to the Proveditors *Piſano* and *Triviſano*, and to ſignify by a Letter, that the *French* were deſirous to treat with them, and to propoſe ſome Overtures of Accommodation; which Invitation they accepted, appointing the Meeting the Day following, and the Place of Interview to be at an equal Diſtance from the two Armies. But *Charles*, either for want of Forrage at the Place where he was then encamped, or for ſome other Reaſon, having changed his Opinion, reſolved not to wait the Iſſue of that Meeting.

The Fronts of the two Armies were not above [1] three Miles diſtant from each other, extended on the Sides of the River *Taro*, whoſe Source ariſes from the *Apennines*; and for a ſmall Space, running between two conſiderable Rocks, afterwards extends itſelf thro' a large Plain in *Lombardy*, at the End of which it joins with the *Po*. The Confederate Army lay on the right Hand of theſe Rocks, towards the Banks of the River, on Purpoſe to intercept the Enemy's March, and to hinder them from filing off towards *Parma*. Their Camp was well provided with Artillery, and fortified with Ramparts and Ditches.

The *French*, on the other Hand, were determined to march to *Aſtigiano*, and there to paſs the *Taro* by *Fornuovo*, ſo that there was only the Breadth of the River between the two Armies. The *French* lay there all Night not without conſiderable Trouble, having been very much haraſſed by the *Stradiotti*, who made Excurſions even to their very Out-lines; where in the Night-time the *French* could not repoſe, for the many falſe Alarms given that the whole Body of the Enemy was attacking them, which created no ſmall Confuſion. It happen'd, beſides, that the ſame Night there fell a conſiderable Quantity of Rain, attended with incredible Thunder and Lightning, portending, as it were, ſome ſudden and fatal Event: The Whole being leſs terrible to the *Italians* than the *French*, who, on the one Hand, were ſurrounded by inacceſſable Mountains, and, on the other, block'd up by the Enemy, where, if Misfortunes ſhould happen, they could have no Hopes of Safety.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 55.

Next Morning the *French* Army, by Break of Day, began to [1] paſs the River, the Artillery moving in the Front, followed by the Van-Guard, which laſt the King judged would be moſt attack'd by the Enemy. Accordingly he join'd 350 Men at Arms to their Number, and ſent *Trivulzio* with 100 Lances, and 3000 *Swiſs* Foot, to join them; the latter being eſteem'd the Flower of the *French* Army, and commanded by *Engelibert*, Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*; and a conſiderable Number more of Foot were headed by *Balgi-di-Giuno*: And, in order to ſtrengthen them ſtill more, the King order'd 300 Archers to join them, with a Body of others on Horſe-back taken out of his Guards: Next to them follow'd the great Battalion, in the Centre of which rode the King, arm'd Cap-a-pe, whoſe Perſon was immediately attended by Monſieur *Tramoglia*, an Officer of great Renown, to direct him as Need required: After them followed the Rear-Guard, commanded by Count *de Fois*; laſt of all the Carriages.

The King, notwithſtanding his Army was on the March, ſeem'd willing to [2] enter into an Agreement with the Enemy if poſſible, and accordingly ſent *Argenton* to treat with the *Venetian* Proveditors; but by this Time the Confederates, ſeeing the *French* in Motion, were all in Arms, ready to receive them, reſolving to give them Battle; ſo that the Hopes of coming to any Accommodation were thereby fruſtrated, inſomuch that the Light Horſe from all Parts were beginning to skirmiſh, and both Armies were drawing out their Artillery againſt one another: On which the Confederates loſt no Time to come out from their Lodgments, and to extend their Squadrons along the Banks of the River. But this did in nowiſe hinder the *French* from continuing their March, partly on the Brinks of the River, and partly on the narrow Plain; but want of Ground would not allow them to keep their Ranks intire: However, notwithſtanding of this Diſadvantage, their Van-Guard arriv'd in Front of the Enemy's Lodgments; on which the Marquiſs of *Mantua*, with a Squadron of 600 Men at Arms, together with a great Number of *Stradiotti*, and other Light Horſe, with 5000 Foot, had paſſed the River behind the *French* Rear-Guard, leaving *Antonio de Montefeltro* on the other Side, with a large Squadron,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 55. [2] Ibid.

with Orders to paſs the ſaid River, if Need ſhould be, to come, when called, to the Confederate's Aſſiſtance: He likewiſe gave Orders, that when the Battle began, another Body of Light Horſe ſhould attack the Enemy in the Rear; and the *Stradiotti*, by paſſing over to the other Side of the River, ſhould at the ſame Time aſſault the Carriages, which, either for want of Men, or, as ſome ſay, by *Trivulzio*'s Advice, were left unguarded, and expoſed to plunder. Four hundred more of the Confederate Troops paſſed over the *Taro*, amongſt whom was Don *Antonio D'Eſte*, who came thither at his Father's particular Deſire. At the ſame Time the Count of *Gaiazzo* marched with 2000 Foot, to aſſault the *French* Van-Guard, having left *Hannibal Bentivoglio* on the oppoſite Bank with 200 Men at Arms, to join the reſt when required: Moreover, two Companies of the ſame Troops, and 1000 Foot, were appointed to guard the Lodgments, the *Venetians* having reſolved, at all Events, to reſerve ſome of their Army entire.

As ſoon as the Battle began, the King of *France* perceived that the Rear-Guard was [1] attacked by a much greater Force than what he or his Generals had imagin'd, and therefore filed about from the Van-Guard, proceeding with his Battalion to the Rear, where, having come up with the Enemy, ſooner than the others who were following him, he found himſelf in the Attack among the [2] very firſt Combatants. Some report that the Marquiſs of *Mantua*'s Men paſſed the River in much Diſorder, by reaſon of the Highneſs of the Banks, being embarraſſed beſides by Trees and Shrubs: Others ſay, that his Foot came too late to engage in the Battle, by reaſon of the Swelling of the Rivers the Night before; nay, ſome of them did not fight at all, having been kept on the other Side. Be that as it will, it is certain that the Marquiſs's firſt Attack was very furious, but repulſed with equal Bravery and Fierceneſs on the *French* Side, where the Squadrons being on all Hands mingled with one another: After their Lances were broke, a great Number, both of armed Men and Horſes, were thrown on the Ground, where, wanting their Arms, they made uſe of their Iron Maces, Battoons, and other ſhort Weapons, a great Number of Men being trampled under Foot by the Horſe. The Marquiſs of *Mantua*, on this Occaſion, ſhew'd uncommon Bravery and

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 56. [2] Ibid.

Reſolution,

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Reſolution, back'd by a Company of young *Italian* Gentlemen, ſo that he deſpis'd all manner of Danger, and puſh'd on with great Impetuoſity, galling the Enemy on all Quarters, inſomuch that the *French*, unable to ſuſtain their fierce Attack, and overpowered by Numbers, began plainly to [1] give way, not without imminent Danger to the King's Perſon, near whom a Baſtard Son of *Bourbon*, was taken Priſoner, tho' he had for a long time defended himſelf gallantly; on which the Marquiſs hoped to ſeize the King alſo, who had unwarily engaged himſelf too far in among the Enemy's Troops, and was but very ſlenderly guarded; and had certainly fallen into their Hands, had he not exerted himſelf, on that Occaſion, with the greateſt Reſolution; where the Swiftneſs and Strength of his Horſe on which he rode, availed him more than any Help his own People could give him at that Time, tho' thoſe of his Troops who were at the leaſt Diſtance from him, immediately filed about, inflamed with the utmoſt Deſire to ſave their King, and covered his Royal Perſon, with their own Bodies, from the Fury of the Enemy, and ſo kept back the *Italians*, until his own Batallion came up to his Aſſiſtance; where, upon their Approach, they galled the *Italian* Troops ſo much in the Rear, that they obliged them to precipitate their Retreat, in which Action *Rodolphus Gonzaga*, the Marquiſs of *Mantua*'s Uncle, was ſlain.

In this manner Fortune varying, and the *French* recovering the Ground which they had loſt, the Event of the Day became dubious, each fighting with incredible Bravery; but the Danger in which the King had been, incenſed the Minds of the *French* to the laſt Degree of Rage; and beſides that, they knew that they were in a Situation where they could have no Safety but from Victory.

On the other Hand, the *Italians* were animated by the Courage and good Example of their General, and the viſible Advantage which they had at the Beginning of the Battle. But Fortune in all human Actions is ſcarcely ſo variable as in Military Affairs, particularly in time of Battle, where one Order wrong underſtood, one Diſpoſition ill executed, or any Rumour raiſed, even by a common Soldier, very often brings Victory to thoſe who imagin'd themſelves overcome; here in-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 56.

numerable

numerable Accidents happen, not to be avoided by the moſt experienc'd and prudent Generals. So the [1] *Stradiotti* being ſent to plunder the *French* Carriages, and having Part of them in their Poſſeſſion, were leading Mules and Horſes loaded with Baggage over the River, which happen'd to be perceived by thoſe who were engaged in the Battle; on which they broke their Ranks, and turned about to plunder the Carriages alſo. By this, the *Italians* being deprived of their wonted Help, and their Numbers beginning conſiderably to decreaſe: Beſides all this, *Antonio da Montefeltro* not having taken Care to move over with his Troops from the other Side, ſeeing *Rodulpho Gonzaga* was ſlain, who had Orders to call him where his Aſſiſtance was moſt wanted, the *French* began to gain Ground conſiderably; ſo that the Marquiſs was unable to ſupport the Confederates, who were giving way every where, the moſt of his own Company having been cut to Pieces; yet for all this, he did what he could to make them ſtand their Ground, telling them, that rather than they ſhould fly, he would loſe his Life on the Spot. But this did not avail, for finding they could not reſiſt any longer, and the *French* ruſhing on them from all Quarters with great Fury, they were obliged at laſt to take to Flight, and made haſte to gain the other Side of the River, which, as we have already ſaid, was greatly ſwelled by the Rain that had fallen the Night before, ſo they were under the greateſt Difficulty imaginable to get over. The *French* purſued them to the very Brinks of the ſaid River, minding nothing but Slaughter, deſpiſing Plunder and Priſoners. But at the ſame time that this Part of the *French* Army was fighting with ſo much Bravery, their Van-Guard (againſt whom Count *Gaiazzo* had made Head) having moved Part of their Horſe, fell on likewiſe with ſo much Eagerneſs and Bravery, that the *Italians* being terrified, and not finding themſelves ſupported by their own People, fell into ſo great Diſorder, that a good Number of them being ſlain, particularly *Giovanni Piccino* and *Galeazzo-da-Coreggio*, they immediately took to flight alſo.

The Marſhal *de Gies* pereeiving that this Squadron had rallied on the other Side of the River, and another Regiment beſides had done the ſame, he thought it the ſafeſt Way not to attack them; which was judged to be both cowardly, and of great

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 57.

Prejudice

Prejudice to his Maſter's Intereſt; for, in all Probability, if he had purſued them, he would not only have been victorious, but ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Troops on that Side the River, as would have made them quit the Field to the *French*: for tho' the Marquiſs of *Mantua* had brought his Men again into Order of Battle, he could not poſſibly perſuade them to renew the Fight, every one thinking only how he might ſave his own Life. By this Time the Roads leading to *Piacenza* and *Parma* were all filled with Men and Horſes; and in the Confederate Army nothing was to be ſeen but univerſal Tumult and Diſtraction. However, the Arrival of Count [1] *Pitigliano* from the *French* Army, which he had deſerted, gave a new Turn to Affairs, for he aſſured his Countrymen the *Italians*, that the *French* were in as great Diſorder as themſelves: This Information ſtop'd their Flight, and made them retire within their Lodgments.

In the mean Time the King of *France* held a Council of War, whether they ſhould paſs the River, and try to force the Enemies Lines. *Trivulzio* and *Camillo Vitelli* were of Opinion they ſhould; but eſpecially *Franciſco Secco*, who ſhewed them that the Roads at a Diſtance were every where filled with Men and Carriages; the Enemy, he ſaid, having doubtleſs abandon'd their Camp. But after all, the Soldiers were ſo fatigued with fighting, and the River ſwelled ſo high, that it was thought adviſeable to draw off to their Lodgments at the Village *Medeſano*. Here they lay, tho' with great Difficulty, for the want of Proviſions, of which the *Italians* had plunder'd the Carriages.

Such was the famous Battle fought between the *French* and the *Italians*, on the Banks of the River *Taro*; in which the former loſt not above 200 Men; whereas the latter had to the Number of 3300 killed on the Spot, among whom were *Rinuccio* a *Venetian* General, and *Bernardo del Monte* a Commander of very great Note; beſides many other Perſons of Diſtinction.

Both Parties laid Claim to the Victory, tho' the Advantage was viſibly on the Side of the *French*. The *Venetians*, how-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II.

ever, made no Scruple to attribute the Glory of the Day to themſelves; for thro' all their Dominions they order'd this Succeſs to be celebrated by Bonefires and other Rejoicings; and on *Marcion Triviſano*'s Tomb, in the Church of the *Minor Friars*, inſcrib'd the following Epitaph: *Here lies* M. Triviſano, *who fought ſucceſsfully againſt* Charles *King of* France, *on the Banks of the River* Taro.

But for all that, it was the general Belief that the *French* were the Conquerors, not only for having fewer Men ſlain, but likewiſe becauſe they drove the *Italians* to the other Side of the River, and open'd a free Paſſage for their Army, the chief Thing for which they contended.

The Day following *Charles* lay encamped at the Place whither he had retired after the Battle, and where, by means of *Argentine*, a Truce for a Day was made between him and the Enemy. The King appear'd extremely deſirous of a free Paſſage, fearing a Defeat if he ſhould be attack'd again, conſidering that great Numbers of the Confederate Troops had not fought the Day before: Beſides, he apprehended that his March thro' the State of *Milan* would be very dangerous, having ſo powerful an Enemy in his Rear. The *Italians* likewiſe, on their Part, were not a little diſheartned for the Loſs they had ſuſtained; however, by Degrees, they began to rouſe up their Spirits, being conſiderably animated by Count *Pitigliano*, who adviſed them to make a freſh [t] Attack on the *French* in their Camp, aſſuring them that their Lodgments were weak and defenceleſs. However, this Council was rejected by the Generality, as being a Thing too hazardous. At this Time a Rumor was ſpread over all *Italy*, that *Lodovick Sforza* had given private Orders to his Troops not to fight; but that was entirely groundleſs.

Charles, on the other Side, began at Break of Day to march his Army forward in as great Silence as poſſible; nor did the Confederates think fit to attack him a ſecond Time, and, had they been willing, 'twas ſcarcely practicable, becauſe of the ſwelling of the River: However, about Sun-ſet, finding the Waters decreaſed a little, Count *Gaiazzo*, with 200 Light

[t] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 58.

Horſe

Horſe under his Command, ventur'd over to the other Side, to follow the *French* Footſteps, who had taken the Road ſtrait for *Piacenza*. And altho' the Count was very uneaſy to them in their Rear, yet the *French* continu'd their March without Diſorder, and had whatever Proviſions they wanted brought them from the neighbouring Villages, procured by *Trivulzio*, who, with ſome of the Light Horſe, went before the Army for that Purpoſe.

The Day after the *French* began their March, the Confederate Army moved forward alſo, ſhewing however but little Inclination to follow the Enemy, eſpecially the *Venetian* Proveditors, who were very averſe to put their Troops again into the Power of Fortune: So that two Day after they pitch'd their Camp near the Banks of the River *Trebbia*, not very far from *Piacenza*, near which 200 *Swiſs*, with the greateſt Part of the *French* Artillery, were lying on a Ground, between which and the Town run the River, which, by the falling of freſh Rains, was become altogether unpaſſable; ſo that notwithſtanding the great Diligence uſed to get the Artillery over to the other Side, it was found altogether impracticable at that Time. This gave a notable [1] Opportunity to the Confederates for attacking them; but either out of Cowardice or Infatuation they neglected it, ſo that the Waters by Degrees abating, they all got ſave to the other Side, and join'd the *French*. By this Time Count *Gaiazzo* had got into the Town of *Piacenza*, where he had a Suſpicion that the many diſaffected Inhabitants there had a Deſign to ſtir up a general Revolt from the Duke his Maſter's Government: Nor was his Suſpicion without Ground, it being certain, that if the *French*, according to *Trivulzio*'s Advice, had proclaim'd *John Galeazzo*'s Son, and diſplay'd his Standard there, ſuch a general Revolt in his Favour might eaſily have enſued; but the *French* were eager to purſue their March, ſo that they would not loſe Time on that Account.

As the *French* went forward, they fell into great want of Proviſions, becauſe *Sforza* had taken Care to ſecure the Villages, and diſtributed a good many Troops of Horſe, partly in *Tortona* and *Aleſſandria*, with 1200 *German* Foot, which he had made come for that Purpoſe from *Novara*: Beſides, from the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 59.

Time

Time that the *French* paſſed the *Trebbia*, Count *Gaiazzo* having join'd a Body of 500 *German* Foot (which he took out of the Garriſon of *Piacenza*) to his own Light Horſe, he continually galled the *French* in the Rear. But the latter, at ſome ſmall Diſtance from *Aleſſandria*, having taken the High Road near the Mountains, where the River *Tavaro* is eaſily Forded, without great Oppoſition or Loſs of Men, arrived ſafe under the Walls of [1] *Aſti*; which, as ſoon as they had enter'd, *Charles* order'd his Soldiers to quarter in the neighbouring Fields, reſolving at the ſame Time to recruit and augment his Army as ſoon as poſſible, and to remain himſelf in *Italy* until he could ſend Succour to *Novara*.

On the other Hand, the Confederates having follow'd them as far as the *Tortoneſe*, deſpairing of an Opportunity of doing them further Damage, went and join'd *Sforza*'s Troops, lying before *Tortona*, which Place was in great Diſtreſs for want of Proviſions.

About this Time thoſe who were ſent by *Charles* on the Expedition of *Genoa* returned, without [2] Succeſs; for their Fleet which firſt of all landed at *Porto-Specie*, having ſteer'd towards *Rapallo*, ſoon took Poſſeſſion of that Place. But a Fleet of eight Gallies, with ſundry other Veſſels, having gone out of the Harbour of *Genoa* in the Night-time, landed 700 Foot near *Rapallo*, which they immediately attack'd and re-took from the *French*, together with all their Guards in that Place: After which their Fleet ſet Sail in purſuit of the *French*, and came up with them, where a very ſharp Engagement enſued; but the *French*, unable to ſuſtain the Enemies Fire any longer, retired towards the Bottom of the Gulph, but being ſurrounded on all Hands by the Enemy, they were totally routed, moſt of their Ships being ſunk or burnt, and their Admiral taken Priſoner; which Action happen'd in the very ſame Place, where, the Year before, the *Arragoneſe* Fleet had been diſcomfited. The *French* were likewiſe extremely unfortunate, with regard to the other Troops that had been put on Shore near *Genoa*, where, being fruſtrated of the Hopes they had conceived of a Revolt in that City, and alſo hearing of the Defeat of their Fleet; they thought fit to retire with all imaginable Haſte towards *Savoy*, not-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 59. [2] Ibid.

withſtanding

withſtanding, had they tarried a little longer, they might have been conſiderably aſſiſted by the *Piemonteſe* Peaſants, who were ſent by the Duke of *Savoy* to their Aſſiſtance.

Affairs, in the mean time, within the Kingdom of *Naples* and in *Lombardy* were in no ſmall Agitation, tho' carried on with different Succeſs; for *Ferdinand* had by this Time paſſed over from *Sicily* to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, and took Poſſeſſion of that Town, endeavouring with all his Might to have the other adjacent Places in his Hands alſo, having brought along with him 6000 Volunteers out of *Sicily*, with a conſiderable Number of *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot, commanded by *Conſalvo Ernandes* of *Cordova*, a General of great Renown, ſent by the King of *Spain* to his Aſſiſtance, and who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf with ſo much Bravery and Conduct in the Wars with the *Moors* in *Granada*, that, before his Arrival in *Italy*, he had acquir'd the Title of the *Great Captain*.

On the Arrival of this new Army, *Obigni* the *Scotiſh* General, having brought together all the *French* Troops in *Calabria*, which were under his Command, and which had been left there for the Security of that Province, he encounter'd the Enemy at a Village called *Seminara*, ſituated on the Sea Side, of which Village *Ferdinand* had taken Poſſeſſion. Here a conſiderable Number of Horſe and Foot were ſent to join *Obigni*, by the Gentlemen of the Country, who ſtill adhered to the *French* Intereſt; but what was of the greateſt Importance to that General, was the Arrival of Monſieur *Perſi*'s Troops from the Country of *Baſilicata*, which came to his Aſſiſtance by expreſs Orders: But of this conſiderable Reinforcement *Ferdinand*'s People had got no Manner of Intelligence, conſequently judg'd that *Obigni*'s Army being much inferior to their own, they were in a manner ſure of Victory, if ever they ſhould venture to attack them. However *Conſalvo*, indeed with Prudence requiſite in a great General, begg'd *Ferdinand* not to hazard a Battle till firſt he was ſure of learning the Number and Order of the *French* Forces: but *Ferdinand* being eager to recover his Kingdom and Honour, was deaf to *Conſalvo*'s Counſel, telling him [1] *Naples* was not be regain'd in the cowardly Manner he had loſt it, and that ſince hitherto Fortune

[1] *Vid.* Paulus Jovius, Lib. III. p. 110.

had favour'd him in his Attempts already begun for recovering it, he would not baulk ſuch Fortune by ſupinely lying by and doing nothing: For that ſhe never forſook thoſe whom ſhe ſo viſibly called to Victory: What have we to fear? ſays he: we are ſuperior to the Enemy both in Horſe and Foot; the Inhabitants as well as Fortune are on our Side; who among us will not rejoice to meet the Enemy Face to Face? I'm ſure I ſhall for my Part, and with my own Example lead you on to Victory. There were many of *Ferdinand*'s Mind, namely, *Don Hugo di Cardona*, *Theodore Trivulzio*, *Emanuel Benavides* the *Spaniard*, and others, who expoſtulated with *Conſalvo* to the ſame Purpoſe, deſiring he might not be diffident of the Soldiers Valour, promiſing nothing ſhould be wanting on their Part, either as to their Example, or their animating the Troops to fight: on which they begg'd *Ferdinand* might inſtantly order the Companies, with their Colours flying, to begin their March without the Gates of the Town.

Seminara is a Village ſituated on a high Ground, which gradually deſcends to a Plain, where in the Middle runs a ſmall River, on the Banks of which the *French* were encamped: *Ferdinand*, in the mean time, came out with his Troops, marching along the ſaid riſing Ground, and came down on the Plain to the oppoſite Side of the River where the *French* lay. Here he began to put his Troops in Order of Battle, diſtending his Foot on the left, and his Horſe on the right Hand, along the ſaid River, by way of right and left Wings. In this Manner he waited till the *French* ſhould come over to attack him: On the other Side, *Obigni* and *Perſi* order'd the *Swiſs* to be ready to encounter the *Spaniſh* Cavalry; and at the ſame time placed the *Calabreſe* on the Flank of the Army to the Right and Left, among whom they diſtributed an equal Number of Horſe or *Gens d'Armes*, in all about 400; and according to the *French* Uſage, a double Number of Light Horſe were order'd for their Support: In this Manner, forming a Quadrangle, did the *French* paſs the River to give the Enemy Battle. As ſoon as they began to move, the *Spaniſh* Horſe, with an Appearance of uncommon Bravery, immediately went to [1] receive them; but being inferior in Number and Force, they could by no Means put the *French* in Diſorder, who were in a manner penn'd

[1] Paulus Jovius, Lib. III. p. 111.

up

up on all Hands by their own *Gens d'Armes.* The *Spaniards* perceiving their Attempt unſucceſsful, giving a great Shout, wheel'd about, retiring towards the Body of their own Army. This being obſerv'd by the *Arragoneſe* Foot, they imagin'd that Body of Horſe had been beat, and were retiring: By this their Courage began to abate conſiderably, which the more they were diſheartned, the more were the *French* animated to improve the Advantage they had already obtain'd, inſomuch that *Obigni* on the Right, and *Perſi* on the Left, valiantly puſhing on the Infantry, the *Arragoneſe* were quite [1] routed and put to Flight, before the *Swiſs* in the *French* Army could ſtrike one Blow, ſo that they obtain'd a moſt complete and glorious Victory, notwithſtanding *Ferdinand* did all he could to make his People rally again, and renew the Fight, but in vain: however, that the World might not think his Defeat proceeded from want of Courage in himſelf, he puſhed his Horſe in among the Enemy, and broke a Lance on the Breaſt of one of the *French* Generals; but being borne down by Numbers, he alſo betook himſelf to Flight, when being diſtinguiſh'd by the Plume on his Helmet, and his gilded Armour, he was very hotly purſu'd; but having out-run thoſe who were deſign'd to have him in their Hands, it happen'd that his Horſe fell with him, at the ſame time when he was paſſing a very narrow and rugged Path; on which, his Feet being intangled in his Stirrups, and Part of his Body under the Horſe, he had very near loſt his Life, and been taken by the *French*, who by this time had come pretty near up with him, had it not been for the ſingular Affection of one [2] *Giovanni Altavilla*, who formerly ſerv'd him in the Quality of his Page, and who ſeeing his King in ſuch imminent Danger, ran immediately to his Aſſiſtance, and diſmounting from his own Horſe, gave it to *Ferdinand*, who, arm'd and bruis'd as he was, loſt no Time to mount into the Saddle; ſo that with all the Speed he could, he got off, and avoided being taken Priſoner: However the poor Gentleman *Altavilla*, by ſaving his King, loſt his own Life; for the *French* coming up, and finding him on Foot, they ſlew him on the Spot: Too bad a Reward indeed for a Perſon of ſuch ſingular Loyalty and Affection. *Conſalvo*, traverſing the Mountains, fled to [3] *Reggio*, and *Ferdinand* to *Palma* near *Seminara*, by the Sea Side; where, getting aboard his Fleet, he ſail'd

[1] Paulus Jovius, Lib. III. p. 111. Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 60.

[2] *Vid.* Guicciard. & Paul. Jov. ut ſupra.
[3] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 60.

ſtrait

ſtrait for *Meſſina* in *Sicily*. But this Piece of Unſucceſsfulneſs did not deter him from trying his Fortune again with the Enemy, being excited thereto more than ever by the City of *Naples* Deſire of his Return among them to reſume the Regal Government.

But *Ferdinand* fearing leſt the News of his Defeat ſhould be ſpread over the Kingdom, and conſequently caſt a Damp on the Minds of thoſe who were making Diſpoſitions in his Favour; he therefore got ready the Gallies which carried him from *Iſchia*, together with the others in which his Father *Alphonſus* had fled from *Naples*, and thoſe likewiſe ſent him from *Spain*, in all to the Number of 60 Veſſels; and putting the few Troops which were left him, aboard this Fleet, he immediately ſet Sail for *Naples*; and altho' he knew his Land Forces were but inconſiderable, yet he did not doubt of retrieving his Affairs, eſpecially when he conſider'd the great Inclination which the *Neapolitans* had towards him: And ſo it happen'd; for no ſooner did the Fleet appear on the Coaſts of *Salerno*, than that Town, and the whole Shore of *Amalfi* and *Cava* diſplay'd *Ferdinand*'s Standard, and proclaim'd him once more their King.

Two Days after he doubled the Promontory, making towards the City of *Naples*, in which he expected a general Revolt of the Inhabitants in his Favour; but his Hopes in this were fruſtrated, for on the News of his Approach, the *French* immediately flew to their Arms, placing Guards where the greateſt Need was, by which the impending Rebellion was in a manner ſtifled before its Birth, tho' indeed on the very Point of breaking out: So as the *French* found a Remedy for the Evil with which they were at that time threaten'd; and in like Manner might for their other Matters, had they follow'd a very ſeaſonable Advice given them by one [1] *Gratianus Guerra*, namely, *To Man the* French *Fleet lying within the Harbour of* Naples, *and by putting aboard a ſufficient Number of Troops, immediately to launch out and attack the* Arragoneſe, *who were lying in ſight of the Town; where, the latter being but poorly provided, and deſtitute of Combatants, it was highly probable that had the* French *follow'd the Advice offer'd them, they might have given*

[1] *Vid.* Oricellarius de Bello Italico, Lond. p. 89.

a very

a very good Account of the Enemy, and drove them out of their Seas. But this Counſel was rejected, either becauſe if the ſaid Attempt had ſucceeded, ſome People, more covetous of falſe Fame than affectionate to their Country, imagin'd they ſhould not ſhare in the Glory of the Action themſelves; or were of Opinion that the *Arragoneſe* Fleet was more powerful than moſt People imagin'd: Be that how it will, 'tis certain, the *French* afterwards had often occaſion to repent heartily that they had not taken the Advice of *Gratianus*.

In the mean time *Ferdinand*, with his Fleet, lay three Days before *Naples*, in continual Expectation of ſome popular Commotion within the City: But finding nothing of that Kind offering, he reſolv'd to tarry no longer there, accordingly ſet Sail for *Iſchia*: On which, thoſe who were the chief of his Party in *Naples*, knowing that his Cauſe was in a manner their own, and dreading that the Diſcovery which afterwards might be made of their Treachery and Diſaffection to the *French*, might coſt them very dear, if the *Arragoneſe* ſhould not prevail; for this Reaſon they privately ſent a Boat to *Ferdinand*, beſeeching him to return to *Naples*, and at any rate to land ſome of his Troops at a certain Place, a Mile without the Walls, called *Madalena*; by doing which, they ſaid, his Friends in the mean time within that City might have the better Opportunity to play their Part. *Ferdinand* hearing this, did return, and accordingly caſt Anchor where they had adviſ'd him, and began to disbarque his Soldiers.

On this, *Monpenſier* the Vice-Roy, perceiving the Enemy had in good Earneſt actually landed ſome of their Troops, order'd his own Forces to march out and attack them, before they could get the reſt of their Men on Shoar; but no ſooner had they got without the Walls, than the Inhabitants flew to their Arms, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the City Gates, ſlaying every one that made the leaſt Reſiſtance, and immediately rung the Great Bell of the *Carmine*, as a Signal for a general Alarm, and, with loud Acclamations over the whole City, proclaim'd *Ferdinand* their King; which ſudden Revolution and Inſurrection ſo terrified the *French*, that not thinking themſelves ſecure between an Enemy in Arms on one Hand, and a City in Rebellion on the other, and finding it impracticable to return the ſame Way they had gone out, they determin'd to come back, by marching

along the higher Ground under the Walls, and there to re-enter *Naples* at the Gate near *Caſtel Nuovo*.

But by this time *Ferdinand* having, without Oppoſition, landed all his Forces, had actually got Entrance within the City; where, having mounted on Horſeback, ſurrounded with an innumerable Multitude of his Friends and Adherents, he began his March thro' *Naples* in a triumphant Manner, all Orders and Ranks of People ſhewing an incredible Joy that they had again got their old Sovereign among them; ſo that, as he paſſed along, loud Acclamations and Huzza's echoed from all Corners, every one ſtriving who ſhould moſt honour their King; ſome ſprinkling him with odoriferous Waters, others from their Windows ſtrewing the Ground with Flowers as he paſſed; nay, many of the Nobility ran to embrace him in the middle of the Streets; others were ſo officious as to wipe the Sweat off his Face, and to do the like Offices of Duty and Affection, the Whole ſhewing their Reſpect and Good-Will. Multitudes on all Hands congratulated his ſafe Return, lifting their Eyes and Hands up to Heaven, as a Mark of Joy and Thanks for their Monarch's Safety. Nor did they for all that, omit any Thing which regarded the Security of the Place; for the Marquiſs of *Peſcara* marching at the Head of thoſe Troops which *Ferdinand* had brought over with him from *Sicily*, a numerous Body of *Neapolitan* Volunteers join'd him, who altogether went to ſecure the Entries of the Streets, and fortify them every where. On the other Hand, the *French* having rallied their Troops on the great open Place before the *Caſtel Nuovo*, endeavour'd afterwards to force their Way into the habitable Part of the Town; on which there enſued a very ſharp Engagement between *Ferdinand*'s People and the Enemy: however, the latter were, with incredible Ardour and Bravery, repulſed by the *Neapolitans*, who diſputed the Ground with the *French* Inch by Inch, inſomuch that the latter, having ſuſtained conſiderable Loſs, they were forced to retire [1].

When Night came on, the *French* got within the Caſtle, but were forced to leave 2000 of their Horſe in the open

[1] *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo de reditu Ferdinandi, where the different Accounts of *Bembo*, from other Authors, are conſider'd. *N. B.* What regards theſe Circumſtances of *Ferdinand*'s Return, *vid.* Oricellarius, p. 89 to 98, &c. & Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 60.

Place,

Place, having neither Proviſion or Convenience for them within the Fort. At the ſame time *Ivo d'Allegri*, a noted General, and the Prince of *Salerno*, together with ſundry other Perſons of Diſtinction, ſhut themſelves up within the ſaid Caſtle. By Break of Day *Ferdinand*, who the Night before had got in Readineſs every Thing neceſſary for battering the Fort, diſpoſed the Whole with great Aſſiduity and Judgment, having placed a ſtrong Body of his ſelect Troops, to hinder the *French* from making Sallies on the Town; after which riding to and fro among the Ranks of his own Troops, he ordered and diſpoſed whatever was neceſſary for the Attack: Nothing indeed was wanting on his Part, which poſſibly could be effected by an experienc'd General, and a moſt couragious King; ſometimes [1] ruſhing amidſt the thickeſt of the Enemies Fire, to diſpoſe Matters as Need required, animating and encouraging thoſe who behaved beſt, and, calling them by their Names, promis'd their Bravery and good Behaviour ſhould not go unrewarded: Others again, when he ſaw them give Signs of Puſilanimity and Fear, he upbraided for their Slowneſs and want of Courage; in the mean time, he hinder'd as much as was poſſible, the Enemy from defending the Walls. But on the other Side, the *French* were not wanting to make a moſt gallant Reſiſtance; nor was their Fire from above in vain, being all determin'd either to conquer or die; for which Reaſon they made frequent Sallies on the Enemy, with an Intrepidity and Boldneſs not to be expreſſed, and even ventur'd further in among the thickeſt of the *Arragoneſe* Troops, than what was really prudent on the Part of People Beſieged. In this Manner did they puſh on to try what Fortune might again offer in their Favour; but after ſtrenuous Endeavours to drive the Enemy from the Walls, by the obſtinate Reſiſtance they met with, and the Superiority of the *Arragoneſe* Numbers, they were forced to retire again within the Caſtle. After this the *French* made an Excurſion towards the Harbour, where the Enemies Ships were lying, with Intention to recover it, and to deſtroy their Fleet: on which enſued the moſt cruel Engagement of any, where nothing was to be ſeen but Confuſion and Death; ſome of the Gallies being drove on Shoar, others ſet on Fire, the Ships and the Haven were full of wounded Men, Heaps of dead Carcaſes floating in the Water, others

[1] *Vid.* Oricellarius de Bello Italico, Lond. p. 94, 95.

periſhing

periſhing in the Middle of the Flames, and nothing was to be ſeen by the Spectators, at a Diſtance, but the Glittering of Swords; and Multitudes, eager for Blood, ruſhing impetuouſly on each other, ſome giving Way, others running to and fro in a confuſed Manner, terrified with the Proſpect of Ruin and Death, Howlings and Cries of wounded Men filling the Ears of every one: In fine, ſcarce can any Thing be imagin'd equal to it for Horror and Confuſion, nothing but Cruelty, Rage, Slaughter, Deſpair in ſome, Hopes in others, prevailing. At laſt the *French*, quite oppreſſed with Fatigue and Loſs of Blood, were oblig'd anew to ſeek for Shelter within the Caſtle; ſo that finding their Endeavours for recovering the City were in vain, they began to loſe all Manner of Hopes, every Thing on their Side appearing with a very melancholy Proſpect: for not only had *Naples* itſelf rebell'd, but *Capua*, *Averſa*, and the Caſtle of *Mondragone*, began to follow their Example, together with many of the neighbouring Towns; nor they only, but moſt of the Kingdom were determin'd to venture their Lives and their All for *Ferdinand*.

Among the reſt, the Town of *Gaeta* at that Time perceiving that ſome of *Ferdinand*'s Gallies had anchor'd near their Harbour, imagin'd other Forces were ſpeedily to be ſent thither, for recovering that Place to the *Arragoneſe*. By this the Inhabitants began to think of giving up the Town into the Hands of their old Maſters: accordingly their Inclinations for a Revolt being very ardent, perhaps occaſion'd by the bad Uſage they daily met with from the *French*, with the utmoſt Temerity imaginable, and without judging how to time their Matters right, they precipitantly declared for the *Arragoneſe*; ſo that Men, Women, and Children within the Town, raiſing loud Acclamations of Joy, proclaimed once more *Ferdinand* for their King. The *French*, on this, imagining the Enemy's Army to be near at Hand, and on their March to force their Way within the City, drew up their Troops in very good Order to receive them; but after long waiting for the Attack, finding there was no other Enemy appeared but only the Inhabitants of the Place, on this they turn'd their Arms on the Rebels, who, altho' in a tumultuous Manner, they made Head againſt the Garriſon; yet being without experienc'd Commanders, there was nothing but Confuſion among them, ſo that the diſciplin'd Troops of the Enemy prevailing, they drove thoſe who made

made Reſiſtance, up to the higher and remote Parts of the Town; who, unable to ſuſtain the Shock of the *French*, were cruelly ſlaughter'd on the Spot: Others they forc'd in ſhoals over the Precipices and Rocks into the Sea. In fine, nothing was ſeen or heard, over the whole Town, but Wounds and Blood, and the Groans and Howlings of Men, Women, and Children, wallowing in their Gore; Terror and Confuſion appearing every where; and even, as my [1] Author relates, notwithſtanding the Prieſts, dreſt in their Sacred Veſtments, came proceſſionally imploring the *French*, on their Knees, to abſtain from ſpilling ſo much Blood; yet theſe barbarous Adverſaries gave a deaf Ear to their Intreaties, and, inſtead of having Compaſſion, and being ſoften'd with their Submiſſion, Tears, and Prayers, with horrid Cruelty maſſacred the Supplicants as well as the others; and alſo, breaking into their Churches, kill'd Multitudes at the very Altars, ravaging and deſtroying every Thing, and polluting their Temples and Places of Worſhip with Blood and Death.

About the ſame time, the *Venetian* Fleet being arriv'd at *Monopoli*, a City in *Puglia*, they landed their Foot there, together with the *Stradiotti*, or Light Horſe, which they had brought along with them: but being immediately encounter'd by the *French*, there enſued a ſharp Engagement between them, in which *Pietro Bembo*, Commander of one of the *Venetian* Gallies, was ſlain. For all this, the *Venetians* were ſo far the Conquerors, that they took the Town by Force; which, however, was render'd them more on Account of the Governor's Cowardice, than the *Venetian* Bravery.

But to return to *Ferdinand*, who, in the mean time, was buſy in beſieging the Caſtles within *Naples*: He judg'd the *French* would, for want of Succour and Proviſions, be oblig'd very ſoon to ſurrender thoſe Forts; and indeed they were in very great Diſtreſs this Way. However they did all they could to hold out to the laſt: accordingly *Monpenſier* the Governor order'd their Fleet, which was lying within one of the ſecureſt

[1] *Vid.* Oricellarius de Bello Italico, printed at London, Anno MDCCXXIV. from p. 86 to 89.

Harbours there, conſiſting of five Ships and four Gallies, to retire between the Tower of St. *Vincent* and the Caſtle *Nuovo*, not thinking them very ſafe elſewhere, ſeeing theſe two Forts were ſtill in the *French* Poſſeſſion. From thence he diſtributed a good Number of his Troops and Guards along the Sea Side, even to that Part of the Suburbs called *Pie-de-Grotto*, againſt whom *Ferdinand* ſent his Cavalry; where, the latter making a cover'd Way of the other Street called the *Incoronata*, the *Arragoneſe* thereby took Poſſeſſion of the Hill of St. *Ermo*, and afterwards of *Pizzofalcone*, notwithſtanding the Fort above was ſtill in the *French* Hands: After gaining the Hill, they attack'd the well-fortified Monaſtery there called *Santa-Croce*, but receiv'd conſiderable Damage from the Fort above, inſomuch that they began to deſpair of recovering that Convent, ſo that inſtead of Force they had Recourſe to Stratagem; to effect which, it happen'd that the Marquiſs of *Peſcara*, ſome Way or another, procur'd Intelligence with a certain *Moor* within the Convent, who formerly had been his Domeſtick Servant: This *Moor* promis'd the Marquiſs to get him and his People Admittance privately; accordingly ſent him Word, that the ſame Night he would take care to have a Ladder placed, which ſhould reach from the Windows of the Monaſtery to the Ground, deſiring his old Maſter at a certain Time to be there, and that he ſhould acquaint him when, and in what Manner, he might enter the Convent: On which the Marquiſs, not ſuſpecting any Fraud, came at the Time appointed; where, no ſooner had he mounted to the Top of the Ladder, than the Villain, ſeizing him by the Throat [1], pierced his Wind-Pipe thro' with an Arrow; ſo that the poor deluded Nobleman fell dead from the Window to the Ground, having loſt his Life for truſting too much to the Promiſes of that ungrateful Traitor.

In the mean time the *French* beſieged within the Caſtles of *Naples*, being reduced to the very laſt Extremity for want of Proviſions, and without any Hopes of Succour, but what might perhaps be ſent them from *France*, began ſeriouſly to think of ſur-

[1] *Vid.* Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 61. Alſo Oricellarius, p. 98. Paulus Jovius, Lib. III. p. 119.

rendering,

rendering, which they would have done without Delay, had they not had Intelligence that their King, on his Arrival in *Aſti*, had order'd *Perone de Baccie* to haſten to *Villa-Franca* near *Nice*, where his Fleet was lying, and with all imaginable Expedition to ſail for *Naples*, with Succours and Proviſions to the Beſieged there. This Fleet was commanded by Monſieur *Darban*, aboard of which were about 200 *Gaſcoin* and *Swiſs* Foot. On theſe Orders they loſt no Time to put to Sea; accordingly arriv'd at the Iſland *Porezo*, at which Place, to their Surprize, they ſpied at a Diſtance *Ferdinand*'s Navy cruiſing in thoſe Seas, the Number of which was no leſs than 32 Veſſels, including the Ships they had from *Genoa*. The *French*, on this, being too well appriz'd of their Inferiority in Strength, durſt not at any rate venture to proceed, ſo that they were immediately oblig'd to tack about, and make what haſte they could back to the Iſland of *Elba*; in which Confuſion a *Biſcoine* Veſſel ſunk in their Return thither: After this they ſteer'd ſtrait for *Leghorn*, but their Crew was ſeiz'd with ſuch a Pannick Fear, that, for all their Commander could do, there was no hindering the Foot Soldiers from going aſhoar; and when landed, they made the beſt of their Way for *Piſa*.

On the News of the *French* Fleet's Retreat, *Monpenſier*, who, with his People, had been beſieged three Months, finding no Manner of Hopes left him, promis'd at laſt to deliver up the Caſtles within the Space of 30 Days, provided no Succour ſhould be brought them; and alſo that their Perſons and Effects ſhould be ſafe, intending to march with the Troops that were under his Command to *Provence*: In Adherence to which he gave *Ferdinand* Hoſtages, among whom was *Ivo d'Allegri* and three others. As for Succour they could ſcarce hope for any from their own Country within ſo ſhort a Time; nor indeed elſewhere, unleſs from other Places in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which accordingly, and beyond their Expectations, happen'd: For Monſieur *Perſi*, one of the *French* Generals, who commanded the *Swiſs* in *Calabria*, knowing what great Diſtreſs his beſieged Countrymen were in at *Naples*, reſolved at any rate to march thither to their Aſſiſtance, being joined by the Prince *Biſignano*, and others in the *French* Intereſt: on whoſe Approach *Ferdinand* ſent the Count *Mataloni* to *Eboli*, with an Army to encounter them; but the greateſt Part of the

latter

latter being but *Militia* gather'd together in that Neighbourhood, tho' very far ſuperior to the *French* in Numbers; yet no ſooner did *Perſi* with his Troops appear, than the *Italian* Army took to flight, without ſtriking one Blow; where, in their flying, *Venantio*, the Lord of *Camerino*'s Son, was taken Priſoner; but the others, not being hotly purſu'd by the *French*, retir'd to *Nola*, and from thence to *Naples*.

This Event, as it gain'd great Reputation to the *French*, and freſh Hopes of their future Succeſs, ſo did it caſt an incredible Damp on the *Arragoneſe* Affairs, inſomuch that the Face of Things quite changing, *Ferdinand* was ſo very much diſheartned, that he began to have Thoughts of abandoning *Naples* a ſecond Time, had he not been encourag'd to ſtand his Ground by his Party within the City, who being conſcious of their late Rebellion, and perſuaded that if they ſhould again fall into the *French* Hands, they could have no Clemency nor Mercy ſhewn them, ſo that their own and *Ferdinand*'s Intereſt became in a manner inſeparable. *Ferdinand* therefore halted at *Capella*, and that he might hinder the Enemy from advancing to the Caſtles, he order'd a huge Ditch to be cut, running from the Hill of St. *Ermo* even to the Caſtle *Del-Nuovo*, placing his Artillery and Troops along the Road from thence to *Capella*, inſomuch that notwithſtanding the *French* were come as far as *Chiaia*, in the Suburbs of *Naples*, yet every Place being well defended, and *Ferdinand* in Perſon ſhewing uncommon Bravery on this Occaſion; as alſo the *French* Troops being cruelly gall'd from *Pizzafalcone*, the Eminence of which is as high as the Top of the Caſtle *Nuovo*; the *French* were not able to advance further, nor approach to *Capella*; moreover, being in great want of freſh Water, they found themſelves obliged to retire much ſooner than was expected, leaving two or three Pieces of their Artillery, and Part of the Proviſion which they had brought for the Garriſon, behind them, and march'd directly for *Nola*: On which *Ferdinand*, with a numerous Force, deſigning to give them Battle, follow'd them in the Rear, but halted when he came to the Plain of *Palma* near *Sarni*.

Monpenſier

Monpenſier, on Account of the Retreat of the *French*, finding no Hopes left him of defending the Caſtles, determin'd to abandon the Forts in Perſon, but not to ſurrender as yet: Accordingly having left 300 Men within the Caſtle *Del-Nuovo*, and a Number of Guards within that *Del-Vuovo*, he embark'd aboard the *French* Fleet, carrying along with him 2500 Soldiers, and ſet Sail for *Salerno*. On whoſe Departure *Ferdinand* was exceedingly enrag'd, judging *Monpenſier* had not acted according to what had been lately ſtipulated between them, the latter having oblig'd himſelf not to depart with his Troops until the Time expired for delivering up the Caſtles; for which Reaſon the *Arragoneſe* King was very near determin'd to revenge himſelf on the Hoſtages which *Monpenſier* had put into his Hands: However, the few Troops left within the Caſtles, being almoſt famiſh'd for want of Neceſſaries, render'd up the Fort *Del-Nuovo*, on Condition that the Hoſtages ſhould be ſet at Liberty. At the ſame time thoſe within the other Caſtle *Del-Vuovo*, agreed likewiſe that they ſhould ſurrender, if Succour was not ſent them before the firſt Day of *Lent*; which Conditions were accepted and agreed upon.

[1] But to return to the Pope and *Valentine*, who, as we have already mention'd, had left *Rome* in a Pannick Fear, upon *Charles*'s returning thither after the Conqueſt of *Naples*; but finding they had eſcaped the Danger of being made the King's Priſoners, they came back with their whole Court to *Rome*, both Father and Son being puffed up with a Sort of Vain-Glory, to ſee the lucky Event of their Deſigns this Way: They were, however, exceedingly anxious about what they judged the Grand Concern, namely, the Succeſs of the Confederate Powers, who had combined againſt the *French*, knowing full well that one Stroke of adverſe Fortune to them, was ſufficient to throw their own Affairs into a worſe State than ever. But when News was brought, that on the firſt Day of *July* the *French* Fleet had been defeated, and that *Ferdinand* was recall'd to *Naples*, and in a Manner reinſtated in full Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; as alſo that the Confederates had defeated the *French* at *Taro*, as they boaſted; *Alexander*, on this, diſpatches a Meſſenger, with a formal *Monitory* to *Charles*, (who, upon

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 148.

Account of ſuccouring *Novara*, had halted at *Turin*): In which Monitory, the Pope, by Virtue of his Pontifical Authority, [1] commanded his Majeſty and his Army to leave *Italy* within ten Days; and in the ſame limited Time to call back his Troops out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, otherwiſe he ſhould be excommunicated, and ſummon'd to appear in Perſon before him at *Rome*; to which Monitory *Charles* ſent an Anſwer, as follows; *viz.*

That he did not underſtand why the Pontiff ſhould command him to leave *Italy*, ſince having ſome time before demanded a free Paſs from his Holineſs's Allies, for returning to *France*, they had deny'd him his Requeſt, nay, with all the Force they could raiſe, endeavour'd to ſtop him, tho' in vain. Next, as for recalling his Troops out of *Naples*, he was unwilling, he ſaid, to do that, conſidering they had gone thither with his Holineſs's Conſent and Benediction. Thirdly, with regard to his appearing before him at *Rome*, he very much wonder'd at the Pope's Demand this Way, ſince, on his Return from *Naples*, having been deſirous of ſeeing his Holineſs there in Perſon, to have given him Marks of his Obſequiouſneſs and Devotion, he had not thought fit to grant him that Satisfaction: However, he promis'd that as ſoon as he could ſecure himſelf from the Inſults of his Enemies, which he was about to do without Delay, he ſhould then be very ready to obey his Holineſs's Commands as to that Point; but begg'd he would not let him make a fruitleſs Journey, but without fail wait for him there.

But the exceſſive Deſire *Charles* and the reſt of his Court had to return to *France*; as alſo the Difficulties he met with in the Affair of *Novara*, and being likewiſe preſs'd by the continual Sollicitations of the Prince of *Orange*; all together gave him too ſoon Occaſion to obey the Pope's Commands in leaving *Italy*, notwithſtanding the Arrival of 20,000 *Swiſs* to his Aſſiſtance: Accordingly, having firſt made a very precipitant and diſadvantagious Peace with *Lodovick Sforza*, yielding him up the Poſſeſſion of *Novara*, he march'd directly for *Paris*. By this the Affairs of *Lombardy* were quite abandon'd by the *French*, and *Naples* ſo reduc'd, that few Succours could poſſibly be ſent thither.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 64.

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Whereupon *Valentine* perceiving ſo great an Obſtacle to his growing Ambition, in a manner remov'd out of the Way, his Mind was ſo ſwell'd with Joy, that he ſcarcely could be contain'd within himſelf: Nor indeed was his Father behind with him as to that, his Schemes tending to no other Point but the aggrandizing his Family, eſpecially to exalt his eldeſt Son, the Duke of *Gandia*, to the higheſt Pitch of Greatneſs he poſſibly could. On the other hand, *Valentine*, who always look'd upon his Brother's Advancement with an envious Eye, determin'd within himſelf to pull that Fabrick down, as faſt as his Father could build it up, reſolving he ſhould never ſurpaſs himſelf in any Temporal Greatneſs. Nor indeed did the Pope and his Son *Valentine* ſtick at any Thing that might advance their reſpective Deſigns, which were built upon no other Foundation but Injuſtice and Violence; and if there was any Difference in Wickedneſs between them, the Son ſeem'd rather ſuperior to the Father, in ſo far as the Means by which he executed his Schemes, were the moſt flagitious that could enter within a human Breaſt.

His elder Brother, as we have mention'd in another Place, was favour'd by Nature with an agreeable Countenance, and endow'd with great Sweetneſs of Temper, there being few Excepceptions to his good Character, unleſs it was his Exceſs in Venery: for from the Commencement of his Father's Pontificate, till that very time, he had ſhewn ſo much Affability and Moderation in his Deportment, that he was as much belov'd by the Court, as his Brother was hated and fear'd. But *Valentine*, on Account of his great Capacity for Buſineſs, and Strength of Genius, above all, his Diſpatch in executing every Kind of Wickedneſs, was a greater Favourite of the Pope than the Duke of *Gandia*, although the latter was uſed with more Tenderneſs than the former; and, as the eldeſt Son and Repreſentative of the Family, was prefer'd to *Valentine*; all the Secular Dignities which could be procured being heaped upon him, and which at that Time were much more coveted than Eccleſiaſtical Endowments. This being conſider'd by *Valentine*, he diſſembled his Envy with as great Art as was poſſible, ſeeming entirely concordant with whatever his Father acted, not at all diſpleaſed with the Honours and Wealth brought into their Family, knowing all theſe Things, being furniſh'd to his Hand by his Brother's poſſeſſing them, by one ſingle Stroke in removing

removing him out of the Way, he was ſure to have them at laſt to himſelf.

In the mean time the Pope knowing that in the College of Cardinals he had a Party at his Devotion, ready to concur in every Thing for promoting the Grandeur of his Family, tho' never ſo much in Prejudice of the Church and the Holy See; in order therefore to lay the Foundation for his vaſt Deſigns, in the Beginning of the Year 1496. and the fourth Year of his Pontificate, he promoted four Prelates to the Cardinalate, Men no leſs his Creatures and Confidents, than partial to the Duke of *Gandia*'s Intereſt. One of them was the Biſhop of *Segovia*, *Major-Domo* of the Palace: The other the Biſhop of *Giorgento*, Governor of the Caſtle St. *Angelo*: The third was the Biſhop of *Perugia*, his Datary: The fourth *Giovanni Borgia*, the Apoſtolic Prothonotary, and the Pope's Grand Nephew. This laſt, as he was the Duke of *Gandia*'s near Relation, ſo had he on other Accounts a particular Attachment to him; which being well known to *Valentine*, he thought it Motive ſufficient for ſending the new Cardinal into another World, which he ſome time afterwards did perpetrate, by giving him a Doſe of Poiſon at *Urbino*, which ſhall be amply deſcrib'd in its due Place.

Valentine appear'd to approve very much of the Promotion juſt now mention'd, more eſpecially ſince his Father had taken Care to fill the Vacancy of the Datary with a Perſon very much ſuited to his Inclinations; one, who, for his own private Views, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Pope, was willing to go into any Meaſures, tho' never ſo flagitious and abominable. The Name of this corrupt and wicked Miniſter, was *Giovanni-Battiſta-Ferrara*, a *Modeneſe* and Biſhop of *Patria*, who prompted and encourag'd *Alexander* ſo much in his Symonical Practices, that he was the Occaſion of having the following bitter Paſquinade made on the Pope;

Vendit Alexander Claves, Altaria, Chriſtum;
Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

But after this Venal Tool of the Pope had amaſſed very conſiderable Wealth for himſelf, he, among the others, fell a Victim to *Valentine*; who, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Wretch's ill-gotten

ill-gotten Riches, hurried him likewiſe out of Life, with a Doſe of that fatal Poiſon by which Hundreds were murder'd: ſo that after this Paraſite died, they made the following Epitaph for his Tomb;

Janus in hac Baptiſta jacet Ferrarius Urna,
Terra habuit Corpus, Bos Bona, Styx Animam.

But notwithſtanding the Method the Pope had got into of ſelling the Cardinalate to the beſt Bidder, which brought ſometimes very great Wealth into his private Treaſury, yet the Money ariſing from thence was but a Trifle with regard to the vaſt Sums wanted for ſupporting the Grandeur of his Family; ſo that another Method was invented, namely, the erecting a new College for Briefs. The Members of which were about eighty in Number, as Cardinal *Egidio* of *Viterbo* mentions in theſe Words: [1] *Novum Collegium excogitavit Scriptorum Brevium, numero* 80, *ne iis quibus ſucceſſerat Ingenio inferior videretur, cum ad alia obeunda Munea, tum ad Pecuniam comparandam Venalia enim omnia*, &c. And certain it is, that he who was ſo expert in draining the Pockets of private Perſons of their Money, was no leſs artful in contriving how he might extort much greater Sums from thoſe of a higher Rank, as was afterwards ſeen in the barbarous Method he took with thoſe petty Sovereigns in *Romagna* his Feudatories, called Vicars of the Church. But indeed *Alexander*'s Genius was entirely averſe to the *Italian* Nation in general, of which many woeful Evidences were ſhewn, particularly by that Diabolical Inſtrument of his Cruelty and Villany, *Valentine*, by whoſe Means the Blood of many Natives of *Italy* was ſpilt with Profuſion; many of her Cities ranſack'd and deſtroy'd, and Numbers of her illuſtrious Families ſunk and extirpated. But what greater Proof could there be of the Pope's Partiality this Way? ſince out of the whole Number of 36 Cardinals made by him, 22 of them were *Spaniards*, the other 14 being for the moſt Part Foreigners of different Nations, and the leaſt Number of them *Italians*? But among all the Inhabitants in *Italy*, the *Roman* Barons were his greateſt Averſion; theſe he uſed to call the [2] Pope's

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſ. p. 202. Edit. M.DC.LXX. Monte Chiar.

[2] *Vid.* Paulus Jovius, L. IV. p. 193. Tom. Tom. 206. Edit. M.DC.LXX. Mon. Chiar.

Fetters, and often was heard to ſay, that until their Power was ſo reduced, that they could not run into Factions among themſelves, the Papal Authority was in a Manner beſieged, nor could *Rome* be ſecure from being harraſs'd by the prevailing Parties: And as ſuch Things never lay dormant in *Alexander*'s Mind, neither was he unactive in bringing about his wicked Purpoſes under the Veil of theſe Pretenſions; for no ſooner did he arrive at the Pontificate, than he began to put his Malice and Hatred againſt theſe *Roman* Barons in Practice. Among the firſt who felt the Smart of his Injuſtice and Cruelty, were the *Orſini*, under the Pretence, already mention'd, of *Virginio Orſino*'s having purchaſed *Anguillara* and *Cervetri* from *Francis Cibo*: But as the coming of the *French* Arms into *Italy* had in ſome meaſure diverted the Stroke threatned againſt that illuſtrious Family, ſo was the Execution of his Revenge put off till now. Next to the *Orſini* that of *Colonna* was in a particular Manner odious to the Pope, inſomuch that after ſurprizing the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, *Alexander* proceeded both againſt *Proſperus* and *Fabritius Colonna*, and their Adherents, with ſo much Rage and Violence, as we mention'd before, that he judicially ſummon'd them to appear in Judgment before him, declaring them Rebels, and gave Orders to confiſcate their Eſtates, and confine them as his Priſoners, and raze their Houſes and Dwelling Places to the Ground. But the Progreſs made by the *French* King, under whoſe Banner they fought, was the Means whereby they evaded their intended Ruin; King *Charles*, in his Stipulations with the Pope, having taken Care to ſecure the Intereſt of that Family in a particular Manner. But as thoſe Occurrences did in a great Meaſure reſtrain *Alexander* from executing his Revenge, yet were they never able to change the Perverſeneſs of his Will and evil Inclinations this Way; for no ſooner did he find himſelf looſe of the Fetters with which the *French* Arms had tied him, than he return'd to put his perfidious Deſigns in Execution, and to perpetrate the Ruin of thoſe Barons, under the Colour of new Diſguſts and Provocations.

By this time the Affairs of the Confederates were in a very flouriſhing Condition, on Account of the powerful Succours of Land Forces ſent them by the *Venetians*, as alſo the ſuperior Strength of their Fleet, and a great Number of other Troops kept up in *Ferdinand*'s Favour; all theſe Things conſider'd, as alſo the Scarcity of Money among the *French*, and Tardi-

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neſs of ſending Succours to *Naples*, the latter were reduced to a very low paſs, inſomuch that *Monpenſier*, together with the *Orſini*, *Vitelli*, and the others who had ſurviv'd a thouſand Misfortunes in *Puglia*, being at laſt beſieged by *Ferdinand* in *Atella*, after they had made a vigorous Defence, being entirely deſtitute of any Manner of Hope of Succour, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender, tho' on honourable Terms, Hoſtages having been given on both Sides: On which the Pope, finding himſelf in a State of Security, was determin'd not to loſe the Opportunity he had long wiſhed for. However one particular Circumſtance is worth mentioning in this Place; namely, that in the Stipulations made by *Monpenſier* when he gave up the Caſtles of *Naples*, it was agreed, that he, together with all his Adherents and Followers, and every one who had fought under the *French* Banner, ſhould be at Liberty to return with him free and unmoleſted into *France*; and particularly, that the *Orſini* and *Camillo Vitelli* might be permitted to march their Troops Homeward, without the leaſt Impediment, thro' the Kingdom of *Naples*: But the Pope being diſpleaſed with that Article, becauſe it depriv'd him of an Opportunity of executing the Revenge he long thirſted after, under Pretence of *Læſa Majeſtatis*, and as Rebels to the Holy See, he ſollicited *Ferdinand* to detain the *Orſini*, and the other Barons of that Family, as Priſoners; and by Means of Cardinal *Borgia* his Legate he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours for having *Vitelli* in his own Hands; but that Gentleman was vigorouſly protected by the [1] Marquiſs of *Mantua*, by whoſe Means he eſcaped the *Borgian* Fury: But *Ferdinand* did not act ſo generous a Part with the *Orſini*, for, contrary to the Treaty with *Monpenſier*, and his ſolemn Oath, he order'd *Virginius* and *Paolo Orſini* to be kept [2] Priſoners within the Caſtle *Del-Vuovo*, as the Pope had required: And ſome time after *Alexander* manag'd Matters in ſuch a Way, as to have *Giovanni Giordano*, *Virginius*'s Son, and *Bartholomew d'Alviano*, who was related to their Family, made Priſoners alſo, by Means of *Guido-Baldo*, Duke of *Urbin*, General of the Church at that Time: But God did not permit *Ferdinand* to out-live this unjuſt Action, for about the ſame Time, on the firſt of *October*, he [3] died of a Deſentery:

[1] Paulus Jovius, Lib. IV. p. 181.
[2] Ibid. 180. Idem Arnoldus Ferronius de rebus geſtis Gallorum in Vita Car. VIII. p. 32.
[3] Paulus Jovius, p. 181. Idem Arn. Ferron. p. 32.

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Some ſay by Exceſs in Venery with his new Queen. But as this Prince fell while at the Pinnacle of his moſt proſperous Fortune, ſo did his Kingdom, for want of Iſſue, devolve on *Frederick* his Uncle; who likewiſe having but a ſhort Time taſted the Sweets of a Crown, died in a private Condition in *France*, as we ſhall make mention in its due Place.

About this Time the Duke of *Gandia* came to *Rome* from *Civita-vechia*, and on his Arrival made a very pompous and ſplendid Entry, being met at the City Gates by his Brother *Valentine*, and the chief Perſons of Diſtinction about Court. The Duke of *Urbin* likewiſe came thither by the Pope's Deſire, having been received with a Diſtinction ſuitable to his Rank: Three Days after, a private Conſiſtory was held, in which, by Conſent of the Cardinals, it was agreed, That [1] *Virginius Orſino*, and the others of his Family, being guilty of *Læſa Majeſtatis*, as was pretended, and on Account of Injuries done the Church, having with Arms acted in her Prejudice, were therefore, as Rebels, diveſted of their Eſtates. Accordingly Orders were given to the Pope's Troops to go in his Holineſs's Name to take Poſſeſſion of them, declaring that the ſaid Eſtates and Lands were legally reverted to the Church: On this the Pope made Cardinal *Lunate* Legate *a latere* of the Army which was to march thither.

After the Conſiſtory was ended, *Alexander*, dreſs'd Pontifically, went with the Cardinals to St. *Peter*'s, to perform the Ceremony of creating the Duke of *Gandia* General of the Church, where her Enſigns were to be deliver'd to him with great Formality; which was accordingly perform'd with all imaginable Pomp and Magnificence.

This Ceremony being over, the Duke of *Gandia* conducted his Father the Pope thro' the *Portico* of St. *Peter*'s; where, mounting on Horſeback, he rode in the Middle, between the Duke of *Urbin* the late General, and *Fabritius Colonna*, being preceded by three Conductors, who carried before them the like Number of Standards diſplay'd, one of the Church, another of the Pope, and the third of the Duke of *Gandia*, ſurrounded by a Multitude of Pages and At-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 91.

tendants,

tendants, dreſt in rich Liveries; the new General receiving Homage according to the Military Mode, being ſaluted and confirmed in his Dignity with the Sound of Trumpets, Drums, a Diſcharge of the Artillery, ſmall Arms, and the loud Acclamations of the Soldiers, who for that End were drawn up in Rank and File upon the Place of St. *Peter*'s.

It is, however, not to be expreſs'd with what an envious Eye *Valentine* beheld the Pomp and Ceremony perform'd in Honour of his Brother; nor could he by any Means be eaſy to find the Duke was poſſeſſed of ſuch eminent Dignities, when he himſelf was laid aſide, and oblig'd to take up with a Fortune ſo very much inferior as he judg'd: On this Account he was quite diſtracted with Envy and Rage, determining within himſelf not to ſtick at any Thing which might take that Power out of his Brother's Hands, that ſo he himſelf might enjoy the ſame Station. However, the Execution of the Sentence againſt the *Orſini* admitting of no Delay, the Duke of *Gandia*, accompanied by the Cardinal Legate, and the Conductors, march'd with the Pope's Army out of *Rome*, carrying along with them all Manner of Warlike Proviſions, in order to [1] poſſeſs themſelves of the Eſtates of the *Orſini*, where, in leſs than a Month, they became Maſters of [2] *Galera*, *Baſſano*, *Sutri*, *Campagnano*, *Fornello*, *Scrofano*, *Ceſeno*, *Viano*, *Bieda*, and *Iſola*, in the Conqueſt of which they ſcarce met with any Reſiſtance: For the *Orſini* finding themſelves unable to encounter the Enemy in the open Field, judg'd it beſt to bring together their chief Force in three of the ſtrongeſt Towns within their Territory, Places indeed of the greateſt Importance of any to them, and ſeated on the Lake of *Bracciano*, namely, *Anguillara*, *Trivigiano*, and *Bracciano*, the laſt of which, on Account of its advantagious Situation, was capable to hold out a long Siege. In this ſudden War there were two of the *Orſini* Family who acquir'd an uncommon Fame for their Valour and Magnanimity, *viz.* [3] *Bartholomew d'Alviano*, who, before *Ferdinand*'s Death, had luckily made his Eſcape out of Priſon, and fled to *Bracciano*. This Gentleman foreſeeing the Ruin with which his Family was threatned, had been ſo provident as

[1] Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 92.
[2] Paulus Jovius, Lib. IV. p. 193. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 217.
[3] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 217. Edit. Monte Chiaro. Printed Anno M.DC.LXX. Idem. Paulus Jovius, Lib. IV. p. 193.

to bring together a conſiderable Number of *Virginio*'s *Veteran* Soldiers, with a good many others of his own Vaſſals, and had taken Care to fortify the ſaid Town of *Bracciano* ſo very well, that it was able to make a gallant Defence, and in his Sallies on the Beſiegers had been very ſucceſsful, and acted with a Bravery not inferior to the moſt able and experienc'd Commanders.

The other Perſon of the *Orſini* Family who gain'd ſo great Reputation at that Time, was a Lady named *Bartolomea Orſino*, Siſter to *Virginius*, endow'd with a magnanimous and intrepid Soul, and moſt affectionate to the illuſtrious Houſe of which ſhe was a Branch: And indeed ſo couragious and vigilant was ſhe on this Occaſion, that nothing was wanting on her Part, which Prudence could ſuggeſt, or Pains and Reſolution perform, inſomuch that ſhe deſpiſed Danger, (a Thing uncommon to her Sex) and with an undaunted Heart went to and fro viewing and directing every Thing, as Need required, within the Walls, animating and encouraging the Beſieged with her good Conduct, beſtowing Rewards on thoſe who fought beſt, and even ſold her very Jewels, and Things of the greateſt Value, to raiſe Money for paying the Soldiers, and procuring Neceſſaries for the Beſieged. And notwithſtanding the other two Towns, on which they had placed ſo much of their Hopes, had ſurrender'd, and underwent the cruelleſt Uſage imaginable by the Enemy, yet *Bracciano* held out to the laſt, and continu'd to reſiſt ſo bravely, that having one Time made a Sally on the Enemy, they routed 400 of their Horſe, and put them to flight. At another, *Alviano* having made an Excurſion out of the Town as far as the Croſs of *Monte-Mario*, by Chance fell in with [1] Cardinal *Valentine*, who, with a Number of his People, had come that Way, to take the Diverſion of Hunting; but his Eminence, before he could get back, was ſo hunted himſelf, that, had it not been for the Swiftneſs of the Horſe on which he was mounted, he certainly would have been *Alviano*'s Prey; a Booty indeed ſufficient to have recompens'd all the Damage which the Duke of *Gandia* had hitherto done.

Pope *Alexander*, in the mean time, knowing the Neceſſity his Son had for Soldiers, ſent a Reinforcement of 800

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 219. Idem Paulus Jovius, Lib. IV. p. 193. Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 92.

Swiſs

Swiſs to the Camp before *Bracciano*, which Troops had ſerv'd in the War of *Naples*, and order'd Recruits to be raiſed every where; but in Proportion as the Eccleſiaſtical Army was augmenting in Force, the *Orſini* encreas'd in Courage, and Reſolution to defend themſelves, having Hopes, within a ſhort time, to have ſuch powerful Succour ſent them, as to enable thoſe within the Walls, not only to defend the Place, but even to give Battle to the Enemy in the open Field.

No ſooner was King *Charles* inform'd of the Pope's Procedure againſt the *Orſini*, and the Pretence by which he gave a Colour to his Deſigns for aggrandizing his Family, but he immediately diſpatched [1] *Carlo Orſino*, and *Vitellozzo Vitelli* into *Italy*, with a Number of choſen Troops, and with Money for raiſing others, which were to be ſent to aſſiſt the Beſieged; the Arrival of which was ſo much favour'd by Fortune, that, not only did they come ſafe, and in a very ſhort time to *Leghorn* and *Gaeta*, but the very Wind which had brought them thither, had, at the ſame time, obliged another Fleet ſent by the Emperor to the Aſſiſtance of the Confederates for beſieging *Leghorn*, to put to Sea and diſperſe, ſo that the *French* landed there without Damage or Moleſtation.

Carlo and *Vitellozzo*, as ſoon as they came on Shore, march'd directly towards *Perugia* and *Citta-di-Caſtello*, where, within a few Days, they brought together ſo formidable a Body of Troops, that, without Loſs of Time, they march'd to attack the Enemy, and ſuccour their own People; for not only did many of the *Veteran* Soldiers of their Party join them, but likewiſe other conſiderable Reinforcements were ſent by the Family of *Baglioni*, *Giovanni-della-Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, and many other potent Lords, who found themſelves oblig'd to aſſiſt the *Orſini* in ſuch urgent Neceſſity, not ſo much on Account of their Adherence to the Guelph Faction, but becauſe they knew the Enemy's only View was for aggrandizing the *Borgians*, in Prejudice of other People's Rights and Properties; ſo that, in a manner, it was a common Cauſe to every one poſſeſſed of Eſtates and Territories, leſt, by the ſame Pretenſions, the *Borgians* might fall on them alſo: But the

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 220. Edit. Monte Chiar. M.DC.LXX. Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 92.

Families

Families of *Colonna* and *Savelli*, either would not, or durſt not, underſtand the Affair in that Senſe, for, from bitter Enemies, they had all on a ſudden become the Friends of the Pope and his Family, ſo that on this Occaſion they concurred in acting jointly with *Alexander*, in Prejudice of the *Orſini*, *without conſidering* (as a very ſagacious Perſon ſaid on that Affair) *theſe very* Borgians, *who had intruded themſelves within the Lands of the* Orſini *to dine, might perhaps ere long ſup within thoſe of* Colonna; which Saying, or rather Prediction, was very ſoon verified.

As ſoon as the Pope's People had Intelligence that the *Orſini* and *Vitelli* were in full March to attack them with 3000 Foot, and a proportionable Number of Horſe and Men at Arms; having held a Council of War, it was deem'd hazardous to wait for them at *Bracciano*, for fear of being attack'd by the Enemy both in Front and Rear; accordingly they rais'd the Siege, in order to encounter thoſe who were on their March to give them Battle. In the mean time, *Carlo* and *Vitellozzo* having reſted with their Troops, and refreſh'd them at *Soriano*, a Village belonging to the *Orſini*, they found Cardinal *Battiſta Orſino*, and his Brother *Giulio*, who gave them Intelligence that the Eccleſiaſtick Army had left *Bracciano*, and were near at Hand; nay, ſome of their Harbingers or Pioneers were already within Sight: On which the *Orſini* put themſelves in Order of Battle, and ſent a Number of Horſe before, to attack them on their March, and having forced their Way even as far as the Center of the Enemy's Troops, they fought with incredible Reſolution; and indeed there being likewiſe very brave and experienc'd Soldiers among the Eccleſiaſticks, the Conflict was very ſharp on both Sides; however, the *Orſini's* Horſe being over-power'd by Numbers, began to give Way, and take to Flight, in which Engagement one *Roſetto*, a very brave Officer, and *Franciſcotto Orſino*, were taken Priſoners by the *Coloneſe*: However, by the good Management and ſingular Induſtry of *Vitellozzo*, the Fugitives began to rally, and put themſelves in very good Order, ſo that the *Orſini* renew'd the Battle with ſo much Fierceneſs and Reſolution, animated with the Hopes of regaining their Honour and Eſtates, that, in fine, the Eccleſiaſtick Army was forc'd to yield them the Victory; nay, ſo great was the Confuſion and Terror among the Pope's Soldiers, that they ſcarcely knew what they were doing: and altho' the diſciplin'd Troops among them reſiſted the Enemies Force as well

well as they could, yet the others were totally routed with ſo much Diſgrace and Shame, that, beſides Standards, Carriages, and Artillery which were abandon'd, and left a Prey to the *Orſini*, there were above 500 ſlain and taken Priſoners, and the others in a ſhameful Manner [1] put to Flight: The Duke of *Urbin*, having precipitantly fallen from his Horſe, was in very great Danger of loſing his Life, and *Giovanni Pietro Gonzaga*, Count of *Nugolara*, with many Gentlemen of Rank, were, with the ſame Duke, in like manner taken Priſoners, and the Duke of *Gandia* and *Mutius Colonna* wounded, but eſcap'd being taken: however, the Apoſtolick Legate, who had been ſent with the Army, never having ſeen the Horror of Arms before, was ſeized with ſuch a Pannick, that, within a few Days after the Battle, [2] he died with Fear.

The Pope, on the News of this Defeat, was quite ſunk with Grief, more eſpecially having Notice given him that the *Orſini* had paſſed the River under *Monte Rotundo*, and made grievous Devaſtation within the *Campagna* of *Rome*: on which he ſent to King *Frederick* of *Naples*, humbly imploring Aid, and begging that *Conſalvo* and *Proſpero Colonna* might be ſent to his Aſſiſtance: However, both Parties being inclinable to come to an amicable Agreement, there was immediately a Treaty of Peace ſet on Foot, the Pope being unwilling to lay out ſuch Sums of Money as were neceſſary for carrying on the War; and on the other Hand, the *Orſini* had but little Stock to expend that Way; and as they knew the whole Burden of that War was upon themſelves, and if the Enemy ſhould afterwards prevail, in that Caſe they ſhould be oblig'd to yield to the ſuperior Power of the Pope: Theſe Things being conſider'd by both Parties, the *Venetian* Embaſſadors, as Mediators between them, brought about an Agreement, which was concluded in the following Terms: [3] Firſt, That the *Orſini* ſhould be allow'd to continue in the *French* Service, as long as that Nation ſhould have occaſion for them, but to oblige themſelves never to take up Arms againſt the Church under any Pretence whatſoever: Next, That all the Towns and Lands taken from the *Orſini* in the laſt War, ſhould be reſtor'd them, but that Family oblig'd to pay the Pope a Sum of 50,000 Ducats, 30,000 immediately,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 92. Paulus Jovius, Lib. IV. p. 196.

[2] Paulus Jovius, Lib. IV. p. 197.
[3] Guicciard. ibid.

and the other 20 eight Months after: Thirdly, That *Gian Giordano* and *Pagolo Orſini* (who were Priſoners in *Naples*) ſhould be ſet at Liberty; as for *Virginius*, he died ſome Days before in the Caſtle *Del-Vuovo*; as ſome believe, of [1] Poiſon. The next Article of Agreement, was, That *Anguillara* and *Cervetri* ſhould be put into the Hands of the Cardinals *Aſcanius* and St. *Severino*, until the remaining Sum of 20,000 Ducats ſhould be paid: Next, That all the Priſoners taken in the Battle of *Soriano* ſhould be ſet at Liberty, except the Duke of *Urbin*, who, altho' the Ambaſſadors of the Confederates did all they could to procure his Freedom, yet he did not obtain it till ſome Time after, when 'twas purchaſed at the Price of 40,000 Ducats. The laſt Article was, That *Pagolo Vitelli*, under the Marquiſs of *Mantua*'s Protection, ſhould have his Liberty alſo.

[2] This Agreement was not very diſpleaſing to *Valentine*, who, notwithſtanding he was deſirous to ſee the *Orſini* ſtripp'd of all their Wealth, that ſo their Spoils might be poſſeſſed by him and the reſt of the *Borgians*; yet altho' the Attempt had proved unſucceſsful, it gave him a Kind of Joy to think that he had learn'd Experience how he might, if it ſhould fall to his Turn, act with more Succeſs on the like Occaſion, having in his Mind form'd a Plot, in its Nature moſt tragical, yet ſo well laid as not to fail in the leaſt Point, as ſhall be related in its due Place.

In the mean time, as we have already related, on *Alexander*'s applying to King *Frederick* for having *Conſalvo* ſent to his Aſſiſtance, and to have that experienc'd General employ'd in the Service of the Church, his Demand was granted: and that the coming of that Commander might not be in vain, *Alexander* ſent him, with a Number of his Troops, to beſiege the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, which, by the King of *France*'s Order, had been put into the Hands of Cardinal *Della-Rovere*. *Conſalvo* having marched thither and laid Siege to it, in a very ſhort Time obtain'd it by Surrender, very much to the Diſhonour of the Governour, who gave it up in a very ſhameful and cowardly Manner; after which *Conſalvo* return'd with his People, having the Governor led before him as his Priſoner, accompanied by

[1] Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 93.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 173.

100 Men at Arms, 200 Light Horſe, and 150 *Spaniſh* Foot. On his Approach to *Rome* he was met by the chief Nobility there, and received with extraordinary Pomp and Grandeur; the Duke of *Gandia*, after the uſual Salutations and Compliments, placing him in the Middle, between him and the Lord of *Peſaro*; and in this Manner was he conducted to the *Vatican*, where the Pope receiv'd him in a Conſiſtory held on Purpoſe: It is ſcarcely to be believed the great Honours and Reſpect which that General had beſtow'd on him there; among the reſt, the Pope preſented him with the Gold Roſe, which he gives to none but thoſe whom he deſigns moſt to honour, and which, ſome Years before, had been preſented to the Emperor, the King of *France*, the Doge of *Venice*, and the Marquiſs of *Mantua*.

Notwithſtanding all this great Courteſy ſhewn *Conſalvo*, there aroſe a Difference between him and the Duke of *Gandia* on Account of Precedency; for on the Feſtival in which the Pope diſtributes his Palms, *Conſalvo* being preſent at that Ceremony, and placed in the Seat appropriated for Ambaſſadors, he refuſed to take a Palm out of the Pope's Hands, becauſe the Duke of *Gandia* had been preſented with one firſt; but ſome few Days after, by his Friends Perſuaſions, he dropt his Pretenſions this Way: And at another Feſtival, *viz.* that of the Annunciation, *Conſalvo* meeting the Pope in a Cavalcade, entered the Church of the *Rotundo*, behind the Cardinals, and on the Duke of *Gandia*'s Left Hand, the latter appearing in that Solemnity with a Magnificence ſcarce to be imagin'd, being attended with a numerous Retinue of Pages and Lacquies in rich Liveries, and his Horſe's Accoutrements vaſtly ornamental and magnificent, having a Number of ſmall Silver Bells hanging down below rich Capariſons: As for the Duke himſelf, nothing could appear more pompous and ſplendid, being dreſs'd in a magnificent Habit, having a great Quantity of Jewels ſtrew'd here and there among his Embroideries, and a large Chain of Gold about his Neck, ſet round with the richeſt of Pearls, and around his Cap was a Golden Belt, in which were ſet a Number of large Diamonds: But all this Pomp and Shew ſerv'd for no other End, but to fill his Brother *Valentine*'s Heart with an Envy againſt the Duke, not to be expreſſed; and indeed this was the laſt publick Appearance which that unfortunate Youth ever made alive,

alive, a Grandeur which preceded a very tragical Funeral, as ſhall hereafter be deſcrib d.

In the mean time *Alexander* finding all his Deſigns abortive with regard to the enriching his Sons with the Eſtates of the *Roman* Barons, he began to contrive other Stratagems for bringing about his Ends; namely, to foment Differences, and ſow Diſſention among the chief Families of *Rome*, particularly between *Colonna* and *Savelli*, judging that when, by their mutual Feuds, both of them ſhould be brought low, that then it was his Time to take the Advantage of their Weakneſs, invade their reſpective Properties, and ſeize their Eſtates for his own Family: But this Deſign being ſuſpected by both Parties, they found it their only Way to come to an Agreement, ſo that *Alexander* ſhould not have it in his Power to build the Structure of his Family's Greatneſs on their Ruins. This Diſappointment did not, however, diſcourage the Pope from purſuing all the Methods he could for aggrandizing his Favourite the Duke of *Gandia*; ſo that on the ſeventh Day of *June*, having called a Conſiſtory, he propoſed to erect the City of [1] *Benevento* into a Dutchy, and inveſt the Duke his Son therewith, as alſo of *Terracina*, *Pontecurvo*, and their Counties, to which the Cardinals conſented, only Cardinal *Piccolomini* ſhew'd himſelf arverſe to the Propoſal, declaring that he never would agree to the diſmembring the Eccleſiaſtical State in ſuch a Manner: but very little Regard was given to his Diſſent, and accordingly the Affair was concluded.

But *Alexander*'s reſolute and violent Proceedings for raiſing his Family, particularly in heaping ſo great Honours on the Duke of *Gandia*, ſerv'd only as ſo many Incitements to Cardinal *Valentine* for ſtriking the moſt impious and horrid Stroke that perhaps can be equalled in Hiſtory; namely, with Deliberation and cold Blood, to perpetrate the Murder of the ſaid Duke of *Gandia*, his elder Brother: For effecting which, there was not only the Motive already mention'd of the Envy and Rancour he had on Account of his Brother's being prefer'd to him in Poſts of Honour and Dignity, but there was another Reaſon which indeed proceeded from a very wicked and unnatural Cauſe, namely, a Jealouſy deeply rooted in *Valentine*,

[1] Burchard. Diar. p. 36. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 236.

that

that his Brother was his Rival in an [1] Amour with a certain Lady; not that indeed, either of the Brothers minded the inceſtuous Crime of the Thing; but as the Duke was, it ſeems, the Lady's Favourite, which the Cardinal could not brook the Thoughts of. All theſe Things put together made *Valentine* full of Rage and Envy againſt the Duke; accordingly, being determin'd on his Death, he convened four Ruffians of his Acquaintance together, the chief of which was one *Michelotto* a *Spaniard*, a Villain noted for Barbarity, being the moſt infamous Cut-Throat of the Age in which he liv'd; to whom the Cardinal ſpoke in the following Manner:

[2] *I think, my Friend,* ſays he, *five Years are already elapſed ſince* Alexander *began his Pontificate, without being able to procure, either for myſelf or Friends, thoſe Advantages which I might have reap'd, if Matters had been manag'd to good Purpoſe: For my own Part, I was firſt made a Biſhop, and then a Cardinal, tho' in a Manner againſt my Inclinations; the laſt of which, notwithſtanding ſome People eſteem it next to a Royal Dignity, yet I find it a Station, the Fortune of which is compoſed of nothing but Church Matters; nor are the Revenues annext thereto ſufficient to gratify my Mind, nor indeed to reward thoſe whom I reckon my Friends, and whom I employ in the Services I require: neither,* Don Michelotto, *do I find that you are your ſelf provided in a Way ſuitable to your Merits: Shall we then ſupinely lie by without effecting any Thing really notable for bettering our Fortunes? Do you think that a Life in Conſiſtories and Chapels is adequate to my Genius? No, my Friend, I think it below a Man of Spirit to content himſelf with Prieſtly Matters, and Church Benefices; it is a State of Subordination, a State wherein we are oblig'd to ſuccumb to the Inclinations and Will of our Inferiors: And if a Blunder in Nature had not given the Duke of* Gandia *the Start of me, by which he reaps the Fruit of the mighty Honours and Dignities he now poſſeſſes; had it not been ſo, thinkeſt thou either you or I would have been in the ſubordinate Condition of Life in which we find our ſelves? No, I ſay not: and if on King* Charles's *coming with his Arms over the* Alps, *I had taken to the Profeſſion of War, and ſided with ſome Party or other, where Fortune beſt directed for my Advantage; had I done ſo,*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 96. [2] Tom. Tomaſ.

'tis not improbable but by this time I ſhould have been in Poſſeſſion of ſome Sovereignty or another within Italy; *conſidering how bent the Pope is for aggrandizing our Family: And had I been in the Duke of* Gandia's *Place, I know my own Activity and Induſtry, join'd with my Father's Power and Authority, would have given me a fine Game to play, ere now, for arriving at real Greatneſs. Why can't I then, by ſtriking one ſingle Blow, recover the Time I have hitherto loſt, and correct this fatal Blunder in Nature; for I ſcarce can perſuade my ſelf into the Belief, conſidering the Diſparity of our Genius, that the Duke of* Gandia *was conceived in the ſame Womb with myſelf: and if he was, I do not think it of Importance; for whoever will arrive at Dominion, muſt neceſſarily remove all Obſtacles out of the Way, which obſtruct his Greatneſs, and even forget the effeminate Ties of Tenderneſs and Relation, and with an undaunted Reſolution run over the Thorns and Briars thrown in his Way, and with Intrepidity, if Need requires, even imbrue his Hands in his Oppoſer's Blood, and make a Dagger, with blindfolded Eyes, force a Way to Fortune; and herein follow the Example of thoſe glorious Men of Reſolution, who, in all Ages, have reared up the Fabrick of their Greatneſs in the ſame Manner as the firſt Founder of the* Roman *Monarchy did his new Kingdom; and as the* Turkiſh *Emperors often do on the Foundation of their Brother's Death: By whoſe Example I am determin'd to act, whether the Duke of* Gandia *is my Brother or not. And notwithſtanding I could put this in Execution myſelf, without the Help of another, eſpecially under the Cover of Night, at the Time when he viſits a certain Lady whom we both enjoy; yet I am willing to have your Concurrence and Aſſiſtance in executing my Deſign this Way, which ſhall be an Earneſt of your ſharing with me in my future Greatneſs, ſince you are the only Perſon to whom I have diſcloſed this Secret.*

Don *Michelotto* having heard all the Cardinal had to ſay, gave an Anſwer in very few Words, and in the Name of himſelf and his Accomplices, thanked him for the Confidence he was pleaſed to put in him, and approved, he ſaid, of his ſagacious Determination; adding, That as on other Occaſions he had had ſufficient Proofs of his Fidelity, nothing ſhould be wanting on his own and Accomplices Parts, only deſired he might

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fix a Time for putting it in Execution. *Borgia* made Anſwer, that as for the Time, it muſt be on the Day in which he (as Apoſtolick Legate) was to ſet out for *Naples*, for the Coronation of King *Frederick*; and the Manner and Place be ſuch as within a little he ſhould direct, which he would take Care to let them know: accordingly about a Week after, at another Meeting, when all the Aſſaſſins were preſent, the Cardinal told them that the 15th of *June* was the Day fix'd for his Departure for *Naples*, and that the Night before would be the fitteſt Time for ſtriking the Blow: That he knew very well that that Night his Brother was to viſit his Miſtreſs, ſo they could not fail of having an Opportunity of putting him to Death, either as he was going to, or coming from the Lady.

Accordingly it happen'd that *Borgia*'s Mother *Vanozza* knowing that her Son was on the foremention'd Day to depart for *Naples*; and being deſirous to have one merry Meeting with him and his Brothers before he left *Rome*, ſhe invited them all to Sup with her at one of her *Villa*'s near St. *Pietro in Vincola*. *Valentine* willingly accepted the Invitation, knowing it would be no Impediment to the executing the Piece of Villany he deſigned. In like manner did the Duke of *Gandia* and the other Brother the Prince of *Squillace* agree to be there, together with *Donna Sancia*, *Squillace*'s Wife, and Cardinal *Monreale*, and ſeveral others their neareſt Relations and Confidants. Accordingly all thoſe Gueſts came at the Time appointed, where they paſt ſeveral Hours of the Day in Jollitry and Mirth, and in like manner ſupp'd together, with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Affection: Which, however, made no Alteration in the bloody Purpoſes of this inhuman Brother. The Supper being ended, *Valentine* took leave of his Mother, ſaying, It behoved him to receive the Pope's Commands before he went to Bed: being eager to get away, that ſo he might not loſe time to prepare Matters for effecting the intended Murder; whereupon the unfortunate Duke his Brother offering to bear him Company, they both mounted their Mules, having diſmiſſed moſt of their Attendants, and rode towards St. *Peter*'s: But the Duke being impatient to ſee his Miſtreſs, when they came as far as the Palace of Cardinal *Sforza*, they took leave of each other, and, according to the wonted Familiarity between them, the Duke told *Valentine* before he went Home, he had an Inclination to paſs an Hour or two with the Lady of their Acquaintance:

Acquaintance : *Valentine* wiſh'd him much Pleaſure, and ſo they parted, the Cardinal moving towards St. *Peter*'s, and the Duke taking a different Road, being for the greater Privacy attended but by one Footman. When he came to the Place called *Piazza Giudea*, he order'd the Servant to tarry there till he return'd, and ſo proceeded to the Lady.

In the mean time *Valentine* went and took leave of the Pope, with whom he ſtay'd but a ſhort Time, pretending that he wanted to take a little Reſt before his Journey : after which he immediately haſted to the Place where he had poſted the Aſſaſſins, who waiting till the poor unfortunate Duke came from his Miſtreſs, they murder'd him, as had been concerted ; but how, where, or in what Manner, the Darkneſs of the Night, and the Authority of the Author thereof, kept it then conceal'd ; only many concurring Circumſtances made it appear, that after *Valentine* took leave of the Pope, he went directly, as we have ſaid, to the Place where the four Ruffians were, and where they knew the Duke, on his Return, muſt neceſſarily paſs by ; for, ſome little Time before that, finding the Duke's Footman there, they all four fell upon him with their Swords, without giving the poor Wretch time to tell them who he was, and to whom he belong'd ; and notwithſtanding the Fellow's earneſt Intreaties to ſpare his Life, they inhumanly butcher'd him, and left him wallowing in his Blood ; but there being ſtill a little Life in him, his dying Groans were heard by ſome of the Neighbourhood, who coming to his Aſſiſtance, carried him into a Houſe, and put him on a Bed ; where, ſtriving to tell them ſomething about his Misfortune, and whoſe Servant he was, his Life failed him, and he expir'd, without being able to make any Kind of Diſcovery.

Mean time the Duke's Domeſticks having waited, to no Purpoſe, the whole Night and all the next Morning for their Maſter's Return, were under no ſmall Apprehenſions ; inſomuch that the Report of the Duke's being miſſing, as it ſpread over all the Palace, at laſt reached the Pope's Ear, who was greatly alarm'd, but did not loſe Hopes the firſt Day, imagining the Duke might perhaps have been upon ſome Amour, and for Privacy-ſake, choſe not to return till the enſuing Night ; but finding himſelf deceiv'd in theſe Hopes, and that he neither returned that Night, nor the Day following, and hearing a Rumour ſpread

every where that the Duke was murder'd: on this he was ſeized with ſo intenſe an Anguiſh, that he appear'd quite ſunk and ſpiritleſs, inſomuch that he ſeem'd entirely abandon'd to his Grief, and wanted Words to expreſs the Torture of his Mind, only now and then, in a dejected and feeble Manner, was heard to ſay, *Enquire, and let us know in what Manner the poor unfortunate young Man died.*

'Tis eaſy to imagine that the Force of this Command, added to the Tragicalneſs of the Occaſion, made every one diligent to detect the Matter; but notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt Search, the Duke's Body could not be found any where, nor the Manner of his Death diſcover'd for ſome Time; whereupon many concluded he had been murder'd and thrown into the *Tiber*: On which Surmize ſundry People, whoſe Houſes were ſituated near the River, and others who had Boats on it, were examin'd, to try if any Diſcovery could be made by their Means.

Among the reſt one *Georgio Schiavone* a Boatman, who commonly uſed to bring Timber up the River in his Boat to *Rome*, being interrogated if on *Wedneſday* Night he had obſerv'd any Thing remarkable thrown into the River; the Man frankly anſwer'd in this Manner: ‘ Having, *ſays he*, put my Loading ‘ of Timber upon the Shore laſt *Wedneſday*, and being oblig'd ‘ to watch it, about the fifth Hour of the Night, within the ‘ Alley on the left Hand Side of St. *Jerom*'s Church, I ſaw ‘ two Men on Foot come from thence, and by their traverſing ‘ to and fro, gazing around them, I could perceive they wanted ‘ to know if the Streets thereabouts were free of Paſſengers, ‘ and finding No-body, they went back into the Alley; but ‘ not long after I ſaw two others following, who in the ſame ‘ manner looked every where about them, and finding No-‘ body, they made a Signal to their Companions to advance ‘ forward, which they immediately did; particularly one Perſon ‘ on Horſeback, behind whom was the Body of a dead Man, ‘ laid croſs the Horſe upon the Crupper, the Head and Hands ‘ of the Corps hanging on one Side, and his Feet and Legs on ‘ the other. Two Men were placed at the Entry of the ‘ Alley, as it were with Deſign to hinder People's coming that ‘ Way: at what Time the three Men already mention'd, ‘ coming up to that Place of the River-Side where uſually ‘ the Common-Shores are emptied, the Man who was mounted

'turning his Horſe's Tail towards the River, the other two on 'Foot taking the dead Body, one by the Arms, the other by 'the Legs, after ſwinging it two or three times in their 'Hands, violently threw it into the River: whereupon the 'Man on Horſeback demanding if they had thrown him in? 'they anſwer'd, Yes, Sir; for he had turned away his Head, as 'if he had been unwilling to behold what they were about: 'After which, directing his Horſe's Head towards the River, and 'perceiving the dead Man's Cloak floating on the Water, he 'ask'd what that black Thing was which ſwam above? they 'anſwer'd, His Cloak, Sir; on which one of them throwing 'Stones upon it, immediately ſunk it to the Bottom: After 'this they all departed ſtrait towards the Alley which leads to 'St. *James*'s. This is all I know, *ſays he*, about the Matter.' Whereupon he was ask'd why he did not make ſuch a Diſcovery to the Governor; *Schiavoni* reply'd, 'Since I have fol-'low'd my Employment, I have ſeen a hundred dead Bodies 'thrown into the *Tiber*, yet I never heard any Notice was 'taken of them; for which Reaſon, what I ſaw laſt I was 'determin'd not to mind, nor ſhould I, if the Queſtion had 'not been put to me now, becauſe I have my own Affairs to 'look after, without meddling with ſuch dangerous Matters'.

The Pope's Servants having got ſuch a Light into the Affair, too clear indeed to make them doubt the Truth of the Fact they were enquiring about, immediatly the greateſt Part of the Mariners at *Rome* were ſet to work to fiſh for the Body, and a good Reward offer'd to thoſe who ſhould find it; ſo that no leſs than a hundred People were employ'd for this End, with their fiſhing Tackle, and before the *Friday's Veſpers* began, they pulled out of the River two dead Bodies, one of which was known to be the unhappy Duke, who had been ſtabbed in nine Places, the chief of which was his Throat: He had his Cloaths upon him, his Gloves tuck'd under his Belt, and his Money in

[1] What regards this Circumſtance of the Duke of *Gandia*'s Murder is particularly related by Tom. Tomaſ. Edit. Mon. Chiar. M.DC.LXX. from p. 247, to 262. and alſo Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 96. But the Reader is more eſpecially referred to Burchardus, in his Book intitled Specimen Hiſtoriæ ſive Anecdot. Alex. VI, &c. p. 36 to 40. And for the further Satisfaction of the Reader, in the Appendix I have tranſcrib'd the whole from Burchardus verbatim, as I found it in the Original. See the Appendix in Articulo de Cæde Ducis Gandiæ.

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his Pocket : After this the Body being decently cover'd, it was put aboard a Boat, and directly carried to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* ; where, after they had ſtripp'd and waſhed the Body, they dreſs'd him anew, and put the Military Orders on him, as General of the Church, and in the Evening carried him to be buried in the *Madonna del Populo*, with all the Funeral Pomp due to the Pope's Son. The Death of this Gentleman was exceedingly regretted by all Ranks of People, he having in his Life-time been very much belov'd for his Sweetneſs of Temper, and affable and courteous Deportment : And as the Pope himſelf had a very tender Affection for him, and concluded at firſt that this Tragical Murder had been perpetrated by the Enemies of his Family, he appear'd almoſt diſtracted with Rage for want of knowing on whom to revenge it : But when at laſt, from all the Circumſtances, he had too much Reaſon to believe the Blow had been given by one too nearly related to himſelf, he was quite overwhelm'd with Anguiſh and Grief, and ſhut himſelf up in his Cloſet for three Days, without taking Sleep or Food, abandoning himſelf to the Extremities of Grief and Deſpair : At laſt, by the repeated Intreaties of the Cardinal *Segovia*, who conſtantly ſtood without at his Chamber Door, begging him to moderate his Affliction, and not be the Cauſe of his own Death, by torturing himſelf for that of another, which now he could not help ; the Pope at length open'd the Door, and gave the Cardinal and his other Friends Admittance, and was prevail'd upon to take ſome Food, which he had not done from *Wedneſday* till that Moment, which was *Saturday*.

Alexander taking Example by this heavy Stroke of Providence, gave Signs at firſt as if he deſign'd to reform his Life, and leave off his evil Practices : but by Degrees, the Duke's Death wearing out of his Mind, he relapſed anew into his former evil Courſes. But the barbarous Fratricide, his Son, was reſolv'd to out-brave this flagitious Action, and appear'd with an uncommon Splendor and Magnificence at the Coronation of King *Ferdinand*, where he gave ſuch Inſtances of his Laviſhneſs and Prodigality, as if he had intended by this Means, ſo to dazle People's Eyes, that they could not ſo well diſcern the Deformity of his horrid Crime ; and inſinuated himſelf by this Profuſion into the Favour of the *Neapolitans* : However, *Ferdinand* himſelf having ſecretly penetrated into his Genius and Manners, found him a Perſon more to be feared than truſted, and could not help giving Proofs

Proofs of ſuch his Opinion of him, which proved much to the Prejudice of his own Affairs, eſpecially in a certain Treaty of Marriage ſet on Foot at that Time. *Valentine*, however, tho' with ſome Reluctance on the King's Part, perform'd the Function of Crowning and Anointing his Majeſty, who thought it but an indifferent Omen to receive a Crown and Kingdom (as yet unſtable) from thoſe Hands which had been ſo lately imbru'd in his Brother's Blood.

However, *Borgia* continu'd at *Naples* as long as Affairs could permit, and until he thought the Memory of his Brother's Murder might in ſome meaſure be worn out of the People's Minds; and at laſt left *Naples*, loaded with Honour and rich Preſents, of which the King found himſelf oblig'd not to be ſparing, conſidering how much he ſtood in Need of the Pope's good Service at that Time; and on the 5th Day of *September* arrived at *Rome*. Next Day he came to the Church of St. *Maria Nuova*, being met at the City Gates by the Cardinals, and by the Ambaſſadors of *Spain*, *Venice*, and others, according to the Ceremonies of thoſe Times, every one endeavouring to indulge the *Borgian* Vanity, in order to ingratiate himſelf in their Favour, tho' the Inducement in many was more Fear than Love. From thence he made a ſolemn Cavalcade to the *Vatican*, where he was received in publick Conſiſtory; after which he was conducted by the Cardinals to his Apartment, and then returned, and had a private Audience of the Pope, who receiv'd him with as chearful a Countenance as if the Memory of the Duke of *Gandia* had been quite worn out of his Mind: nor indeed either then or afterwards was there ever one Word mention'd about that unfortunate Youth, but all was huſhed over, as if ſuch a Perſon had never been in the World.

The Reception which *Valentine* met with from his Mother *Vanozza* was ſtill more diſtinguiſhing; for as ſoon as ſhe heard of his Return, ſhe put off the Mourning which till then ſhe had worn for the Duke of *Gandia*, and order'd all her Houſhold to do the like, and that no mention ſhould ever be made of that unhappy Gentleman: And having received him with the greateſt Tokens of Affection, and invited all the Relations and Friends of the *Borgian* Family, ſhe regaled them with a ſplendid Entertainment, conſiſting of the choiceſt Viands, and the richeſt Wines, together with a Concert of Muſick; and

they paſſed the moſt Part of the Night with the greateſt Merriment and Jollity.

Theſe exceſſive Rejoicings for *Valentine*'s Arrival, fill'd many People, and even ſome of his own neareſt Relations, with Aſtoniſhment, they thinking it impoſſible that a Mother (who a few Days before knew her eldeſt Son had been murder'd) ſhould admit of ſuch Mirth and Feaſting in her Houſe, without mentioning any Thing directly or indirectly of that Tragical Affair, or expreſſing her Grief about it to *Valentine* on his firſt Arrival, which made People begin in good Earneſt to think that the Rumour ſpread about, that *Vanozza* herſelf had had a Hand in the Duke of *Gandia*'s Murder, was too true; and that ſhe, and *Cæſar*, for their own villainous Ends, had jointly perpetrated the ſame; and that the Mother in particular had contrived to give an Opportunity of putting it in Execution the Night ſhe invited them to ſup with her, before *Valentine*'s Departure for *Naples*.

And indeed what increaſed Peoples Suſpicion the more, or rather confirmed them in this Opinion, was, That all Manner of Enquiry about the Authors of his Death was induſtriouſly ſuppreſs'd; and when 'twas remember'd that at the Time *Vanozza*'s Houſe had been plunder'd by the *French*, as has been already related, ſhe could ſo much reſent that Loſs, which might be eaſily repaired, that ſhe had declared ſhe never would acknowledge *Valentine* for her Son, unleſs he avenged it on the *French*; and that now ſhe could ſo eaſily paſs over the barbarous Murder of her Firſt-born Son, as never to make the leaſt Enquiry after the Murderers, or ſeem ſo much as to deſire they might be brought to Juſtice: I ſay, when People reflected on this Part of her Conduct, they could not forbear thinking her an Accomplice in the Murder. And what ſtill further contributed to ſtrengthen theſe Surmizes, was, that ſhe did not, on this Tragical Occaſion, obſerve any of thoſe Ceremonies which were uſually practis'd at *Rome*, on the Deceaſe of a Relation, either by giving Alms, or Money, to ſay Maſſes for his Soul, neither did ſhe ſo much as ſend any of her Family to his Funeral, nor ſhew any other Tokens of Grief, or even of Decency, except what the outward Mourning which ſhe put herſelf and her Houſhold into, expreſs'd. Add to all this, her denying to be ſeen, and forbidding Viſits at that Time, even to

her neareſt Relations, who came to condole with her on this melancholy Occaſion, and who all of them were ſent back with many ridiculous Pretences: At firſt People imputed this her affected Recluſeneſs to an Exceſs of Grief, and believ'd that ſhe was not to be comforted by Viſits; but when they were inform'd by ſome of her Domeſticks, who had learn'd her Behaviour from her own Waiting-Women, that what Converſation they had with her, was on other Subjects very foreign to Death and Sorrow, People then were at no loſs to conclude that this inhuman and barbarous Mother was unqueſtionably the very Origin and firſt Contriver of her Son's Murder [1].

Indeed among all the Children which *Alexander* had by *Vanozza*, none of their Tempers were ſo well ſuited to the Mother's Liking as *Cæſar*'s, who had all her Heart; for which Reaſon at the Time when *Alexander* was undetermin'd on which of the Brothers, *Francis*, or *Cæſar*, he ſhould beſtow the Cardinal's Cap, *Vanozza* declar'd herſelf in *Cæſar*'s Favour, in which Particular the Pope and ſhe could not by any Means agree, he abſolutely denying her Requeſt this Way: on which Repulſe ſhe was ſo exaſperated, that ſhe vow'd to be reveng'd, and renouncing all Manner of Maternal Affection for *Francis*, her Hatred againſt him increaſed in Proportion as *Alexander* advanced him to new Honours. On the other Hand, *Francis* finding himſelf rais'd to the Dignity of a Duke, and placed almoſt on the Pinnacle of Greatneſs, in a Manner ſo contrary to his Mother's Inclinations, never was ſollicitous to cultivate her Favour, knowing how much ſhe prefer'd his Brother *Cæſar* to him. *Cæſar*, on the contrary, having hatch'd in his Brain ſo many villainous Deſigns, careſs'd his Mother exceedingly, and conſulted her in every Thing, that he might gain her over to his Intereſt, and ſo be better able to put them in Execution: And ſhe, thinking if ſhe could bring it about, that the whole Grandeur of the *Borgian* Family might concenter in *Cæſar* alone, who, while the other ſlighted her, was ſo much at her Devotion, ſhe ſhould be ſure, even if the Pope died, of partaking a conſiderable Share in the Government of Affairs.

[1] As to what concerns *Vanozza*'s being acceſſary to her Son's Murder, the Reader is referred to the Additions of Tomaſo Tomaſi's Hiſtory, in the Edit. printed at Mon. Chiar. M.DC.LXX. from p. 276 to 286.

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For this Reaſon, on the Death of the Duke, ſhe took Pains to pacify the Mind of the Pope, who at firſt was eager to have the Murderers brought to condign Puniſhment, judging, as we have already ſaid, that the Whole had been perpetrated by the Enemies of his Family; but *Vanozza* hearing this, went in the Night-time to the Pope, with whom ſhe tarried a long Time in Private; and it was obſerv'd, that after this Conference the Pontiff began to look with another Countenance than he had done before, inſomuch that there were no more Queſtions aſked relating to the Duke, nor any Signs of Grief appear'd about him as before. Some ſay that *Vanozza* went ſo far as to aſſure his Holineſs, that if he did perſiſt in making Enquiries about that Affair, the ſame Perſon who took away his Son's Life, would not ſpare his own; for which Reaſon, as ſoon as *Cæſar* return'd from his Legation, he was receiv'd with the Honours already mention'd, and put in Poſſeſſion of all that the Duke his Brother had enjoy'd, as far as the Character of Cardinal at that Time could admit.

But however lightly this barbarous Murder was huſh'd up at the Court, 'tis hardly to be expreſs'd how much the Minds of the miſerable *Romans* were fill'd with Scandal and Horror againſt the Fratricide, and what an Abhorrence they had of his villainous Proceedings; for altho' they were too much uſed to ſee very Tragical Things tranſacted at that Time within *Rome*, yet ſuch an unnatural and horrid Action as this, was indeed new to them; however no Mortal durſt ſo much as whiſper a Word of it, for fear of encountering as bad a Fate as the Duke; on the contrary, every one was oblig'd to ſtrive who could, in Appearance, honour the Fratricide moſt; who by this Time was ſtrutting thro' *Rome* with as much affected Pomp and Majeſty, as if he had been the other *Cæſar* triumphing after his many Conqueſts and Battles gain'd to the *Romans*.

A few Days after, the Pope and *Valentine* made a Party of Pleaſure to go to *Oſtia*, and take the Diverſion of Hunting at that delicious Place, attended with the uſual Pomp with which they commonly travelled, conſiſting of Courtiers and Favourites, and by his Guards, to the Number of 500 Horſe and 600 Foot. They were accompanied alſo by the Cardinals *Giorgento* and *Perugia*, and a Multitude of the Pope's other Confidents. Four Days

Days were ſpent there in Hunting and Recreations, nor did they deny themſelves the Indulgence and Gratification of all thoſe Appetites which the moſt Senſual wallow in; the Particulars whereof Modeſty requires rather to be paſſed over in Silence, than mention'd here.

By this Time *Valentine* began to be tired of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and grew quite ſick of the Cardinalate, for which Reaſon he determin'd to throw it off as ſoon as poſſible, that thereby he might have the greater Scope for putting in Practice the Exceſſes which his natural Ambition and Barbarity prompted him to; for there was not ſo much as the leaſt Shadow of Virtue, or any good Quality in his Mind, except a Sort of oſtentatious Grandeur, and an Affectation of Liberality and Generoſity, which indeed were nothing elſe but Profuſion and Prodigality; and thoſe employ'd to procure him a deſpotick Kind of Authority, which produced among all Ranks of People a Sort of Dependance, and a Fear as great as could be ſhewn to the moſt powerful Monarch in *Chriſtendom*. As to his Government in general, it was but an ill-form'd Sort of Tyranny at the beſt, his chief View being Pleaſure, Profit, and Greatneſs, the whole calculated for his own villainous Meridian: In whoſe Eſteem Force was equal to Juſtice, nothing being left unexecuted, tho' of never ſo ſhocking a Nature, if it could but tend to promote his Deſigns. Nor was it hardly to be believed, what Swarms of Cut-Throats and Villains were kept under his Pay within *Rome* at this Time; which City was now become a very Den of Thieves, and a Sort of Sanctuary for Iniquity: An Account of which Cardinal *Egidio* of *Viterbo*, who was Contemporary with them, has deliver'd down to Poſterity in theſe very Words; ſpeaking of *Rome* he ſays, [1] *Nunquam in Civitatibus Sacræ Ditionis, Seditio Iniquior, nunquam Direptio crebrior, nunquam Cædes cruentior, nunquam in Viis graſſatorum vis liberior, nunquam in Urbe plus Malorum fuit, nunquam Delatorum Copia, Sicariorum Licentia, Latronum vel numerus vel audacia Major, ut Portas Urbis prodire Fas non eſſet, Urbem ipſam incolere non liceret, pro eodem nunc habitum Majeſtatem lædere, Hoſtem habere, auri aut formoſi aliquid Domi cohibere: Non Domi, non in Cubiculo, non in Turri tutus: Nihil Jus, nihil Fas, Aurum Vis, & Venus imperabat.*

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſ. p. 290. Edit. Monte Chiar. M.DC.LXX.

And

And were I not afraid of being a little too particular in my Narrative, and prolix on this diſtaſteful Subject, I would have inſerted here what the ſame Cardinal *Egidio* ſaid was a Picture which he had drawn of Pope *Alexander*, when a Cardinal, in the Pontificate of *Calixtus* III; which Imagery or Repreſentation of the Father he compares with his Son *Valentine*, in *Alexander*'s own Pontificate: But theſe Particulars I refer to the Deſcription my Author [1] gives of them.

It is however remarkable, that by the juſt Permiſſion of God, the Contriver of ſo much Miſchief was reſerv'd for the Puniſhment due to his Crimes, as will be related in the Sequel.

In like manner, thoſe who were the wretched Inſtruments of his Iniquity, met with barbarous (tho' in ſome Senſe deſerv'd) Treatment from *Valentine*, of which, in the ſecond Part of this Work, I ſhall produce many Examples; and at preſent only mention ſome Particulars, relating to the Misfortunes of ſeveral of *Alexander*'s own Agents, which are not unworthy the Reader's Knowledge.

[2] About this Time, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, made heavy Complaints by their Ambaſſadors, on Account of a Diſpenſation given by the Pope, for eſpouſing a certain Nun, who was only Heireſs to the Crown of *Portugal*, with a Natural Son of the late *Portugueſe* King; a Thing very much to the Prejudice of *Ferdinand*, becauſe of his Pretenſions to ſucceed to that Kingdom.

The Pope having, at the ſame Time, a Deſign in View to marry his Son *Valentine* with *Charlotta*, Daughter to *Frederick* King of *Naples*, (for effecting which *Valentine* was very ſoon to renounce the Cardinalate) and there being a near Relation and ſtrict Alliance between *Frederick* and the King of *Caſtile*, the *Borgians* thought it might be of bad Conſequence to their Deſigns, if they ſhould diſoblige either of theſe Monarchs: They were therefore a little puzzled what Excuſe to make about the Diſpenſation juſt now mention'd: At laſt *Valentine* found out a Remedy; which was, to lay the Blame of what had been

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 292. Edit. Mon. Chiar. M.DC.LXX. [2] Ibid.

done upon another; and openly deny that ever ſuch a Diſpenſation had been granted by the Pope, but that it was forged by the Secretary of the Briefs, one Monſigneur *Florida*, Archbiſhop of *Coſenza*; and that the ſaid *Florida* had iſſued it of his own Accord, without letting the Pope know any thing of the Matter.

Hereupon the Archbiſhop was cited before the Pope, and accuſed of Forgery, particularly of having falſified the ſaid Diſpenſation, and about 111 other Briefs: *Florida* was quite Thunderſtruck at this Accuſation, but being conſcious of his Innocence, he ſtrenuouſly deny'd the Fact. But this availed him nothing; for the Pope, the better to give a Colour to his own Perfidiouſneſs, cauſed him immediately to be ſeiz'd and carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*: where, in order to obtain from the Archbiſhop's own Mouth a Sort of Confeſſion of the Crime with which they had charged him, the Pope ſuborn'd ſome of the ſelect Inſtruments of his Wickedneſs, particularly one *Giovanni Merades*, to go under Pretence of playing at Cheſs with the Priſoner, and to aſſure him, that altho' he was innocent, yet for certain weighty Reaſons, if he would take the Guilt upon him, and confeſs that he had falſified the ſaid Brief, the Pope would reinſtate him in his good Graces, reſtore him to all the Benefices taken from him, and even promote him to greater Dignities than ever. On which the poor deluded Biſhop being allured with the Hopes of Liberty and Preferment, conſented to the Propoſal, and accordingly confeſſed himſelf guilty of the Crime.

As ſoon as the Archbiſhop had taken the Guilt upon him, and before thoſe Witneſſes which the Pope had ſent thither on purpoſe, *Alexander*, without more ado, in a Conſiſtory held on purpoſe, commenc'd a formal Proceſs againſt him, founded on his own Confeſſion; and two Days after, in Preſence of the Governor of *Rome*, the Auditor of the Apoſtolick Chamber, the Advocate and Procurator-Fiſcal, pronounced Sentence againſt him, by which he was depriv'd of his Eccleſiaſtical Offices and Benefices, and degraded to the Rank of a Secular, ſtript of his Holy Orders, and deliver'd over into the Hands of the Civil Magiſtrate, and his Goods and Eſtate to be confiſcated. Which unjuſt Sentence was put in Execution, and all his Effects and Money given to *Valentine*, that ſo the Author of this execrable

execrable Villainy might not go without an adequate Reward.

After the Archbiſhop's Fate had been thus determin'd, he was order'd to a Dungeon within the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; but before he was ſhut up in that diſmal Place, they ſtript him of his Cloaths, and put on a Gown of coarſe white Cloth, reaching down to his Knees, and Drawers of the ſame, with a Surtout, a pair of Shoes, a double-lin'd Night Cap, and a wooden Crucifix. In this Apparel was he led from the Place where his Sentence was read, to his ſaid Dungeon, there to remain till Death: The only Furniture allotted him, was a Bed, a Prayer Book, the Old Teſtament, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to read; and for his Support, a Barrel of Water, two Meaſures of Bread, a Cruit of Oil, and a Lamp, Orders being given to viſit him every three Days, and to ſupply him with Bread, Water, and Oil, as he ſhould have Occaſion, that being the only Food allowed him. In this wretched Condition the poor Archbiſhop linger'd out a few Days, till Death at laſt put an End to his Miſery [1].

Another Piece of horrid Cruelty is related by the ſame [2] Author, the Nature of which, if poſſible, is ſtill more ſhocking than that of the Archbiſhop; namely, that about the Time the fore-mention'd *Florida* was ſhut up in his Dungeon, a certain *Spaniſh Moor* having had an Amour with a common Proſtitute in *Rome*, called *Curſetta*, he uſed, for the greater Privacy, to dreſs himſelf in Womens Cloaths, and in that Diſguiſe to viſit her, going under the Name of *the Barbarian Lady*: which Affair came to the Pope's Ears, who thinking it an Offence too great to be bore with, order'd both the *Moor* and the Woman to be apprehended, and thrown into Gaol: and that the Crime ſhould not go unpuniſh'd, he commanded both of them to be dragg'd thro' the Streets of *Rome* on a Hurdle, the Curteſan to be dreſs'd like the *Moor*, with looſe and unbutton'd Cloaths, and the *Moor* in Woman's Apparel, and his

[1] This Circumſtance of the Cruelty committed on the Archbiſhop, is not only mention'd in Tom. Tomaſ. p. 294, to 296. Edit. Mon. Chiar. M.DC.LXX. but fully related by Burchardus, in his Specimen Hiſtor. ſive Anecdot. Alex. VI. from p. 40, to 44. to which the Reader is refer'd; as alſo to the Appendix of this Work, where I have tranſcrib'd Burchardus's Account of it, as it is in the Original Latin. Vid. Appendix in Articulo Archiepiſcopi Conſentini.

[2] Burchardus.

Arms

Arms tied behind him, with his Shift tucked up above his Waiſt, that ſo the Spectators might behold his Sex. In this Manner were they both made a publick Spectacle to all *Rome*, after which the Harlot *Curſetta* was diſmiſſed; but the poor *Moor*, on the ſeventh Day of *April* then enſuing, was brought out of Priſon anew, together with two Thieves who had been confin'd there alſo. Before theſe three Wretches one of the Sbirri or Bayliffs rode on an Aſs, with his Face to the Tail, holding in his Hands a Pole, on the Top of which was ſtuck, or tied, the *Pudenda* of a *Jew*, which had been cut from him at the Time he was apprehended for uſing Carnal Correſpondence with a *Chriſtian* Woman: In this ignominious Manner was the poor Wretch carried to the Market-Place called *Piazza Giudea*, where the two Thieves were hang'd, and the *Moor* order'd to be burn'd alive: accordingly, taking him off his Hurdle, they tied him to a Stake, and placed Faggots and other combuſtible Matters about him, which they endeavour'd to ſet on Fire, but an exceſſive Rain happening to fall at that very Time, for all they could do, the Wood would not burn, it appearing as if Heaven had in Horror the barbarous Cruelty they were about to act [1].

About this Time there happen'd a very remarkable Affair at *Florence*, occaſion'd by a certain Monk of the Dominican Order, called *Savonarola*, a Man very learned in Theology and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; who, as he was endow'd with Probity and Zeal, began to preach againſt the diſſolute Lives and Manners of the Clergy in general, being very much ſcandaliz'd at the unexemplary and flagitious Actions of the Pope and his Son *Valentine*; ſo that the chief Scope of his Doctrine was to inculcate to the Publick how great the Neceſſity of a Reformation of the Church was; denying that Indulgences, Pardons, Briefs, and Diſpenſations, from ſuch a Pope as *Alexander*, were of any Validity, his Practice being ſo contrary to the Doctrines of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

On the hearing of which, the Pope cited him to appear Perſonally before him at *Rome*, which the Friar refuſed: On

[1] See this whole Affair about the Moor confirmed by the aforeſaid Burchardus, in his Diarium, ſive Hiſt. Anecd. p. 44. See alſo the Original Paſſage in the Appendix in Articulo de Mauro Hiſpanico.

this,

this, the Pope fearing that by theſe Freedoms, which drew Multitudes of Hearers, ſuch Kind of Doctrine might leſſen Peoples Eſteem for the Papal Authority, he determin'd therefore to excommunicate him: This was accordingly done; but it had no other Effect than to make *Savonarola* deſpiſe the Pope, and all his *Vatican* Thunderbolts, more than ever, inſomuch that he perſiſted in his former Doctrine, affirming publickly, That as theſe Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures fulminated againſt him, were contrary to the Divine Will, and in Prejudice of the common Good, they were unjuſt and invalid.

This, however, appearing to the Migiſtrates of *Florence* too great a Provocation for *Alexander* to bear, with whom they very much wanted, at that time, to cultivate a good Correſpondence and Friendſhip, on Account of having, by the Pope's Means, *Piſa* reſtor'd to them, they deſired *Savonarola* to deſiſt; but the Monk defended his own Cauſe, declaring, That the promoting the Intereſt of Religion was ſuperior to all other Conſiderations, and ought not to be laid aſide for any Reaſons of State whatever.

The Pope being inform'd of *Savonarola*'s Obſtinacy, without further ado, excommunicated the City of *Florence* alſo; for which Reaſon the Magiſtrates found themſelves obliged to uſe their Civil Authority, and, under the ſevereſt Penalties, oblig'd the Friar to deſiſt from Preaching any more: With which Orders being oblig'd to comply, yet thoſe of his Brethren and Party continu'd, notwithſtanding, the ſame Kind of Doctrine, in all their Pulpits and Churches.

This Affair made a great Noiſe; and there were not wanting among the Eccleſiaſticks ſeveral ſtrenuous Oppoſers of *Savonarola* and his Adherents, particularly the Minor Friars: And with ſo much Obſtinacy was the Matter diſputed on both Sides, that the one, as well as the other, became in a manner intoxicated with Enthuſiaſm and Contention, inſomuch that each Party tenaciouſly adhering to the Side they eſpouſed, they grew ſo confident of the Juſtice of their Cauſe, that both declared they would undergo a fiery Trial for a Proof of the ſame, believing that Heaven would ſo eminently declare itſelf in Favour of Truth, as to permit a Miracle to be wrought for deciding the Controverſy, and that if the Party profeſſing the trueſt

Doctrine went into the Flames, he would come out of it unhurt.

This Trial one of the Friars declar'd, he was very willing to undergo, and would enter the Flames, knowing, as he ſaid, that like one of the three Children in the fiery Furnace, he ſhould come out without ſingeing a Hair of his Beard: Whereas if his Antagoniſt durſt venture to make the Experiment, he was ſure the Fire would conſume him to Aſhes: The Opponent anſwer'd, he was ſure it would not, and that he was as willing to enter the Flames as his Antagoniſt: On which it was agreed, that one of each Party ſhould try the Experiment, that a Fire ſhould be kindled in the Market-Place, and that both of them, in Preſence of all the City, ſhould enter the Flames.

Accordingly when the appointed Day came, both the Friars, attended by their reſpective Parties, came to the Market-Place, where a Fire was actually ready kindled to receive them; but the Friar of *Savonarola*'s Party, after a great many Demurrings and Evaſions on both Sides, ſaid he would enter the Flames, but with the Sacramental Hoſt in his Hands; to which great Oppoſition was made, ſome declaring, that ſuch a Propoſal was only a Trick, in order to put the Chriſtian Faith in doubt if the Hoſt ſhoould be conſumed by the Fire: On which the People on all Hands began to make a hideous Clamour, and a Tumult was raiſed over the whole Place, inſomuch that the Experiment of Burning was not tried that Day.

Savonarola and his Party loſt ſo much Credit on this Occaſion, that their Enemies, being ſupported by the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate, ſurrounded the Convent of St. *Mark*, where *Savonarola* was, and ſeized on him and two others of his Party, and carried them to Gaol: After which, being accuſed of Sedition and other Crimes, he was put to the Torture; but being really innocent, nothing material could be made out againſt him, it plainly appearing, that he never had any other Deſign than that of bringing about a general Reformation of the Church; his own Intereſt and Preferment, which generally are the greateſt Allurements to bad Prieſts, being not the Thing he had in View: But he conſtantly aſſerted how great a Neceſſity there was of calling a General Council, for redreſſing the many Abuſes which had crept into the Church, and the corrupt

Lives

Lives of the Clergy: In fine, to reduce every Thing to the firſt Model of Chriſtianity, the Practice of the Apoſtles, and the primitive Ages of the Church; declaring how ambitious he was of the Honour of promoting ſo pious and neceſſary a Work, and that he eſteem'd it a greater Glory than to be made a Pope, ſeeing the Papacy might be obtain'd, as it was very often, by vile and ſcandalous Means; whereas a Reformation could not be effected but by Men of ſound Principles, Virtue, and Learning. This he uſed to declare in Preſence of the Clergy, and others of the firſt Rank among the Senators of *Florencce*.

However, his Proceſs being form'd by the Pope, by the General of the *Dominicans*, the Biſhop of *Romolino*, and *Alexander*'s Commiſſary Deputies, Sentence was pronounc'd againſt him, That he ſhould be unconſecrated, and diveſted of his Holy Orders, and then deliver'd over to the Secular Power, and burned at a Stake. This cruel Sentence was accordingly put in Execution, and he ſupported his Agonies with a Magnanimity and Reſignation worthy of ſo exemplary and pious a Man. The celebrated Author *Philip de Comines* [1] tells us, that he had a Perſonal Conference with this *Savonarola* at *Florence*, and that he was endow'd with a Spirit of Prophecy, having foretold ſeveral Events which did actually come to paſs: He told him moreover, that God Almighty had ſelected the King of *France* to be the Means of reforming the Church by the Sword, and to chaſtiſe the Tyrants of *Italy*; and that if he did not execute the Will of Heaven in that Particular, God would inflict exemplary Puniſhment upon him [2]: But to proceed to our Hiſtory;

About this Time Cardinal *Hipolito* of *Eſte*, the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Son, came to *Rome*, under Pretence of receiving

[1] *Vid.* Phil. de Comines, Cap. XIX. p. 191.

[2] As this Affair of *Savonarola* is an Event no leſs remarkable than curious, I refer the Reader to the Account given thereof by Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 90, to 101. Alſo to Philip de Com. Cap. XIX. and Tom. Tomaſ. p. 321, to 335. in the Additions to that Author, Edit. Mon. Chiar. Anno M.DC.LXX. But above all, the moſt ample Account of that Tranſaction is to be found in Burchardus's Journal of Pope Alexander's Life. *Vid.* Burchard. Specimen Hiſt. ſive Anecd. from p. 40, to 56. in which the whole Proceſs againſt *Savonarola* is minutely related; all which I have tranſcrib'd verbatim from the Latin Original in the Appendix of this Work. *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo Fratris Hieronymi Savonaroli.

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the Cardinal's Cap, but in Fact to be preſent at certain Deliberations, from which greater Revolutions were apprehended to reſult, than were ever known before in *Italy*. The Entry of this Prince was order'd to be ſolemniz'd with all the Magnificence which could be ſhewn to one of his high Rank: He brought along with him no leſs than 70 Carriages richly loaded, himſelf being attended with a ſplendid and numerous Retinue; and beſides ſeven Prelates belonging to his Court, there were a great many other Perſons of Diſtinction came along with him, together with 250 Gentlemen on Horſeback: And ſome Differences having aroſe between him and *Valentine* on Account of Precedency, the Matter was immediately compromiz'd by the Pope, and *Valentine* obliged to yield the Point, not a little to his Mortification, the *Borgians* finding it their Intereſt to keep up a good Harmony with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was one of the moſt conſiderable Princes in *Italy*.

About the ſame Time the *Borgians* had a double Alliance in view; the one for marrying Donna *Lucretia*, the Pope's Daughter, to Don *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, Duke of *Biſelli*, and Prince of *Salerno*, Natural Son to King *Alphonſus* II. of *Naples*; And as this Marriage was with the King of *Naples*'s Conſent, it was accordingly conſummated: The other was between *Valentine* (as we have hinted before) and a Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Naples*; for effecting which *Valentine* was on the Point of renouncing the Cardinalate. But *Frederick* ſhew'd himſelf very averſe to the Propoſal, one of the chief Reaſons being, becauſe as *Valentine* demanded the Principality of *Tarento* by Way of Dowry with the Lady; he knew if this was granted, a Spark of Fire would be brought into his Family, capable of burſting out, ſome Time or other, into ſuch a Flame as might conſume his whole Kingdom. This Backwardneſs, which indeed amounted to a Refuſal, being perceived by the *Borgians*, they began, out of Revenge, to form a new Scheme of Politicks, and to think ſeriouſly of re-eſtabliſhing a firm Friendſhip and Alliance with the *French*, hoping that by raiſing new Commotions in *Italy*, they ſhould diſconcert many Peoples Meaſures, and by fiſhing in ſuch muddy Waters, might promote their own Grandeur, perhaps with greater Succeſs than before; a Point which they ſaw could not be effected while *Italy* was in a State of Tranquillity and Repoſe. What induc'd them the rather to purſue this Scheme, was, the Example of the King of *Caſtile*, who

who had made up Matters with the *French*, and taken Care of his own Intereſt, without having any Regard to the Welfare of the Confederates, and thoſe with whom he was in Alliance, notwithſtanding he had obliged himſelf, by the moſt ſolemn Stipulations, to attack *France* on the Side of *Rouſſillon*, and thoſe Parts of *France* which border'd upon *Spain*. For this Prince having ſuſtain'd the Loſs of *Sals*, which was taken and burn'd by the *French*, he found that by continuing a War with that Nation, he could gain nothing; but on the contrary, ſhould be oblig'd to lay great Burdens and Hardſhips upon his Kingdom: Wherefore having firſt concluded a Suſpenſion of Arms, and a Truce with the *French*, he, at laſt, made a firm and laſting Peace with them, without making any Reſerve or Proviſion for the Affairs of *Italy*, or taking the leaſt Care (as we have ſaid before) of his Allies and Confederates there.

Wherenpon the ſeveral Princes of *Italy* began to look out for their reſpective Safety, and thought it high Time to provide for themſelves the beſt Way they could; more eſpecially the Pope, who knew very well that King *Charles* was making great Preparations for returning very ſoon to *Italy*, and that he had very little Reaſon to expect any Favour from him.

But as both *France* and *Spain* did neither of them enjoy the Fruit they had propoſed by that Peace, ſo neither did *Italy*, at that Time, undergo the Changes and Revolutions with which ſhe was threatned: For it happen'd that *John* the only Son of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and Heir to their Crown, died, by whoſe Death the lineal Succeſſion of the Kings of *Spain*, who originally ſprung from *Gothick* Blood, determin'd; ſo that that Crown was now to be tranſlated, by *Giovanna* their Daughter, to her Husband *Philip*, Count of *Flanders*, a Foreigner of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Moreover, about the ſame Time *Charles* King of *France* died of an Apoplexy, in the City of *Ambuoſe*, in the very Flower of his Youth, and in the Height of his Martial Undertakings, having ſome time before, in like manner, loſt his only Son and Heir, ſo that the Crown of *France* devolved, by Right, on *Lodovick* (or *Lewis*) Duke of *Orleans*; by whoſe Succeſſion the Face of Affairs, both in *Italy* and *France*, changed very much, and a Calm within both Countries for a conſiderable Time enſued.

But he who moſt of any ſuffer'd by this ſudden Change, was *Lodovick Sforza* (commonly called the *Moor*) Duke of *Milan*, of whom we have, in the foreging Part of this Work, made ſuch ample mention; to whoſe Dutchy the new King of *France*, with Juſtice, pretended a Right, as being the ſole Heir and Succeſſor of *Valentina* his Grandmother, a Daughter of the illuſtrious Family of *Viſconti*, the true and old Sovereigns of *Milan*: So that *Lewis*, the new King of *France*, the 12th of that Name, after his Acceſſion to the Throne, among his other Titles, ſtil'd himſelf Duke of *Milan*; and in the Letter he wrote to the *Italian* Princes on his Acceſſion, ſolemnly declared to them, that the firſt Thing he deſigned to undertake, ſhould be an Expedition into *Italy*, to poſſeſs himſelf of that Dutchy.

In the mean time Cardinal *Valentine*'s Ambition made him impatient of any Delays that might obſtruct the Advancement of his own Grandeur, which, at any rate, he was determin'd to purſue: But finding by *Charles*'s Death the Face of Things ſo very much changed in *France*, and being now diffident of, and unacquainted with the Mind of the new King, he knew not well what Courſe to take: but at length took a Reſolution to renew, with more Warmth than ever, his Propoſals for marrying King *Frederick*'s Daughter, judging, that as Things were then quiet, it was the readieſt Way of arriving at his Ends; not doubting that if he could but once get Footing in *Tarento*, his ambitious Views would not be circumſcrib'd to the narrow Compaſs of that Dutchy; but as the whole Kingdom of *Naples* was feudatory to the Church, he doubted not in a little Time to be able to ſtrip his Father-in-law thereof, and get himſelf made [1] Sovereign; and by Force of Arms, and the Aſſiſtance of his Father's Spiritual and Temporal Power, maintain Poſſeſſion thereof: Nor did this Scheme ſeem impracticable to him, when he conſider'd that his propoſed Father-in-law had neither Force nor Friends to ſupport him.

But King *Frederick* knowing very well the Nature of theſe *Syrens*, gave a deaf Ear to the inſidious Muſick with which they endeavour'd to allure him; and for all that the Duke of

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 104.

Milan

Milan could do to perſuade him thereto, who repreſented to him how [1] prejudicial it might be to his Affairs, if, in that critical Conjuncture, he ſhould irritate the Pope, and perhaps provoke him and *Valentine* to embrace new Meaſures; and that as they were already wavering in their Politicks, 'twould be too dangerous for him, by refuſing his Requeſt, to provoke the Pope to ſide with the *French*: Yet *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding all the Duke of *Milan*'s Arguments, was inflexible, anſwering him in a Letter, that he well foreſaw this Danger; but out of two Evils he thought it adviſeable to chuſe the leaſt, eſpecially that which was leaſt diſhonourable; adding, that if he was ruin'd, it ſhould never be attributed to his own Choice, or his Perſonal Miſdeeds.

The Affair happen'd juſt as the Duke of *Milan* had imagin'd; for the Pope finding he could not obtain any Thing from the King of *Naples* but Denials, determin'd, at any rate, to fall in anew with the *French* Meaſures: Accordingly he diſpatched two of his Nuncios to *France*, to condole with *Lodovick* on the Deceaſe of his Predeceſſor, and congratulate his Majeſty on his Acceſſion to the Throne of *France*; at the ſame time, by Means of theſe Nuncios, one of which was the Archbiſhop of *Raguſa*, the other Monſigneur *Caſtellenſe*, to endeavour that the King would uſe his good Offices for promoting the Marriage between *Valentine* and *Charlotta*, Daughter of the ſaid King *Frederick*, who had been for a conſiderable Time, and was then actually at the Court of *France*; for which Reaſon the *Borgians* imagin'd the King of *France* had no ſmall Sway in that Affair; nay, did not doubt but ſhe was in a manner at his Diſpoſal.

Lewis made no manner of Objection to the Affair; but on the contrary, very willingly ſeem'd to gave his Conſent; nay, more than that, promis'd the Pope to beſtow very great Honours on his Son *Valentine*, and give him the Poſſeſſion of conſiderable Eſtates in *France*, provided he would grant him three Things, which were, Firſt, Security that his Holineſs would aſſiſt him in the Expeditions he very ſoon intended into *Italy*: Secondly, Grant him a Diſpenſation for annulling his Marriage with *Jovanna* his Wife, who was barren, and monſtrouſly ugly; and

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 104. [2] Tom. Tom. p. 311. Edit. M.DC.LXX.

that

that by Virtue of that Diſpenſation, and his Apoſtolical Authority, he might marry *Anna*, Dutcheſs of *Britany*, who had been Wife to the deceaſed King *Charles*: Laſtly, That the Pope would make *George d'Ambuoſe* Archbiſhop of *Roan*, his faithful Servant, a Cardinal: to all which *Alexander* moſt readily conſented, hoping that by Means of the *French*, he ſhould eſtabliſh that Grandeur to his Family, which he ſo much thirſted after.

Matters being thus prepared, nothing they thought was now wanting but *Valentine's* getting rid of the Cardinalate: To effect this, the Pope called a Conſiſtory, in which he acquainted the Cardinals with the Deſign, and how inclinable *Cæſar* was to quit his Eccleſiaſtical Profeſſion, and take himſelf to a Secular Life; but as this could not be done without the Conſent of the Sacred College, he therefore had called them together, he ſaid, to know their Opinions of the Matter. On this *Valentine* himſelf being there preſent, roſe up, and told their Eminences, [1] 'That it was true, he had taken upon him the Eccleſiaſtical Character, but that his Reaſons for ſo doing were merely out of Obedience to the Pope's Deſire, for it had been a Station which did not altogether ſuit with his Inclinations and Genius; for which Reaſons he did not think it right for him to continue therein: And as he had a View of ſpending the reſt of his Life in a Matrimonial State, he hop'd the Sacred College would not be againſt his Change; and even interceed with his Holineſs, that, by Apoſtolick Permiſſion, he might be diſengaged from Religious Orders: And as hitherto he had ſhewn himſelf an obedient Son of the Church, ſo he hoped to continue ſuch in the Future, and give ſolid Proofs of his great Attachment to her Intereſts, being willing to diſtribute among their Eminences whatever Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Preferments he had enjoy'd.

The Cardinals gave him to underſtand, by Way of Anſwer, That as for their Parts they conſented to his Deſire, but were willing the Affair ſhould be referred to the Pope, and determin'd as he pleaſed: On which *Alexander* reply'd, That ſince the Inclination of their Petitioner was ſo fervent for a Change, he

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 311. Edit. Monte Chiar. M.DC.LXX. See alſo Burchard. Diarium, p. 57.

thought

thought it would be hard not to indulge him therein: Accordingly a Diſpenſation was immediately [1] granted for Cardinal *Valentine* to quit his Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, and become a Secular: After which, veſting himſelf in a Lay Habit, made after the *French* Mode, he went the ſame Day to meet Monſieur *Villanuova*, who was ſent on Purpoſe to *Rome* by King *Lewis* with the Character of his Ambaſſador, whoſe chief Buſineſs was to bring *Valentine* with him into *France*; on whom *Lewis*, much about the ſame Time, beſtow'd the Title of Duke of *Valentinois*, a ſmall Town in *Dauphine*, with a Revenue of 20,000 Franks *per Annum*, beſides other 20,000 by Way of Pay in the Command he granted him of 100 Lances.

After *Villanuova* had tarried about a Month at *Rome*, and received extraordinary Honours there, he ſet out on his Return to *France*, accompanied by the new Duke *Valentine*, who was attended by ſome of the chief Lords of the Eccleſiaſtical State, the Magnificence of the reſt of his Retinue being ſcarcely to be credited.

The News of *Valentine*'s intended Departure for *France*, and the new Friendſhip and Alliance contracted between the *Borgians* and *Lewis*, was heard with no ſmall Diſpleaſure by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Spain*, who began to be very uneaſy and jealous of theſe Proceedings, knowing ſuch a ſtrict Correſpondence would not fail of producing Effects very much to their Prejudice: In order therefore to hinder as much as was poſſible the Increaſe of that Friendſhip, they diſpatched two [2] Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to the Court of *Rome*, whoſe Inſtructions were to make Complaint of *Valentine*'s renouncing the Cardinalate, with the View of going into *France*, which plainly implied, they ſaid, a very partial Adherence to the Intereſt of *Lewis*, in Prejudice of other Chriſtian Princes; above all, as a Thing which threatned Diſturbance to the Tranquillity and Repoſe of *Italy*, and could not be obſerved but with Scandal, Jealouſy, and univerſal Uneaſineſs to the neighbouring Powers: For which Reaſon thoſe Ambaſſadors, at firſt, humbly intreated that his Holineſs would, as a Remedy to the many imminent Diſorders that might enſue thereon, and even for the publick Good, which, as a common Father, he ought to regard above all, recal *Va-*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 311. Burchard. Diar. p. 57. [2] Ibid. p. 85.

lentine out of *France*, and re-place him in the Eccleſiaſtical Station of Life wherein he had been before.

But the Pope, with his wonted Eloquence, endeavour'd to pacify the Ambaſſadors, telling them, That it was not by any Means fit to retract what had been done, becauſe, he ſaid, that would imply a Meanneſs of Soul, and a Want of Judgment; eſpecially ſince having given the King of *France* Notice of Duke *Valentine*'s intended Voyage or Journey to his Country, that Monarch had been ſo complaiſant to ſend his Gallies to receive him; and as he had already embarked aboard of them at *Oſtia*, there was no Remedy but to proceed on his Voyage. In this Manner did *Alexander* amuſe the Ambaſſadors, giving them good Words, and ſoothing them with fair Promiſes, as much as was poſſible; adding, That they had no Occaſion to apprehend any bad Conſequence from his Proceedings, ſince nothing was intended thereby in *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*'s Prejudice.

The Ambaſſadors gave but very little Credit to all the Pope had promis'd, with regard to their Maſter's Intereſt; therefore not to be wanting in Duty as publick Miniſters, and to act according to their Inſtructions, from Complaints, they proceeded to [1] Accuſations, and from Intreaties to Threatnings: Hence Animoſity and Contention ariſing on both Sides, mutual Reproaches were thrown out againſt one another in very ſmart Language, inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors ſwore *Valentine* ſhould repent one Day or other the Reſolution he had taken, and the Pope himſelf be forced to bite his Finger for Rage; nay, they told *Alexander* plainly, that while he perſiſted in the Way of thinking as he did then, the Princes their Maſters would no more acknowledge him as the common Father of Chriſtians, ſince, for aggrandizing his Family, he ſuffer'd ſo many ſcandalous Things to be tranſacted in Prejudice of the Church.

Alexander reply'd, *That he had been elected by God Almighty, and not by Men, to be the Father of Princes; and ſuch he was in ſpite of Enemies: That it was not becoming the Father's Dignity to ſuccumb to the Caprices of his Sons, but the Duty of Sons to obey their Father's Commands; ſo that he*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 319. Alſo Burchard. Diar. p. 85.

never

never would eſteem them as lawful Sons, but as Baſtards, who ſhould gainſay what he did : To which one of the Ambaſſadors reply'd ; [1] *There are Abundance of Baſtards already in* Rome, *without bringing others into the Church.* At which Words *Alexander* was very much nettled, and in a great Rage told them, *What he had done was right, and was it to be done again it ſhould, in ſpight of thoſe who dared to oppoſe it* : On which he turn'd his Back, and retir'd abruptly to his own Apartment. But the Ambaſſadors being as much incenſed as the Pope, declared, *They would not ſtir till they enter'd a* [2] *Proteſtation by a Notary-Publick.* Accordingly, without any Manner of Reſpect to the Place where they were, they ſtamp'd and ſtorm'd about the Room, making no ſmall Clamour, which the Pope thinking an Inſult not to be bore with, bouncing anew out of his Cloſet, came up to the Ambaſſadors, and deſired them, in a great Fury, to get them gone, and if they had a Mind to Proteſt, to go to their own Country and Proteſt there.

Duke *Valentine* and *Villanuova* were, however, by this Time on their Journey to *Chinon*, where the *French* Court was at that Time, having gone out of *Rome* [3] privately : But two Days after their Departure, Orders had been given by the Pope to the Governors of Places within the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, to receive them with the higheſt Marks of Honour and Obſequiouſneſs, and to ſalute them with a triple Diſcharge of the Artillery from the Ramparts of garriſon'd Towns as they paſſed along.

On the other Hand, the King of *France*, not to be behind-hand with the Pope, on the new Duke's Arrival in the *French* Dominions, had commanded him every where to be receiv'd with all the Grandeur and Reſpect imaginable, and that the Soldiers, as he paſſed thro' the Towns and Villages in *France*, ſhould meet him without the Gates, under Arms ; and ſo great were the Honours paid him, that *Valentine* himſelf was aſtoniſh'd where-ever he came, to find ſuch Multitudes of Soldiers, with great Obſequiouſneſs appointed to guard him, and Crowds of People, who flock'd to ſee him ; inſomuch that when they arrived at *Chinon*, the Duke's People wrote to *Rome*, that they

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 320. in the Additions of the Edition printed at Mon. Char. Anno M.DC.LXX.

[2] *Vid.* Burchard. Diar. p. 59.

[3] Ibid. p. 85.

had

had in *France* ſeen neither Tree, nor Wall, nor Village, but only the Countenances of Men and Women, and the Beams of the Sun.

The King, under Pretence of Hunting, receiv'd the Duke two Leagues without the City; then taking leave, came back to his own Palace, leaving *Valentine* to make the beſt Uſe of the Splendor and Magnificence with which he deſign'd to enter *Chinon*, and who had brought along with him, on that Occaſion, a Treaſure able to defray the vaſt Expences he was to be at in making ſuch an enormous Figure at the *French* Court.

However, as the extravagant Magnificence and Splendor of this Entry is not to be matched before nor ſince within *Europe*; and as it almoſt exceeds common Belief, I give the following Account of it, as Monſieur *Brantome* has related in his Memoirs.

[1] *On the* 18*th of* December, Anno 1498. ſays he, Cæſar Borgia *made his ſolemn Entry into* Chinon, *being preceded by the Cardinal* Rouen, *Monſieur* de Raveſtain, *the Seneſchal of* Tholouſe, *Monſieur* de Cleremont, *and other Gentlemen of the Court, and conducted by them as far as the Entry to the Bridge: Before him* 24 *fine Mules were led, loaded with Trunks and Baggage, over which rich Coverings were ſpread, with the Duke's own Arms embroider'd on them; after this came* 24 *others, with Coverings of red and yellow Colours, being the King's Livery: Next follow'd* 12 *Mules with Sumpter-Cloths of yellow Sattin, barred Croſsways; after them ten others with Coverings of Cloth of Gold, having Traverſe-Bars rais'd and plain alternately, with them other Mules amounting to* 70 *in Number: Then follow'd* 16 *ſtately, large, led Horſes, the Capariſons of which were Cloth of Gold, mix'd with red and yellow Stripes of different Stuff, and their Bridles tied to the Genette or Pummels of the Saddles. After them came* 18 *Pages mounted on very fine Horſes; of theſe Pages* 16 *were cloathed in Crimſon Velvet, the other two in Cloth of Gold rais'd: Next were ſix other Mules, richly accouter'd with Saddles, Bridles, and Harneſſings, each led by a Groom on Foot, dreſs'd in Crimſon Velvet, the Furniture of the Mules being of the ſame Stuff:*

[1] *Vid.* Memoirs de Brantome, p. 227. Edit. a Lyde, printed Anno 1722.

after

after them came two other Mules, carrying Coffers cover'd with Cloth of Gold. The Spectators (ſays our Author) had many Conjectures about what was contain'd within theſe Coffers; ſome judging the Cargo to be rich Jewels brought thither by the Duke as Preſents to his Miſtreſs; others ſuppos'd it to be the Pope's Bulls and Indulgences ſent from *Rome*, or perhaps ſome Kinds of Holy Reliques. *Next to theſe march'd Thirty Gentlemen cloathed in Cloth of Gold and Silver: Then came three Minſtrels, two Kettle-drums, and a Rebec, which laſt was an Inſtrument very much uſed in thoſe Days; the Kettle-drums were apparel'd in Cloth of Gold, the Rebec ſtrung with Gold Wire, and the Inſtruments themſelves Silver, ſlung with large Gold Chains. Thoſe Minſtrels march'd before Duke* Valentine's *Perſon,* (viz. *between him and the* 30 *Gentlemen*) *ſounding their Inſtruments the whole Way as they paſſed along; with whom rode other Muſicians,* viz. *four Trumpets, and the like Number of thoſe who ſounded Clarions of Silver: Behind them came up* 24 *Lacquies, dreſs'd in Crimſon Velvet, mix'd with Stripes of yellow Silk, marching on Foot by Way of Guards about the Duke's own Perſon, with whom rode the Cardinal* Rouen. *The Duke was mounted on a large and ſtately Horſe, magnificently harneſſed, himſelf dreſs'd in a Robe of red Sattin, and Cloth of Gold, powder'd all over with very coſtly Diamonds and large Pearls: Around his Cap, or Ducal-Bonnet, were double Rows of Jewels, with ſix or ſeven Rubies, as large as the bigger Kinds of Beans, all which reflected a dazzling Luſtre on the Beholders; there were great Numbers of other precious Stones ſtrew'd here and there over all his Apparel, even on his Boots, which were cover'd over with Cordage of Gold Thread-Twiſted, and bordered with Pearls: About the Duke's Neck hung a Gold Chain, worth* 30000 *Ducats, on which the* French *made the following Verſe; as indeed my Author ſays they had put the whole Cavalcade in Rhyme;*

Et un collier pour en dire le cas,
Qui valoit bien trente mille Ducats.

The Horſe on which the Duke rode was charged with Foliage of Gold, and cover'd with Emboſsments, adorn'd with Pearls and Precious Stones; near which was another Mule appropriated for his riding on other Occaſions, and which all

over was harneſſed, with Bridle, Saddle, and other Accoutrements Embroider'd and Figur'd with Roſes, about the Breadth of a Finger from one another: To complete the Whole, there were 24 other Mules cover'd with red Sumpter Cloths, on which were the Duke's Arms embroider'd. Laſt of all follow'd a Number of Carriages, or rather Chariots, loaded with Baggage and Things belonging to the Duke's Perſon. As I ſaid before, the *French* put all this Cavalcade into Rhyme, which ended thus;

Ainſi entra, pour avoir Grand renom,
Le dit Seigneur au Chaſteau de Chinon.

In this magnificent Manner did *Cæſar Borgia* make his Entry into *Chinon*, where King *Lewis* himſelf, from the Windows of a Houſe, beheld the whole Pageantry as it paſſed along, and doubtleſs, laughing within himſelf, thought it too great Vanity, or rather ſcandalous Extravagancy, to be aſſumed by the *Petit Duc de Valentinois*: In fine, nothing but the Magnificence of the *Aſiatick* Princes could equal it, the like having never been ſeen in *Europe* before, nor perhaps ever will be for the future.

But what was eſteem'd the moſt extravagant of all, and a Piece of Luxury and Expence never before known in *Chriſtendom*, was a Number of Horſes led in his Train, the Shoes of which, ſome Authors ſay, were all [1] Maſſy Gold; a ſcandalous Vanity indeed, to cover his Horſes Hoofs with a Metal which graces the Temples, and adorns the Heads of Kings.

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſ. p. 314. But Burchardus in his Journal, ſays, The Horſes Shoes were only Silver. *Vid.* Burchard. Diar. p. 85.

The End of the FIRST PART.

THE

Aut Cæsar, aut Nihil

Bor: Domenici delin. ex origin. Titiani pens. D.ni Valetium. Neapoli. — I. Vandergucht Sculp.

Cæsar Borgia

Cui tranquilla quies odio, cui prælia cordi
et rixa, et cædes, Seditioque fuit
Vos Erebi Proceres; vos cæli Claudite portas!
Atque animam Vestris hanc prohibete locis!
In Stygа nam veniens pacem turbabit Averni
Comittet Superos Si petat astra Poli.

THE

LIVES

OF

Pope ALEXANDER VI.

And His SON

CÆSAR BORGIA.

COMPREHENDING

The Wars in the Reigns of *Charles* VIII. and *Lewis* XII. Kings of *France*; and the Chief TRANSACTIONS and REVOLUTIONS in *Italy*, from the Year 1492 to the Year 1506.

By *ALEXANDER GORDON*, A. M.

PART II.

LONDON:
Printed in the YEAR M. DCC. XXIX.

To the Right Honourable

JOHN

Earl of STAIR.

My Lord,

AS many Particulars are requiſite in finiſhing the Character of one truely Great, that of patronizing Learning and Works of Ingenuity has always been eſteem'd, by the better Part of Mankind, the moſt conſiderable.

A Nation's Wiſdom, Courage, Politeneſs, and Love of Liberty, may juſtly be reckon'd greater or leſſer, in Proportion as their Eſteem or Diſregard for Learning prevails: Where the former is eſtabliſh'd, an univerſal Benevolence to Mankind, a Magnanimity of Soul, a Rectitude in Thinking and Acting, are the never-failing Conſequences: But where the latter is predominant, nothing is its Produce but Minds fetter'd with inextricable Prejudices, the Soul debaſed into Effeminacy and Luxury, a Lowneſs of Thinking tolerated and ſupported, and, that which of all ought to be deareſt to every Body, the Liberty of a Nation eaſieſt to be parted with: That it muſt be ſo, according to the Nature of Things, appears plain, if we conſider the following natural Deduction; and it is this, That from Learning flows Knowledge, from Knowledge Wiſdom,

from

from Wiſdom Virtue, from Virtue Patriotiſm, from Patriotiſm Liberty! ſo that I may fairly conclude, That whoever contributes moſt to the Propagation of Knowledge, is not only a Friend to his Country, but a real Benefactor to Mankind in general. Such Men as theſe, my Lord, do Honour to the Human Species, and help to wipe off that Gloom and Deformity, which otherwiſe would remain too obſcure on the Face of Nature.

Of this Gloom, or Deformity, ſcarcely can any Subject be offered to publick View, which will make it appear more evident than that I have undertaken to relate in the preſent Work; and was it not that the narrow Compaſs of a Dedication will not permit me, I might greatly relieve the Imagination of the Reader from peruſing the dark Scenes therein, by diſplaying in Your Lordſhip a Character diametrically the Reverſe. But here I muſt break off: The Conſciouſneſs of my being unequal to ſuch an Undertaking, which deterred me from enlarging on the Virtues of that Noble Perſon, to whom the firſt Part of this Work is inſcribed, hinders me from entering more particularly into Your Lordſhip's moſt amiable Character.

That You may both live long the publick Ornaments of your Country, and the Protectors of all good Arts, is the ſincereſt Wiſh of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble, and

Moſt Obliged Servant,

Alexander Gordon.

THE

HISTORY

Of the LIVES of

Pope *Alexander* VI.

And his SON

Cæsar Borgia.

PART II.

THE new Duke *de Valentinois* being arrived at the Court of *France* in the pompous Manner already related, appear'd, at firſt, to be pretty much in favour with the People there, on Account of his great Liberality, or rather Extravagance, in ſupporting his affected Grandeur; but the Manner by which he begun to manage Affairs being very different from the Uſage of the *French*, they ſoon diſcover'd his Genius, and began to look on his Procedure with that juſt Indignation becoming Men of Honour, tho' *Lewis* endeavour'd to ſmother, as much as was poſſible, all Appearances of Diſguſt.

But

But that the Cauſe of this may not be unknown to the Reader, he may remember we already mention'd the Deſign which the King of *France* had to procure a Diſpenſation from the Pope for divorcing his Wife *Jovanna*, in order to marry *Anna* Dutcheſs of *Britany*, Widow of the late King *Charles*; which Requeſt was granted by *Alexander*, for the Motives already related, and a Diſpenſation or Bull for that End was ſent with *Valentine* from *Rome*. But as our new Duke had imagin'd to himſelf that *Lewis* would be ſo vaſtly impatient to have the Diſpenſation in his Hands, as to grant him any Thing rather than be without it, he judg'd it beſt not to [1] part with the Bull, till firſt *Lewis* ſhould procure *Charlotta*, Daughter of the King of *Naples*, to be put into his own Poſſeſſion.

In order to this, he had the Aſſurance to give out, That he had not as yet receiv'd that Diſpenſation of the Pope, but waited in daily Expectation of its Arrival from *Rome*; which was not only contrary to the Pope's own Promiſe and Letters, but inconſiſtent with the Knowledge that the Biſhop of *Setta*, *Alexander*'s Nuncio then at *Paris*, had of the Affair, who ſolemnly declar'd to the King, that, notwithſtanding all Pretences to the contrary, he knew for certain that *Valentine* had got the Diſpenſation out of the Pope's Hands, and had brought it with him to *France*.

Upon this *Lewis*, without more ado, conven'd a Number of Divines together, and ask'd them their Opinions of the Matter, and whether he might not lawfully marry that Lady without ſeeing the Diſpenſation, ſince 'twas certain, he ſaid, that it had been iſſued out at *Rome*? and if, by another's Fault, not forwarded with ſuitable Expedition, if that was a ſufficient Reaſon for retarding his Deſign? The Divines unanimouſly decided the Affair in the King's Favour, and aſſured him [2] he might, with a very ſafe Conſcience, conſummate the Marriage when he pleaſed. On this, very little Time was loſt till it was done; *Anna* declared Queen of *France*, and the King's Marriage with *Jovanna* Null, and of no Effect.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 5.

[2] *Vid.* Arnoldus Ferronius de Rebus geſtis Gallorum, in Lud. XII. p. 47.

Valentine

Valentine by this perceiving his Politicks had miſcarried, was extremely mortified, and oblig'd at laſt, with a bad Grace, to deliver the Diſpenſation to the King: However the *French* found it convenient not to take any ſeeming Notice of the Affair, ſo that it was drop'd by them, but not by *Borgia*, who finding himſelf deluded of his Expectations, was determin'd to vent his Rage on the Diſcoverer of the Secret: accordingly he took Care to give the Nuncio a [1] Doſe of that fatal Poiſon with which he never fail'd to diſpatch thoſe whom he hated; ſo that, within a few Days, the Biſhop died in a very lamentable Condition.

King *Lewis* having procur'd his Favourite the Archbiſhop of *Rhoan* to be made a Cardinal, the Ceremony of putting the Hat (which was brought from *Rome* by Duke *Valentine*) on the Head of that Prelate, was perform'd, with great Splendor, by Cardinal *della Rovere* in the King's Preſence, in which the Duke had the Precedence of all others, being allow'd to walk immediately [2] before the King's Perſon; who omitted nothing which could at any rate allure the *Borgians*, and with Honours and Rewards fix them to his Intereſt.

With this View he ſent no leſs than three Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to *Rome*, to perform the Function of Obedience to the Pontiff, in the Names of the King, and the Dutcheſs of *Britany* his new Queen; which Ambaſſadors had it likewiſe in their Inſtructions, to ratify the Alliance concluded at that Time between the Pope and their Maſter, all Difficulties for obſtructing the ſame being removed, and Duke *Valentine*, as the *Borgians* imagin'd, on the Point of eſpouſing the Infanta *Charlotta*, *Lewis* having ſeemingly agreed thereto, without any other Reſerve but the Lady's Conſent; for which Reaſon that Affair was looked upon in *France* to be as good as concluded, and a Rumour ſpread at *Rome*, that it was conſummated: nor indeed was any Thing wanting to make the Report true, but only the Infanta's own Approbation, as we have already mention'd: However, the Queſtion being put to her for that End, ſhe frankly made the following Anſwer, [3] *That ſhe would*

[1] *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 290.
[2] Burchard. Diar. p. 60.
[3] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 290.

not have a Prieſt, and the Son of a Prieſt, for her Husband; a blood-thirſty Wretch, a Murderer of his Brother, one of infamous Birth, and ſtill more infamous for his bad Actions: An Anſwer worthy of a Lady of her Wit and illuſtrious Rank; however, 'twas generally believed ſhe had got Inſtructions from her Father to make ſuch a Declaration: [1] Others think *Lewis* himſelf, at the Bottom, was the Cauſe of this ſharp Repulſe.

However it be, *Valentine* was altogether fruſtrated of his Hopes this Way, ſo that a new Wife was propoſed to him; namely, the King of *Navar*'s Daughter, Madamoiſelle *d'Alberet*, of *French* Extraction, on Condition the Pope would give a Dowry of [2] 200,000 Crowns, and create her Brother, Monſigneur *d'Alberet*, a Cardinal; which Offer was accepted by the *Borgians*, and the Affair accordingly concluded.

Notwithſtanding the Miſcarriage of *Valentine*'s Matrimony with the Infanta *Charlotta*, *Sforza* Duke of *Milan* uſed his utmoſt Endeavours for engaging the Pope in an offenſive and defenſive League with himſelf, King *Frederick*, and the *Florentines*, promiſing *Alexander* conſiderable Aſſiſtance for [3] reducing the Vicars of the Church in *Romagna*, knowing full well that a total Extirpation of theſe petty Princes, was very much in the Pope's View: to whom he likewiſe offer'd a large Sum of Money for purchaſing a Dominion within *Italy*, or elſewhere, for his Sons, provided he would fall in with his Meaſures.

The Pope ſeem'd at firſt not to lend a deaf Ear to ſuch a Propoſal, on purpoſe that his Adverſaries, buoyed up with the Hopes of an Accommodation, might be leſs vigilant in preparing for their Defence, tho' he knew very well that an Alliance with the Confederates could not redound ſo much to the aggrandizing his Family, as if he ſhould join Iſſue with the Power of *France*, being certain that the State of *Florence* was in a very unſtable and fluctuating Condition; and likewiſe, that the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Ferrara*, the Vicars of the Church, and the *Venetians*, were all diſpoſed to Side with the *French*: For this Reaſon he more than ever determin'd by no Means to depart from his

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 117.

[2] *N. B.* The Dowry by Tom. Tom. is ſaid to be 200,000 Crowns; but Burchard. Diar. p. 60. makes the Sum only 20,000 Ducats, but 'tis probable one of the Cyphers is wanting in the Printing of the laſt.

[3] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 117.

Alliance

Alliance with that Nation, eſpecially ſince *Europe* was then threatned with a War from *Bajazet* the Grand Seignor, for which great Preparations were making, both by Sea and Land; ſo that the Pope finding it impoſſible for him to ſtand Neuter, thought it beſt to act in Concert with that Prince who was moſt likely to ſucceed, and in whoſe Conqueſts he and his Son might expect to become Sharers.

Beſides, the *Venetians* declar'd openly, that it was better to have the King of *France* in their Neighbourhood than a Traitor, which Epithet they gave *Sforza*, on Account of his fraudulent Procedure in the Affair of *Piſa*, and for the Correſpondence he and the King of *Naples* held with the *Turks*, whom they had engaged to their reſpective Aſſiſtance, and to act eſpecially againſt thoſe *Chriſtian* Powers which they judged their Enemies.

About this Time a Courier was diſpatched from *Chinon* to *Rome*, with the News, that on the 10th of *May* the Marriage between Duke *Valentine* and Madamoiſelle *d'Alberet* was [1] celebrated, and on the 12th conſummated; and that on the Feſtival of *Pentecoſt*, *Lewis*, with his own Hands, had inveſted the ſaid Duke with the [2] Order of St. *Michael*, the ſame which the Kings of *France* wore in thoſe Days. On this agreeable News the Pope order'd [3] Bonefires and Illuminations to be made at *Rome*; where, not only the *French* reſiding there, but alſo the *Spaniards*, who were the Pope's Dependants, ſtrove with each other who ſhould ſhew the greateſt Marks of Joy and Extravagance on that Occaſion.

King *Lewis* being now ſecured of the Pope and *Valentine*'s firm Adherence to his Intereſt, by Virtue of the Alliance ratified lately between them; and having likewiſe agreed to an offenſive and defenſive League with the *Venetians*, on Condition that, after the Conqueſt of *Milan*, *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda* ſhould be deliver'd up to them; ſo that every Thing appearing with an advantageous Aſpect, with regard to his Affairs, he determin'd to undertake another Expedition into *Italy* as ſoon as poſſible, for making a thorow Conqueſt of *Milan* and *Naples*:

[1] *Vid.* Burchard. Diar. p. 60. Etiam Ferronius in Lud. XII. p. 48.

[2] Burchard. Diar. p. 61.

[3] Burchardus is very angry with the Pope for this, and ſays, Diar. p. 61. Sed in magnum dedecus, & verecundiam, Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri & ejus Sanctæ Sedes.

an

an Enterprize, however, not altogether to the Satisfaction of many of the *French* Court, who, like true Politicians and Friends to their Country, expoſtulated with his Majeſty, in order to perſuade him to the contrary, telling, that ſince [1] he had ſo lately aſcended the Throne, and the Treaſury was very much exhauſted, they judg'd it better to defer that Undertaking till another Year, and until Things could be prepar'd for carrying on that Deſign to the beſt Advantage: But all this was in vain, the King being bent in his own Reſolutions to proceed, inſomuch that he had already ſent the greateſt Part of the Cavalry towards *Piemont*, being ſure of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Friendſhip and Alliance.

The Army ſent to invade *Italy*, was commanded by [2] *Giacomo Trivulzio*, *Lewis di Ligni*, and *Eberard Stewart*, Count of *Obigni*; *Lewis* having gone as far as *Lions* with them, to give Countenance to, and provide every Thing neceſſary for that Undertaking, in order to ſend them, with all Expedition, beyond the *Alps*. The King in his Journey to *Lions* was accompanied by Duke *Valentine*, and Cardinal *della Rovere*, and by divers other *Italian* Lords, who, being diſcontented with their preſent Fortunes, were deſirous of Novelty.

Lewis, however, had reſolv'd not to go into *Italy* with his Army in Perſon, but to commit the Event of Affairs to Fortune, and the Bravery and good Conduct of his Generals. The Forces for that Deſign [3] conſiſted of 1600 Lances, 5000 *Swiſs*, 4000 *Gaſcoigns*, and 4000 others raiſed in different Provinces in *France*; in all about 14600 Men.

Accordingly, on the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, they pitched their Camp at *Arazzo*, a Town ſituated on the Banks of the River *Tanaro*, the Caſtle of which they took in a very ſhort Time, notwithſtanding it was garriſon'd with 500 Men, having batter'd it ſeverely with their Artillery; which, together with the Cowardice of the Defendants, was the Occaſion of its ſurrendering ſo ſoon.

After poſſeſſing themſelves of this Fortreſs, they marched to *Anon*, where they encamped: This Place was ſituated on the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 117.

[2] Ibid. p. 119. Idem Ferronius in Lud. XII. p. 56.

[3] Guicciard. ibid.

Highway

Highway leading between *Aſti* and *Aleſſandria*, on the Banks of the *Tanaro*, and oppoſite to *Arazzo*, ſtrong by its Situation, and had lately been fortified by the Duke of *Milan* : But thoſe within *Anon* making no better Defence than what was expected, the *French* having firſt batter'd the Suburbs, and next the Town, in four different Places, they [1] took it and the Caſtle within two Days, having put all the Soldiers, who had taken Refuge therein, to the Edge of the Sword : On which *Gaiazzo de St. Severino*, lately ſent thither by *Sforza* with Troops to oppoſe the Enemy, finding the Place had ſurrender'd much ſooner than had been imagin'd, was ſo terrified, that he retir'd with his People to *Aleſſandria* ; which, on the other Hand, ſo animated the *French*, that they advanced within four Miles of that Town, and in their March poſſeſſed themſelves of *Valenza*, in which was a numerous Garriſon, and great Quantity of Artillery : but this ſtrong Hold they obtain'd not by Valour and Force of Arms, but Bribery, *Trivulzio* having for that End ſuborn'd the Governor, whoſe Name was *Donato Raffagnano* a *Milaneſe*, who [2] introduc'd the *French* thro' the Fort into the Town, where all *Sforza*'s Soldiers were either miſerably ſlain on the Spot, or taken Priſoners, among the laſt of which was *Octavianus St. Severino*'s Baſtard Brother : It was, indeed, ſomewhat remarkable, that this ſame [3] Governor had, about 20 Years before, betray'd the Truſt given him by *Madama Bona*, and the young Duke *Giovanni Galeazzo*, and deliver'd up one of the Gates of *Tortona* in the ſame treacherous Manner to *Sforza*, and on the ſame Day of the Month which he had given *Valenza* to the *French*.

After this, the *French* penetrating like Lightning into *Italy*, *Baſignano*, *Voghiera*, *Caſtel-Nuovo*, and *Ponte-Corone*, ſurrender'd to them alſo ; as in like Manner, and within a few Days, did the Town and Caſtle of *Tortona* : For the Governor there, called *Anton-Maria Palaviſino*, without ſo much as waiting till the Place was beſieged, in a cowardly and diſgraceful Manner [4], fled from thence, and got to the other Side of the *Po*.

The News of theſe great Calamities having been brought to *Lodovick Sforza* in *Milan*, and he finding his Affairs reduc'd to a very low Paſs, and that his Dominion was every Day more

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 119. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

and more precipitating towards Ruin, having, as is common in Adverſity, loſt both his Courage and Counſel, had Recourſe to all thoſe Remedies generally made uſe of by People reduc'd to the greateſt Extremity: However, being determin'd to make his laſt Effort, he order'd as many as were capable to carry Arms within *Milan*, to be liſted in his Service; and having conven'd the People together, with whom (on Account of their heavy Taxes) he was very much hated, he firſt of all freed them in a great Meaſure of their Burden this Way, declaring, [1] *That if they had hitherto ſuffer'd too much by Exactions and Gabels, the Blame was not to be laid on him whoſe Intentions were never to heap up Treaſures for himſelf; but that the Neceſſity of the Times, and the Dangers to which* Italy *was expoſed, were the Cauſes of thoſe Exactions: Firſt, on Account of the exorbitant Power of the* Venetians; *next, on the coming of the* French *Army into* Italy; *both which had oblig'd him to be at an extraordinary Expence for the better ſecuring the Peace of his Dominions, and enabling him to defend his Country, not thinking he could do his People greater Service, than to keep a War at a Diſtance from them, or, if attacked, to be able to make a ſuitable Defence: And that theſe were good Maxims, the Fruit, he ſaid, which they had hitherto reap'd therefrom, were ſufficient Evidences; ſince, for the Number of Years in which they had lived under his Adminiſtration, Peace and Tranquillity had flouriſh'd among them, and their City been greatly augmented in Magnificence, Riches, and Splendour, which the Pomp of ſo many noble Edifices, the vaſt Increaſe of Arts and Inhabitants, made appear beyond Contradiction; ſo that the City and Dutchy of* Milan, *with regard to thoſe Particulars, not only equalled, but exceeded any other City or State in* Italy. *Beſides that, they ought to remember they had been govern'd by him with great Lenity and Affection, having been ready on every Occaſion to give his Subjects Audience, to liſten carefully and with a Paternal Ear to their Complaints, and Perſonally, and with Diſpatch, to decide their Controverſies, in a Manner agreeable to every one: Nay, that they ought to look back to his Father's Actions, and with how much Benevolence they had been govern'd by him, who treated them more like Children than Subjects: Beſides, that they ſhould ſet before their Eyes how very bitter and diſagreeable the haughty and inſolent Government of the*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 120.

French

French *would be, whoſe Vicinity to the State of* Milan, (*if they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves thereof, as formerly they had all* Lombardy) *it would be a ſure and certain Place of Reſidence to them, and ſo the antient Inhabitants by this be drove out of their native Country: However, he pray'd that by alienating their Minds from that barbarous Nation, they would think ſeriouſly of defending, not only their Country, but their Properties, having no Reaſon to doubt but if, on the firſt Aſſault of the* French, *they made a brave Reſiſtance, the Enemy would thereby be diſheartned in their future Attempts, ſince it was the Nature of that Nation to exhauſt their greateſt Fury in the firſt Onſet: Beſides, that he expected Succours from the King of the* Romans, *who, as ſoon as that Prince had adjuſted ſome ſmall Matters with the* Swiſs, *was reſolv'd to come to his Aſſiſtance in Perſon; and ſince the Troops granted him by the King of* Naples *for his Defence were actually on their March, and near at Hand, and the Marquiſs of* Mantua *had already enter'd the* Cremoneſe *with ſome Troops, theſe, join'd with his own faithful Subjects, made him hope were ſufficient to repel the* French, *even tho' the whole Power of that Nation was united againſt them.*

Which Words having been heard with Attention, did, however, produce no better Effect than their Arms would have done, had the *Milaneſe* pretended to reſiſt the *French*: For by this Time the *Venetians*, their other Enemies, had actually begun the War in *Ghiaradadda*, and taken the Town of *Caravaggio*, and other adjacent Places on the *Adda*; ſo that *Sforza* was obliged to call back the Count *Gaiazzo*, with the greateſt Part of the Troops which had been ſent to the Defence of that Town, and order'd him to haſte towards *Pavia*, and join *Galeazzo da St. Severino* in the Defence of *Aleſſandria*.

But now every Thing ſeem'd to conſpire for *Sforza*'s ſpeedy Ruin; for the Count *Gaiazzo* had made a [1] private Agreement with the King of *France*, out of a Pique, becauſe his younger Brother *Galeazzo* had been preferred to him in the Command of the Army. 'Tis aſſerted, That *Lodovick* having ſome Time before got Information of this Piece of Treachery, anſwer'd with a Sigh, *That he could not well believe the Count guilty of ſo much Ingratitude; but if it was true, no Mortal could know*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 120.

whom

whom to truſt, or in what Manner to guard againſt Treachery, ſince the moſt intimate Friends in Appearance, and thoſe who were under the ſtrongeſt Obligations, were liable to betray; affirming, that it was no leſs Misfortune to be obliged, on Account of a vain Suſpicion, to diſcharge ſuch conſiderable Subjects from his Service, than it was imprudent to be too credulous about the Fidelity of thoſe who perhaps deſerv'd to be ſuſpected.

But while Count *Gaiazzo* appear'd buſy in making a Bridge over the *Po* to join his Brother, which Work he carried on very ſlowly; and when it was perfected, made no uſe of it in paſſing the River, as was propoſed; the *French* loſt no Time in puſhing on the Siege of *Aleſſandria*, before which they had been two full Days, and were battering it furiouſly with their Artillery: But *Galeazzo*, who had under his Command 1200 Men at Arms, 1200 Light Horſe, and 3000 Foot, without declaring his Deſign to any of his Generals, except one *Lucio Malvezzi*, being accompanied by Part of the Light Horſe, in the Night-time [1] fled from *Aleſſandria*, not a little to his Infamy and Diſhonour, and to the Reproach of *Sforza*, in having been ſo imprudent as to put ſo great a Truſt into the Hands of a Perſon whoſe greateſt Excellency conſiſted in managing Horſes and Gymnaſtick Exerciſes, ſince the Difference is very great between a Perſon skill'd in ſuch Trifles, and one really fit to be the Commander of an Army. An Example ſufficient to teach Princes how much they deceive themſelves, in making Choice of Perſons to whoſe Care they truſt Affairs of the greateſt Importance, when they prefer them more becauſe of the Favour they have for their Perſons, than on Account of real Merit and Ability.

As ſoon as the Garriſon of *Aleſſandria* were inform'd of *Galeazzo*'s Flight, ſome, in a tumultuous Manner, began to deſert the Place, others to hide themſelves in Corners out of Fear; of which the *French* having Intelligence, about Break of Day, began to get [2] Entrance within the City, where every Thing was given up a Prey to the Soldiers: Some pretend *Galeazzo* had received Letters, written and ſealed by *Lodovick*, commanding him to come with ſome of his Troops, in order to quell a Tumult which had happen'd about that Time in

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 120. Idem Fer. in Lud. XII. p. 56. [2] Guic. ibid.

Milan:

Milan : But others do not ſcruple to think theſe Letters were forged [1] by his Brother the Count *Gaiazzo*, in order, by that fraudulent Stratagem, to facilitate Victory to the *French*, ſince *Galeazzo* uſed to produce theſe Letters for his Juſtification, pretending that his Orders were to lead off the Troops ſafe, which might have been done, without ſhamefully abandoning them to the Mercy of the Enemy. But one Thing is certain, that if *Galeazzo* had behaved like a brave General, or acted with Advice and good Conduct, he might have eaſily defended *Aleſſandria*, and, with the Troops he had then under his Command, ſecur'd Matters on the other Side of the *Po* ; nay, perhaps might have given a favourable Turn to his Maſter's Affairs : For Part of the *French* Army having paſſed to the other Side of the River *Bornia*, and great Rains having happen'd to fall at that Time, by the ſwelling of the Waters, they were penn'd up on every Side, between *Bornia* and the River *Tanaro* : However, *Galeazzo* ſhew'd no Reſolution to attack them, and altho' he was told that ſome of the Light Horſe had gone out of *Aleſſandria* by the Bridge, on whoſe Advance towards the Enemy, the firſt Squadron of the *French* were upon [2] the Point of taking to Flight ; yet all this could not move a Mind at the Bottom of which lurk'd Treachery.

The Loſs of *Aleſſandria* put the Affairs of the Dutchy in great Confuſion, *Lodovick* being every Day more and more haraſs'd with new Calamities and Diſaſters ; for the *French* having paſſed over the *Po*, had encamp'd at *Mortara*. On this *Pavia* ſurrender'd ; beſides, the *Venetians*, about the ſame Time, had taken the Caſtle of *Caravaggio*, and come over to the other Side of the *Adda* on a Bridge of Boats, having made Incurſions as far as *Lodi*, on which the reſt of the Villages declared unanimouſly for the *French* : Nor was there leſs Conſternation and Terror within the City of *Milan*, which being in an Uproar, the Inhabitants had taken up Arms, and a good Number of People, about Mid-day deſerting the Caſtle, came in a tumultuous Manner into the open Streets, where, meeting with one *Antonio Landriono*, *Lodovick*'s Treaſurer, they [3] kill'd him on the Spot : on which *Sforza* himſelf was ſeized with ſo

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 120. *N. B.* Ferronius in Lud. XII. differs a little from Guicciar. in this, and ſays, *Trivulzio* contrived the forging theſe Letters. *Vid.* Ferron. p. 56.

[2] Guicciard. ibid. 121.

[3] Ibid.

great a Fear, that, deſpairing of a Poſſibility of reſiſting the Enemy, he determin'd to fly into *Germany*, with his Children and Family, the better to eſcape the preſent Danger, and there to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor *Maximilian*.

Accordingly having left a ſtrong Garriſon within the Caſtle of *Milan*, he ſent his [1] Children before him thither, accompanied in their Journey by his Brother, Cardinal *Aſcanius*, and the Cardinal St. *Severino*: With them was his Treaſury convey'd off, but very much diminiſh'd from what it had been eight Years before, ſince 'tis certain that then his Vaſes of Gold and Silver, beſides Money in Specie, amounted to the Value of [2] a Million and a half of Ducats, but at preſent not to above Two Hundred Thouſand.

After his Childrens Departure from *Milan*, he appointed one *Bernardino da Corte* to be Governor of the Caſtle, tho' his Choice this Way was not very much liked by his Friends, who diſſuaded him from putting ſo conſiderable a Truſt in the Hands of that Man: however *Lodovick* did it for the beſt. At the ſame Time he left 3000 of his Troops under the Command of his moſt experienc'd Generals, with a Quantity of Forrage and Ammunition ſufficient for defending the Place ſeveral Months. As for *Genoa* it was intruſted to the Care of *Auguſtine Adorno*, then Governor of that City: At the ſame Time he reſtor'd *Anghiera*, *Arona*, with ſome other Villages, to *Antonio Boromeo*, a *Milaneſe* Gentleman, from whom they had been unjuſtly taken. The Dutchy of *Bari* he deliver'd over to *Iſabella* of *Aragon*, *John Galeazzo*'s Widow, as an Equivalent for Part of her Dowry. Theſe and other Matters he ſettled before his Departure, tarrying within the City as long as he could with Security: But on the ſecond of *September*, with a heavy Heart, and Tears in his Eyes, he found himſelf oblig'd to leave *Milan*, and to [3] ſet out for *Germany*, accompanied by the Cardinal of *Eſte*, *Galeazzo da St. Severino*, and *Lucio Malvezzo*; who, with a conſiderable Number of Men at Arms and Foot, were appointed to eſcort him on the Road.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 121. Idem Ferronius in Lud. XII. p. 49.
[2] Guicciard. ibid.
[3] Guicciard. ibid. Ferronius ibid. Etiam Burchard. p. 61.

No

No ſooner had *Lodovick* gone out of the Caſtle, than Count *Gaiazzo* met him on the Road; and in order to palliate his Villainy by making ſome blunt Excuſe or other, told him, [1] *Since he found his Serenity determin'd to abandon his Dominions, he hoped he was abſolv'd of his Allegiance to him, and freed from the Command which he had had in his Service, and at Liberty to fight for whom he had a Mind*: On which, with an inſulting Impudence, he ſhew'd *Lodovick* Tokens that he had embraced the Meaſures of the *French*, and was actually under their Pay; and then, without waiting for an Anſwer, rode off, and with the ſame Company of Soldiers he then commanded, and which had been rais'd by *Lodovick*'s own Money, immediately went and join'd the *French* Army.

Lodovick, from *Como*, paſſed along the Lake to *Bellagio*, then by Land to *Bornio*, at which Place formerly, when he was in a very proſperous Condition, he had receiv'd the Emperor *Maximilian*, on his coming into *Italy*: However, not a little to his Surprize, he found he was [2] purſued by the *French*, who, from *Como*, had come after him as far as *Bornio*. Among the Purſuers was Count *Gaiazzo*, at the Head of his Company: However, Providence aſſiſted *Lodovick* in his Eſcape; for having, as he paſſed along, thrown a Number of the Troops which attended him into the Fort called *Tiranno*, they defended the Paſs there, until he got ſafe to *Inſpruck*, at which Place he propoſed to meet the Emperor.

After *Lodovick*'s Departure, the People of *Milan* immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to the *French*, who by this Time had approached within ſix Miles of that City, and ſignified that they were willing to receive them within the Metropolis, and would reſerve the Conditions by which they ſurrender'd, until his Majeſty King *Lewis* ſhould come thither in Perſon. After their Example the other Towns and Villages within the Dutchy ſurrender'd to their new Maſters alſo. In like Manner thoſe in *Cremona* deſired to put themſelves into the *French* Hands; but the King would not infringe the Articles of Agreement he had previouſly made with the *Venetians*, ſo that the latter took Poſſeſſion of that Place. *Genoa* at the ſame Time declared for

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 121. [2] Ibid.

the

the *French*, to which both *Adorno* the Governor, and *Luigi da Fieſco*, made no Reſiſtance, but ſtrove with each other who ſhould ſhew themſelves moſt affectionate to *Lewis*'s Intereſt. As for *Bernardino da Corte*, whom *Sforza* had truſted with the Government of the Caſtle of *Milan*, he was ſo far from making Reſiſtance againſt the *French*, that, having been [1] brib'd with a Sum of Money, he deliver'd up that Fort before it was attack'd, notwithſtanding it was reckon'd impregnable; and as a Reward for his Treachery, was to have the Command of 100 Lances, and ſeveral other Things given him: However, his Villainy was ſo odious in every Mortal's Eyes, that neither the *French* themſelves, nor any Perſon of Character would be ſeen in his Company, being [3] hated and ſhun'd by every Body, as if he had had the Plague; inſomuch, that ſeeing he was the Scorn and Contempt of Mankind, ſtung with the Remorſe of a bad Conſcience, the ſevere and certain Scourge of ſuch perfidious Wretches, he ſome Time after expired of down-right Shame and Grief.

The King having receiv'd at *Lions* the News of the prodigious Succeſs of his Army, and finding every Thing had anſwer'd his Wiſhes, even ſooner than he had expected, came with great Speed to [4] *Milan*, where he was receiv'd with incredible Joy and Applauſe. On his Arrival he freed the Inhabitants of a conſiderable Number of their Taxes and Gabels: However, as they had form'd to themſelves a Notion that they were to have no Manner of Burden this Way at all, finding they were in a great Meaſure fruſtrated of their Expectations, they began to murmur [5] in private, and not to be altogether pleaſed with the Change they had made of their Government: However, the King in the mean time took Care to reward the good Services of his Generals, and to diſtribute Eſtates and Lands within his new Dutchy among them, particularly to *Trivulzio* he gave a free Gift of *Vigeuene*, and other conſiderable Places.

In the mean time the Pope and Duke *Valentine* were fill'd with inexpreſſible Joy at theſe fortunate Proceedings of the *French* Arms, believing they were now within View of that

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 121. Ferronius, p. 49.
[2] Guic. ibid. Fer. ibid. Idem. Burch. p. 62.
[3] Ibid. Guicciard. p. 122.
[4] Guic. ibid. Fer. ibid. 49.
[5] Guic. ibid.

happy

happy Period for aggrandizing their Family, which they had ſo long been ſollicitous about; and that they might loſe no Time for putting their Deſigns on this Head in Execution, they were, in a manner, daily concerting Meaſures with each other, about the Manner by which they were to act; ſo that Couriers were continually diſpatched from the one to the other, with their mutual Inſtructions.

Notwithſtanding the Contents of theſe Diſpatches were kept ſecret with all imaginable Diligence, yet all the Machinations of the *Borgians* were brought to Light, by the Induſtry of *Lodovick*'s Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to the exceeding Mortification of the Pope, in the following Manner:

On a time, after a private Conſiſtory had been held at *Rome*, the Pope, with all the Caution and Care imaginable, diſpatch'd a Courier to his Son *Valentine*, who was ſtill at *Lions*, a little before *Lewis* had gone to take Poſſeſſion of *Milan*. This Expreſs was ſent by one *Giacomo*, the Pope's Major-Domo, in which was [1] contained the whole Scheme and Plan laid down by *Alexander* and *Valentine*, for raiſing themſelves on the Ruins of the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Italy*; as likewiſe the Beginning, Progreſs, Pretexts, and Manner by which their Forces, under Cover of the *French* Arms and Authority, were to be employ'd.

Of this *Lodovick Sforza*, before he left his Dominions, having privately got a Hint, by his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, who had found Means ſome Way or other to dive a little into the Secret, as ſoon as the Major-Domo had got within the Territories of *Milan*, in his Paſſage to *Lions*, *Sforza* caus'd him to be ſtopt [2], and having ſeiz'd on his Diſpatches and Papers, upon examining them, diſcover'd all the Pope's Secrets, ſo that the whole Plot was laid open.

The News of this reaching the Pope's Ears, he was in a Manner diſtracted with Rage, ſo that, without further Delay, he immediately order'd all the [3] Gates of *Rome* to be ſhut, and ſearch to be made for *Sforza*'s Ambaſſador, with ſtrict Orders

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 23. [2] Ibid. p. 24. [3] Ibid.

to ſeize him, or any of his Family and Domeſticks on whom they could lay their Hands. But the Ambaſſador, by a private Order from *Lodovick*, had taken Care to remove himſelf and Family a great many Miles out of the Eccleſiaſtick Territories; ſo that the Pope's Diligence in ſearching came too late, for none of his Houſhold was found at *Rome*, but one ſingle Footman, who knew nothing of the Matter. This Affair being rumour'd abroad, all thoſe who were either allied to, or had ſome Concern and Intereſt in the *Sforza* Family, began to be apprehenſive that the Pope's Rage and Malice would not be levelled at *Lodovick* alone, or his Ambaſſador, but might perhaps reach them who were altogether Strangers to the Affair; and therefore the [1] Archbiſhop of *Genoa*, the Biſhops of *Sutri* and *Altari*, Monſigneur *Marini*, *Sforza*'s Prothonatory, and all Cardinal *Aſcanius Sforza*'s Family, thought it adviſeable to retire, and take Shelter within the Conſtable *Colonna*'s Houſe: Nor indeed was their Precaution needleſs; for *Alexander* being reſolved he would vent his Rage on ſome Body, when he found the Principals out of his Power, determin'd to revenge himſelf on all thoſe within his Reach, who were moſt intereſted in *Sforza*'s Affairs, altho' intirely innocent of the whole Affair. He therefore immediately, on hearing of their Retreat, ſent his [2] Secretary of Briefs to Cardinal *Colonna*, commanding the Fugitives to be deliver'd up, and ſent to him under a ſtrong Guard. The Cardinal, with ſmooth Words, and the beſt Arguments he could uſe, begg'd his Holineſs would be pleas'd to think more coolly of the Matter, and not perſiſt in his Demands this Way: On which an Anſwer having been brought back, that if they were not inſtantly deliver'd up, the Pope was determin'd to uſe Force [3]; for which End the Governor of *Rome* returned with the aforeſaid Secretary, to the *Colonna* Palace.

The Cardinal, on this, finding no Remedy but either to comply with theſe cruel Commands of the Pope, or himſelf and Family be expoſed to his Reſentment; of the two, like a Man of Honour and Humanity, he choſe the laſt, determining, rather than to give up thoſe innocent People, who had made Choice of him as a Protector, to the Fury of *Alexander*, to undergo whatever might be the Conſequences: So that contriving to detain the Governor of *Rome*, and the Secrerary, in

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 25. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

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an outer Apartment as long as was poſſible, the Cardinal, in the mean time, together with the Refugees [1], ſlipt out of a back Door, where, mounting on Horſes which for that Purpoſe had been got ready, they fled with full Speed, and got ſafe to *Nettuno*, a Village belonging to *Colonna*, and at a conſiderable Diſtance from *Rome*.

The Governor and Secretary having waited in the Hall a conſiderable Time for the Cardinal's Return, to their great Surprize, were inform'd at laſt, that his Eminence, and the others whom they wanted, were all fled.

With this diſagreeable News they returned to the Pope, who, on this ſecond Diſappointment, could not be contained within himſelf for Rage, and not knowing on whom to vent his Revenge, at laſt reſolved, notwithſtanding it was paſt Midnight, to ſend inſtantly for the Regent of the Chancery, one *Luigi Capra*, Biſhop of *Peſaro*; who no ſooner came into his Preſence, than he order'd him to be [2] arreſted, and ſhut up within a dark Room of the Datary, where the poor Biſhop remained till Day, without knowing the Reaſon of his Confinement: However, next Morning having been called before *Alexander*, and ſeverely cenſur'd and chid by him, without any Cauſe, the Pope examin'd into the Manner how *Sforza* had ſtop'd his Courier, after which he diſmiſſed the Biſhop, who was uſed in ſuch a Manner, that a few Days after he [3] died: However, it is not certain whether by a Doſe of Poiſon, or out of Fear, it being generally believed that the Terror he had had in being confin'd and threatned by the Pope, ſeiz'd his Spirits ſo violently, that with downright Dread and Concern he went into another World.

The ſame Day the Pope order'd the Governor of *Rome* to go and ſearch the Houſe of *Sforza*'s Ambaſſador, where nothing was found but bare Walls: However, Notice having been got that the Ambaſſador's rich Furniture had been convey'd into a Monaſtery, *Alexander* order'd a Party of Soldiers to go thither and [4] ſeize upon it; which was accordingly done, and the Goods appropriated to his Holineſs's Uſe. Among other Things

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 26. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. p. 27.

of

of Value, were 12 Statues of Silver, repreſenting the 12 Apoſtles, eſteem'd worth a great Sum of Money. But the Diſcovery made of the Deſigns of the *Borgians*, as it had not the Effect to make them deſiſt from putting them in Execution, ſo was it the Means of envenoming the Pope's Mind againſt *Sforza*, and to haſten his Ruin.

Some time after *Alexander*, in a Conſiſtory held on Purpoſe, declared *Lucretia Borgia*, his Daughter[1], perpetual Governeſs of *Spoleto*, and its Dutchy, with all the Privileges and Emoluments belonging to that Juriſdiction: Accordingly, being never ſatisfied unleſs his moſt unjuſt Actions were attended with an affected Pomp, and gaudy Oſtentation, he order'd that the ſaid *Lucretia*, accompanied with her Brother *Giuffery*, ſhould go in a very pompous Manner, and take Poſſeſſion of her new Government; about which Time Don *Alphonſus* of *Arragon* her Husband, had, without taking leave of the Pope, gone to the *Colonna* Eſtate, deſigning from thence to retire for *Naples*; to which Kingdom, as well on the Part of *Alexander*, as the *French* King, impending Ruin was threatned.

Donna Lucretia, in the mean time, was on the Point of ſetting out for *Spoleto*, attended by a numerous Retinue. *The firſt Part of that Cavalcade was uſher'd by a great Number of Carriages*[2], *cover'd with rich Sumpter-Cloths: Next follow'd a Mule, on the Back of which a Bed was contriv'd to be plac'd at full Length, richly furniſh'd and trimm'd, having a Crimſon Velvet Covering laid over it, on which were ſtrew'd Variety of Flowers, and Pillows placed in the ſame Manner; over the Whole was a ſumptuous Canopy, ſupported by Men: This Convenience of the Bed was contrived, that Donna* Lucretia *might reſt, and be carried upon it, if ſhe found herſelf fatigued with riding. On another Mule a Saddle, in the Form of a Chair, was fixed, having Arms and a Back to it; the Whole richly Embroider'd: This Mule was led by Grooms, and intended for the Lady to ride on for a Change. After theſe follow'd the Guards; next them thoſe of the Pope's Family, and the Governor of* Rome, *together with a conſiderable Number of other Soldiers, who eſcorted her*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 28.
[2] This whole Pageantry is amply deſcrib'd by Tomaſo Tomaſi. *Vid.* Part II. p. 29, 30.

Perſon:

Perſon: Then came the Lady herſelf, with Don Giuffery *and the Ambaſſador of* Naples, *on her Right and Left Hand: Next follow'd a Number of Prelates, riding two in a Breaſt: Laſt of all a numerous Attendance of Gentlemen and Ladies on Horſeback; which laſt were diſmiſſed after accompanying her as far as* Pontemole. It was obſervable, that after this, Donna *Lucretia* never appear'd abroad without leſs than 200 of the chief Gentlemen and Ladies attending her Perſon on Horſeback; and in the Pope's Palace ſhe was ſerv'd at Table by Prelates, it being obſerv'd [1] all the time the Jubilee laſted, that Biſhops only were permitted to celebrate Maſs to her, Biſhops to conduct her from Place to Place, and Biſhops were made uſe of for other Kinds of inferior Service.

The Day before Donna *Lucretia*'s Departure for her new Government, Cardinal *Giovanni Borgia*, the Pope's Grand-Nephew, was declared, in Conſiſtory [2], Legate *a latere* of all *Chriſtendom*, and ſent by *Alexander* upon an important Commiſſion: On whoſe Departure from *Rome*, he was likewiſe accompanied with a Magnificence adequate to the *Borgian* Vanity, ſeeing the whole Sacred College in a Body, at the Ceremony of his taking leave of the Pope, conducted him out of St. *Peter*'s Church: and in his Journey he was attended by a great Number of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, the Auditor of the *Rota*, and ſeveral others of conſiderable Rank, who only ſerv'd to be Spectators, in that Journey, of a very Tragical Event, occaſion'd by the Fraud and Villainy of *Cæſar Borgia*, as ſhall be afterwards amply related.

Mean while all this was tranſacting, Duke *Valentine* had arrived with the King of *France* at *Milan*, being more than ever in his Majeſty's Favour: But the Pope, as if he intended to emulate *Lewis* in acquiring new Territories, determin'd, right or wrong, to uſurp the Poſſeſſion of ſome to himſelf, to which indeed he had no Manner of Right or Pretence: Among the others he reſolv'd to ſeize on the Eſtate of the *Sforza* Family, within the Eccleſiaſtick Dominion: Accordingly, in the Company of four Cardinals and others of the Court, he made a Journey to *Nepi*, a Town given formerly by himſelf,

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 30. [2] Burchard. Diar. p. 61. Tom. ibid.

our [1] Author ſays, as a free Gift to Cardinal *Aſcanius Sforza*, at his Election to the Pontificate: Be that as it will, *Aſcanius* was at this Time in Poſſeſſion of *Nepi*, of which the Pope was reſolved to ſtrip him, and ſettle it in his own Family: Hither, on *Alexander*'s Arrival, Donna *Lucretia* his Daughter, and *Giuffery* her Brother, came to viſit him, and with them Don *Alphonſo*, *Lucretia*'s Husband, who not ſeeming to obey the kind Suggeſtions of his good Genius, or Guardian Angel, for eſcaping the imminent Danger he was about to encounter, ſuffer'd himſelf to be allured by the inſidious Enchantments of theſe *Syrens*, and to truſt his Life too much into the Hands of thoſe, who with unheard-of Cruelty, were very ſoon to make a Sacrifice of him, for the better carrying on their own black Schemes of Iniquity, as ſhall within a little be related.

In the mean time the Pope and his Family found, for a few Days, very good Diverſion at *Nepi*; after which the Pontiff return'd to *Rome*, in order to ſet about ſtripping the other *Roman* Barons of their Eſtates and Properties without Delay, thinking too much Time had been loſt in not having gone effectually to work that Way before now, and by Force of Arms, to enrich his other Sons and Nephews, in the Manner Duke *Valentine* was on the Point of effecting for himſelf, under the Cover of the *French* Authority.

To execute this to Purpoſe, the Pope cauſed *Jacomo Caetano*, the Apoſtolick Prothonotary, to be ſeized and thrown into Gaol, within the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, upon ſome frivolous Pretence; and at the ſame time gave Orders to apprehend the only Son of *Nicholas Caetano*, Heir to the State of *Sermoneta*, whom a little after he order'd to be [2] ſtrangled: And after this Piece of Barbarity was executed, he immediately declared, That the Town of *Sermoneta*, and the other States belonging to the *Caetani*, had lawfully devolved on the Apoſtolick Chamber: Accordingly he

[1] Tho' it is certain the Town of *Nepi* belong'd to Cardinal *Aſcanius* at that Time, yet Tomaſo Tomaſi differs in this one Particular from Burchardus, who ſays, That at *Alexander*'s Election, *Nepi* was given as a Bribe to the Cardinal of *Parma*, and not to *Aſcanius*, the latter being ſuborn'd by the Vice-Chancellor's Place, ſo that Tomaſo Tomaſi has certainly been miſtaken in this Particular, ſeeing Burchardus's Authority is irrefragable, becauſe, as he was the Pope's Maſter of Ceremonies, no Mortal had a better Opportunity to know the Affairs of the Pope, and the Court, than he.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 34.

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took Poſſeſſion of it for the Church; but his real View was to inveſt Donna *Lucretia* therewith; for this End ſhe made a [1] Purchaſe of that Town and Territory from the Apoſtolick Chamber for 80,000 Ducats.

In the mean time the King of *France*, as we mention'd before, had arrived at *Milan*, into which City he made his Entry with vaſt Splendor and Pomp, being attended by Cardinal *Borgia*, the Pope's Legate *a latere*, who had come from *Venice* to meet him there; the Cardinal *della Rovere* and *Rouen*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Valentine*, attended the King there alſo; as did the Marquiſs of *Mantua*, *Monferrato*, and *Saluzzo*: Likewiſe the Ambaſſadors of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and other conſiderable Lords, who vied with one another in the Magnificence of their Apparel and Equipages, inſomuch that the City of *Milan* had, perhaps, never ſeen ſuch Splendor before; nor was Duke *Valentine* behind with the others in Pomp and Expence, knowing the Time was at Hand, ſtipulated between him and the King, for reimburſing himſelf ſufficiently, and for putting his Schemes in Execution, and on which all his Machinations depended.

Accordingly *Valentine* and the Apoſtolick Legate loſt no Time to preſs *Lewis*, in the Pope's Name, to the punctual Obſervance of the Articles of Agreement ſettled between them in *France*, and to advance them Money, and to aſſiſt them with Arms for ſubduing the Vicars of the Church in *Romagna*. The Number of Troops promis'd by *France* to the Pope for this End, was 300 Lances, under the Command of *Ivo d'Allegri*, in the King's Pay, 4000 *Swiſs*, commanded by *Bagli-di-Digiuno*, but theſe laſt were to receive Pay from the Pope, for which the Community of *Milan* were oblig'd to lend the Apoſtolick Chamber 40,000 Ducats, which Sum *Valentine* receiv'd, as being the Generaliſſimo appointed by the Pope in this Expedition againſt the Vicars: So mean while *Cæſar Borgia* in *Milan* was preparing Arms for this Purpoſe, the Pope was equally buſy at *Rome*, in finding out a Pretext for undertaking the

[1] Burchard. Diar. p. 64. mentions this Purchaſe thus: Feria quarta duodecima Menſis Februarii camera Apoſtolica vendidit Dominæ Lucretiæ Borgiæ Filiæ Papæ, Oppidum Sermonetæ, cum Caſtro & omnibus pertinentiis ſuis pro 80,000 Ducatis, quos ipſa camera ab eadem Domina Lucretia manualiter, & in Pecunia numerata eſt confeſſa accepiſſe.

ſaid

ſaid Expedition, which was to be colour'd over with a Pretence of Right and Juſtice.

But as a brief Detail of the Affair relating to the fore-mention'd Vicars is neceſſary for the better illuſtrating the preſent Hiſtory, 'tis therefore not improper, in this Place, to acquaint the Reader, that moſt of the Cities in *Romagna*, *La Marca*, and *Umbria*, in the Times of the Civil Wars between the *Guelfs* [1] and *Gibelins* in *Italy*, and in the long Abſence of the Popes from that Country, were in a manner uſurp'd, or rather poſſeſſed by ſundry private Families; who, at different Times, in order to procure a Right of Poſſeſſion, obtain'd the Inveſtiture of them, ſometimes from the Emperor, and ſometimes from the Popes, juſt as the Intereſt of the one or the other prevail'd in *Italy*, or as they could find a fit Conjuncture and good Diſpoſition of either of thoſe Powers in their Favour; their firſt Settlement in thoſe Towns being at a Time when the Emperors were not ſo potent in *Italy*, tho' the Pontifical Dignity was more than ever eſtabliſh'd in its Authority and Juriſdiction: So that the Repreſentatives of theſe fore-mention'd Families were, after this, always acknowledg'd as the Sovereigns of their reſpective Territories there, on Condition that they ſhould, upon every new Acceſſion in their Families, receive the Inveſtiture of their Dominions from the Popes, and pay an Annual Tribute, acknowledging in their Rights a Sort of Subordination to the Church, and that they receiv'd from the Popes alone their Titles, whether of Lord, Count, Marquiſs, or Duke, juſt as the Pontiffs thought fit to honour them; however, always to go under the Denomination of Vicars of the Church.

Wherefore the *Borgians* finding no where ſo good a Field open'd for ſatiating their Ambition, and raiſing their Family, as to arrogate thoſe Eſtates to [2] themſelves; the Pope, and the new Duke his Son, determin'd therefore not to leave any Stone unturn'd, until they ſtript the Vicars of their Poſſeſſions: Accordingly *Alexander* brought the Affair at once upon the Tapit, and exhibited a [3] Claim to theſe Sovereignties for the Church, not in a Conſiſtorial Manner, but by Way of Deciſion of Judges, appointed by the *Borgians* themſelves, who found Means to make it appear, as if theſe Vicars had been deficient in paying

[1] Tom. Tom. Part II. p. 58. [2] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 125. [3] Ibid.

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their Annual Tribute to the Church; and in many other Reſpects had been wanting in the Conditions of their Inveſtiture, and not come up to the Extent of their Duty as Vaſſals; that their Dominions were thereby, they ſaid, declared forfeited by Law, and reverted to the Church; ſo that Duke *Valentine*, as Captain General of the Holy See, had a Right to recover them by Force of Arms.

The Sovereigns deſtin'd by the Pope to be ſtript of their Territories, were [1] *Sforza* of *Peſaro*, *Malateſta* of *Rimini*, *Manfredi* of *Faenza*, *Riario* of *Imola* and *Forli*, *Varani* of *Camerino*, and *Monteſeltri* of *Urbin*: However, the Pope did not publiſh his Bull for that Purpoſe, leſt the Vicars, being alarm'd of their Danger, might the better prepare to defend their Rights; ſo that *Alexander* imagin'd if his Son ſhould attack them on a ſudden, as they were unprepared, the ſooner would they fall a Sacrifice to his Arms.

In the mean time the King of *France* having tarried a Month in *Milan*, went from thence, leaving *Trivulzio* Governor and Lieutenant General within his new, but yet unſtable, Dominion, as has been already mention'd.

Valentine in like manner left *Milan*, having marched his Troops towards *Imola*, which was the firſt Place he intended to ſubdue; but in the interim made a ſudden Trip to *Rome* Incognito; where, after a Perſonal Conference with his Father, about three Days after he returned to his Army, accompanied with ſome of *Alexander*'s People. Immediately, on his Arrival, he pitch'd his Camp under the Walls of *Imola*, which Town being in a bad State of Defence, and abandon'd by its Proprietors, who had retir'd to *Forli*, both the Town and Caſtle [2] ſurrender'd to *Valentine* on Conditions. This happen'd about the latter End of the Year 1499.

From *Imola* the new Duke, with his Army, marched with great Speed to lay Siege to *Forli*, where *Catherina Sforza*, Wife of *Gerolamo*, and Mother to *Octaviano Riario*, Lord of that Place, had gather'd together all her Forces to defend it: She

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 39. Guic. Lib. IV. p. 125.

[2] Guic. ibid. Alſo Bembo, Lib. V. p. 163.

was a Lady of ſingular Prudence, and endow'd with an Heroick and Maſculine Spirit; but, being deſtitute of Succour, found ſhe could make no very long Reſiſtance: However, if a certain Stratagem, contriv'd by one of her faithful Subjects, had taken Effect, ſhe probably might have had the Pleaſure of ſeeing her own Dominion, and all *Italy*, freed from the *Borgian* Slavery. For a certain Muſician in the Pope's Service, called *Tomaſino*, having returned to *Rome* from *Forli* his native Country, had forged Letters, as if they had been ſent by the Community of *Forli*, for obtaining a Peace with the Pope, and to implore his Holineſs's Compaſſion towards their Diſtreſs, the Bearer thereof *Tomaſino* had contrived to envenom theſe Letters with ſo ſtrong a Poiſon, that whoever ſhould open them could not miſs being ſeized with ſudden Death; ſo that he had taken Care to bring them rolled up within a hollow Cane: And in order to procure Admiſſion to the Pope, and deliver his Letters, on his Arrival at *Rome* he ſent for a Countryman of his own, whoſe Name was likewiſe *Tomaſo* or *Tomaſino*, a Domeſtick of the Pope, and one of the Door-keepers of his Apartment, to whom the Muſician imparted the whole Secret; and as they both had an ardent Affection to their native Country and its Sovereign, the Door-keeper very readily came into the ſame Meaſures, and promis'd to be faithful in the Enterprize: But as ſeldom ſuch Conſpiracies take Effect, when more than one Perſon is concern'd therein, ſo did it happen that this Deſign, one Way or other, began to be whiſper'd about, inſomuch that it reached the Pope's Ears, who immediately cauſed the Conſpirators to be ſeized and thrown into Priſon. The Judges appointed for this Trial had a very open and ingenuous Confeſſion made them; at what Time the Muſician being interrogated, *If by executing ſo frightful a Crime, he had not conſider'd how impoſſible it would have been for him to eſcape Death?* he frankly replied, *That as his ſole Deſign was, by procuring the Pope's Death, to free* Catherina Sforza *from the cruel War carried on by* Cæſar Borgia *againſt her; ſo, as he was her Subject, and had been bred up under her Government, he was willing to ſacrifice a thouſand Lives for her* [1].

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[1] I am ſorry I cannot ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity about the Manner how theſe Conſpirators ſuffer'd for their intended Crime, ſince the Fact only is related by my Authors, and not the Conſequence: However, as I found it in Tomaſo Tomaſi, I have related it as above. *Vid.* Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 41, 42. See alſo Burchard. Diar. p. 62, 63. who in Subſtance confirms the above-

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The Morning before this Diſcovery, Cardinal *Raffaele Riario*, Uncle to the Lord of *Imola* and *Forli*, under the Pretence of going a Hunting, fled from *Rome* to *Monte Rotundo*, at which Place he ſent back his Servants, but went himſelf over a very rugged and uncommon Road to *Serezana*, by whieh he eſcaped being made a Sacrifice to the *Borgians*, which would have been his certain Fate had he ſtay'd a Day longer in *Rome*.

Mean time *Valentine* was buſy in the Siege of *Forli*; where, after *Catherina Sforza* had ſecured her Childrens Lives, and ſent her Things of greateſt Value to a Place of Safety, all her chief Hopes and Defence were reduced within the Citadel and Caſtle of *Forli*; but by the vigorous Attack of the Enemy, and Puſilanimity of ſome of the Defendants, ſhe was forced to abandon theſe Places, and retire with her People to a [1] ſtrong Part of the Caſtle, which had not yet fallen into the Enemies Hands: But this Retreat was done with ſo much Confuſion, that the Enemy from the Citadel ruſhing in upon the Defendants, put all thoſe who were with the Lady to the Sword, and took herſelf [2] Priſoner, who ſoon after was ſent to *Rome*, and ſhut up in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and deſtin'd by the *Borgians* to have run the ſame diſmal Fate with many other Innocents, had not *Ivo d'Allegri*, and the Republick of *Florence*, interceded in her Behalf, and procured her Liberty; ſo that afterwards ſhe was married to *Giovanni de Medici*, Son of *Pier Franciſco*, and was Mother to that *John*, the moſt famous General of the Age in which he liv'd. This ſame Lady had likewiſe the Fortune to be Grandmother to [3] *Coſmus* I. Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

After *Valentine* had taken *Forli*, he grew, if poſſible, every Day more and more bloody, ſo that he ſpared not even thoſe allied to him by Conſanguinity, and whoſe Perſons and Characters,

above-mention'd Account, tho' in ſo brief a Manner, that we have not all the Particulars related by him: What he ſays is as follows — Le meſme jour un nommè Thomas de Forlivio Muſicien, du Pape avec ſon Compagnon furent mis au Chateau Sainct Ange: Le dit Thomas eſtoit venu a Rome diſant quil eſtoit de ceux de Forli: Il confeſſerent auſitoit leurs deſſeins, & ſur ce que l'on luy dit quelle eſperance il pouvoit avoir de ſe ſauver apres avoir commis ce faict? il reſpondit que par ce moyen il delivreroit Imola & Forli de l'oppreſſion du Duc de Valentinois, & quil ne penſoit que rendre ſervice a la veufe de ce Hieronymo Seigneur des dits lieux & que la mort ne luy eſtoit rien.

[2] Burchard. Diar. p. 83. Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 126. Alſo Bembo, Lib. V. p. 163.

[3] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 45.

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by Virtue of their Dignities and Offices, ought, in ſome Senſe, to be reckon'd Sacred. As an Inſtance of this, he had the Villainy to perpetrate the Murder of his own near Relation *Giovanni Borgia*, the Legate *a latere*, for no other Provocation or Cauſe, but becauſe, while the Duke of *Gandia* lived, the ſaid *Giovanni* ſhew'd himſelf more partial to his Intereſt than to *Valentine*, a Thing, for which the latter determin'd he would ſome Time or other be revenged: Accordingly, as he got an Opportunity of putting his Vengeance in Execution, he reſolv'd not to let it ſlip out of his Hands: For it happen'd that *Giovanni* the Legate coming to the Camp before *Forli*, in his Paſſage to *Rome*, went to ſee the Duke his Relation, by whom, in Appearance, he was receiv'd in a very affectionate Manner: But *Cæſar*, the better to execute his horrid Deſign, invited him to dine with him, at which he order'd one of his Ruffians to poiſon the Viands upon *Giovanni*'s Plate; which, as ſoon as the poor Gentleman had ſwallow'd, he was ſeized with what ſoon after cauſed his Death; but it having been calculated not to diſpatch him on the Spot, but to keep him lingering for ſeveral Days, he reſolved, tho' in a miſerable Condition of Health, to proceed on his Journey to *Rome*; but when he came as far as *Urbin*, he was ſeized with ſuch a violent Fit of Vomiting, that he was very near expiring: However, while he was ſtruggling with the Violence of his Diſtemper, having heard the News that *Valentine* had taken *Forli*, he reſolved, notwithſtanding his Illneſs, to return and congratulate his Murderer on that Succeſs, little imagining in how villainous and unnatural a Manner he had been treated by him: However, when he had got as far as *Foſſumbrune*, the Poiſon being diffuſed thro' all his Vitals, there he died. Some ſay he never found out that *Valentine* had betrayed him, till a few Minutes before he expired, when he was heard with a Sigh to ſay; [1] *Alas! I ſee now too well that we muſt all follow the ſame Road with the Duke of* Gandia [2].

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 47. Edit. Monte Chiar. M.DC.LXX.

[2] This Circumſtance of *Giovanni Borgia*'s Murder, is not only related by Tom. Tomaſ. p. 45 to 48. ut ſupra, but in a great Meaſure confirmed by Burchardus, who in his Diar. p. 63. ſays——Præterea etiam nunciatum eſt Cardinalem Borgiam ex Bononia *, vel à Duce cum quatuor tantum ex ſuis Urbinum applicuiſſe, & ibidem *Febrim ipſum invaſiſſe valde ſuſpectam.* Ex qua cum convaluiſſet, & captura arcis Forlovienſis intellecta, equum aſcenderet iturus Forolivium ad Ducem Valentinum illi congratulaturus de Victoria, & cum celeri acceſſu Forum Semphronii perveniſſet, Febrem vehementiſſimum denuo eum invaſiſſe, de qua expiravit in Nocte poſt Diem Jovis, ſextum decimum dicti Menſis Januarii.

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A few Days after, his Corps was carried to *Rome*, and buried within the Church of St. *Maria del Populo*, without any Manner of Pomp and Shew; on the contrary, every Thing was huſh'd concerning him, as if ſuch a Perſon had never been in the World.

Much about the ſame Time *Valentine* cauſed another very barbarous Murder to be committed on the Perſon of one *Giovanni Cerviglion*, who was both a Gentleman and a good Soldier, having had a Captain's Commiſſion in the Pope's Service, and at that Time with *Borgia* in his Camp. What induced the Duke to this, was, becauſe *Cerviglion* had, with good Reaſon, a Jealouſy of his Wife's Honour with *Valentine*; for which one Evening as the Captain went to ſup with a Friend, called Don *Eliſeo Pignatelli*, on his Return homewards, a Number of *Borgia*'s Aſſaſſins were poſted to intercept him; where, coming up, and asking his Name, one of them plung'd a [1] Dagger in his Breaſt, and another with a Sword ſever'd his Head from his Shoulders. In this Manner was he left on the Spot; the News of which having been brought the Pope, 'twas obſerv'd he took not near ſo much Notice of this Affair as he had ſome Days before of the intended Aſſaſſination of Monſigneur *delli Spiriti*, Co-partner of the Prothonotarate, a Man very rich; who being at *Rome*, and as he was riding one Day to the *Vatican*, was [2] attacked by a Perſon likewiſe on Horſeback, with a drawn Sword in his Hand: However the Aſſaſſin miſſing the Stroke, the Monſigneur eſcaped, by taking Refuge in the Houſe of the *Orſini*, Fate reſerving him to rather greater Misfortunes.

In this Manner both *Rome* and the whole Eccleſiaſtical Dominion was full of Cut-Throats and Aſſaſſins; for the *Borgians*, being ſo powerfully protected by the *French*, left no Manner of Villainy unacted, whereby they might, by ſeizing on other Peoples Eſtates and Effects, enrich themſelves; and not only in an open Manner by Arms diveſt innocent People of their Properties, but, in an occult an hidden Way, aſſaſſinate and deſtroy as many as they could, ſo that, after their Deaths, they might ſeize their Wealth, to ſupport the Expences of the unjuſt

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 50. [2] Ibid.

War they had undertaken : This not only appear'd in the Example of Monſigneur *delli Spiriti*, juſt now mention'd, but by many other deplorable Caſes, among the Number of which it happen'd about the ſame Time, that one Monſigneur *Agnelli*, Archbiſhop of *Coſenza*, having one Way or other incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of the *Borgians*, they caus'd him to be poiſon'd at his [1] own Table, by Means of ſome of their Ruffians, whom they employ'd for that End. For the Archbiſhop having one Night ſupt at his own Houſe, and paſſed the Evening in an agreeable Manner, with ſome of his Friends and Relations, next Morning he was found dead, with all the Marks of being poiſon'd, his Body being a horrible Sight to thoſe who found him in that Condition; on which, without any further ado, the Pope order'd all his Effects and Wealth to be ſeized. As for his Money and Goods thoſe were given over in a Gift to *Valentine*, notwithſtanding he was then abſent; and his Archbiſhoprick of *Coſenza* beſtow'd on *Franciſco Borgia*, who, as ſome ſay, was Natural Son of *Calixtus* III. And as the deceas'd *Angelli*, was, before his Death, poſſeſs'd of the Clerk of the Chamber's Place, that Poſt was ſold to a [2] *Genoeſe* Merchant, one *Ventura Benaſſai*, for the Sum of 5600 Ducats.

But what need we ſay any more of the diſpoſing of Vacancies and Eccleſiaſtical Endowments in this Manner, ſince every Thing of which the Clergy were poſſeſs'd, was, on their Deceaſe, claim'd by the Pope as his own Property, inſomuch that no Prelate or Cardinal was allow'd to make a Will : And if they left Legacies to their Relations, tho' in nowiſe appertaining to Church Matters, that avail'd nothing, for the Governor of *Rome*, on their Deceaſe, had ſtrict Orders given him to ſeize on their Goods or Money, and to ſend them directly to the Pope : Beſides, the Heads of the Datary were charged to ſecure the Sums ariſing from Benefices, while vacant, for the Pope's own Uſe, and alſo the others which were ſold like common Goods in a Market : This flagrant Abuſe of buying and ſelling Benefices at *Rome* arriv'd to ſuch an Exceſs, that, as Cardinal [3] *Bembo*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 50.

[2] Ibid. p. 54.

[3] *Vid.* Card. Bembo, Hiſt. Venet. Vol. II. Lib. VI. p. 217. Edit. Venet. M.DCC.XVIII. *The Cardinal's Words are thus*——Quoniam autem libido ea inter Cives creverat, ut quamplurimi Sacerdotia, quæ habere bonis Artibus non poterant, Romæ coemerent, qua in Urbe ejus rei conſuetudo facultaſque ab Alexandro inſtituta latè palamque invaluerat, Decemviri ſanxerunt, ſi quis in poſterum id faceret, ejus bona fiſco inferrentur, ipſe ab Urbe atque Urbis finibus quamdiu viveret Exul eſſet.

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in his Hiſtory takes Notice, the Secular Princes were obliged to provide againſt this Evil, by prohibiting their Subjects under the Penalty of Baniſhment, and Confiſcation of their Goods and Eſtates, not to go to purchaſe Benefices with their Money at *Rome*.

In this ſcandalous Manner were the *Borgians* heaping up Wealth for carrying on their unjuſt War againſt the Vicars in *Romagna*, which would have been continued with the utmoſt Vigour, had not an unforeſeen Incident intervened for diſconcerting their abominable Meaſures.

For five Months had not elapſed from the Time that *Lodovick Sforza* left *Milan*, and the *French* had taken Poſſeſſion thereof, till the greateſt Part of the Nobility, and all the common People of that Country, began to be weary of their new Governors, and to deſire the Return of their old Maſters; having for this End earneſtly ſollicited *Sforza* to come back among them, and accordingly liſted a great Number of *Swiſs* in their Service, and laid by as much Money for this Purpoſe as the Neceſſity of the Times could permit; where, on a ſudden, *Sforza*'s People having with their Forces enter'd the Country about *Como*, they were received there, and in the other Parts of the Dutchy, with great [1] Alacrity, and univerſal Acclamations of Joy; inſomuch that *Trivulzio*, the *French* Governor, found he had not a ſufficient Force to quell the Inſurrection, and put a Stop to the Ruin with which his Maſter's Affairs were threatned: So that until he could get freſh Succours from *France* he was forced to apply to the *Venetians* for what Forces they could ſend him; alſo to recal *Ivo d'Allegri* and *Bagli-di-Digiuno*, with the Troops under their Command, from [2] *Valentine*'s Army in *Romagna*, which ſo effectually weaken'd the *Borgians*, and baffled their preſent Deſign, that, in fine, they could not carry on the War they had begun, ſo were forced to lie by, and wait for a more favourable Opportunity for putting their Schemes in Execution; ſo that Duke *Valentine* thought it adviſeable to retire with what Forces were left him to *Rome*: And notwithſtanding *Trivulzio*, in his preſent urgent Neceſſity, intreated *Valentine* to lend him the Aſſiſtance of his Troops, for making Head with the others againſt the Rebels to his

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 127. [2] Ibid. p. 126. Alſo Bemb. Lib. V. p. 164.

Maſter

Maſter in the Dutchy of *Milan*, yet *Borgia* would by [1] no Means part with his Soldiers, their Aſſiſtance in his own Affairs being much more at his Heart, than to make them fight for the King of *France*; a Piece of Ingratitude worthy of *Cæſar Borgia*.

In the mean time *Valentine* acquainted the Pope with the Diſappointment he had met with in not being able to carry on the War with the Vicars, which was heard with no ſmall Grief on his Holineſs's Part: However, as he learn'd that his Son, with the reſt of his Army, was on their March thro' the State of *Urbin*, in their Way to *Rome*, he reſolved, that altho' Fortune had baulk'd him Succeſs, yet nothing ſhould be wanting as to Pomp and Grandeur, whereby, in ſome meaſure, his Sorrow for their Diſappointment might be allay'd: Accordingly he acquainted the Foreign Ambaſſadors at *Rome* of the Duke's Return there, and that he propoſed his Entry ſhould be graced with all imaginable Honour and Reſpect, ſo that he begg'd they would not fail to meet the Duke without the Gates of the City; at the ſame Time commanding the Cardinals, Prelates, the *Roman* Barons, and the Magiſtrates of *Rome*, not to be wanting in their reſpective Stations, in honouring the Solemnity: All which was done in ſo pompous a Manner, that they exceeded the Commands given for that End, every one ſtriving who ſhould moſt flatter the *Borgian* Vanity. Among others, the Cardinals *Orſino* and *Farneſe* went and met *Cæſar*, as far as *Citta-Caſtellana*; others ſeveral Miles beyond *Pontemolle*: The others, namely, the Foreign Ambaſſadors, the Princes, Prelates, *Roman* Barons, and Courtiers, waited for him at a Place without the City called *Prati*; ſo that on his Arrival, after hundreds of Speeches and flattering Compliments were made to the Duke, he was immediately put in the Middle between the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, and the King of *France*, in which triumphant Manner he rode as far as the *Port-del-Populo*, at which Gate of the City a freſh Number of Cardinals coming up to meet him, the two nam'd Ambaſſadors ſtepping aſide, the Cardinals *Orſino* and *Palavicino* put the Duke a-new in the Middle between them: After which he paſs'd thro' the Street called the *Corſo*, in the following Manner: *Firſt of all a great Number of Carriages preceded the Cavalcade, without*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 60.

Order;

Order; behind them were 50 *of the Duke's Gentlemen on Horſe-back, all very richly apparel'd: After theſe came a great Number of Trumpets, and other Muſick, but order'd not to ſound their Inſtruments: Next follow'd three Heralds, two belonging to the Duke, the other to the King of* France. *Then follow'd Don* Alphonſus *Duke of* Biſelli, Valentine's *Brother-in-Law, and Don* Giuffery, *Prince of* Squillace: *Next came up the Duke himſelf, riding in the Middle between the two fore-mentioned Cardinals; he was apparel'd in an* [1] Hungarian *Habit of Black Velvet, with a plain Gold Chain of elegant Workmanſhip, hanging down from his Neck on his Breaſt: his Perſon was attended by* 100 *Lacquies on Foot, whoſe Dreſs was a ſhort Coat of Black Velvet, and Cloth Breeches of the ſame Colour, carrying Battoons in their Hands. After them follow'd the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Princes, each of which had an Archbiſhop or Biſhop belonging to the Palace on their Right Hands.* But ſome Diſorder was like to enſue at this Entry, on Account of a Difference which aroſe between the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *Naples*, and two of the King of *Navar*'s Ambaſſadors, about Precedency, but the Matter was compromiſed, in-ſo-far as the two former left the Cavalcade, and retir'd to their Houſes. *Next the Ambaſſadors, followed a Number of Prelates, marching without any Order, occaſion'd by the Preſſure of the* Gens d'Armes, *who followed in the Rear.*

In this Manner, paſſing by the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, ſuch Honours were paid the Duke, as never were known before, the whole Garriſon being ordered to ſtand under Arms on the Walls and Ramparts as he paſſed along, where were alſo placed Enſigns and Colours diſplay'd, on which were painted or embroidered Repreſentations of Duke *Valentine*'s great Exploits in *Romagna*, as ſo many Hiſtory Pieces of his vaſt Heroiciſm; at

[1] I am glad I can ſatisfy the Reader's Curioſity ſo far as to ſhew Duke *Valentine* (in the Print I have exhibited of him before the ſecond Part of this Work) in the very ſame Dreſs as is here deſcrib'd, having remembred that when I was ſome Years ago in *Italy*, to have ſeen his original Portrait drawn by *Titian* in this Apparel: The Picture is now in the famous Library of Don *Joſeppe Valetti* in *Naples*; and having ſent a Letter thither, deſiring a Copy thereof done by a good Hand, incloſed within the Anſwer, Seignor *Valetti* his Son, was, as is uſual to him, ſo complaiſant as to ſend me an accurate Draught of *Borgia*, done in *Chiaro Oſcuro*, by that excellent Painter Seignor *Dominici*, which I have cauſed to be Engraven, without the leaſt Alteration, and is as like the original Picture as can poſſibly be imagin'd.

the ſame Time was a triple Diſcharge of the Artillery, where Muſical Inſtruments of all Sorts ſounded alſo from the Forts: And now, the Jubilee of the Year 1500. having been begun, *Alexander* had cauſed to be erected a Kind of Tower of his own Invention near the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, on Account of that Jubilee, in which were diſplay'd Trophies in Honour of the invincible Duke *Valentine*. In this Manner did *Cæſar Borgia* march [1] to the *Vatican*, where, from a Balcony, his Father was feeding his Eyes with the Pomp and Splendor of his Son's Entry [2]; but as ſoon as they came to the *Portico* of St. *Peter*'s, the Pope then retired to the Chamber *del Papagallo*, where he was publickly to receive *Cæſar*: Thither *Alexander* ordered to be brought five Cuſhions of Gold Brocade, one to be placed on the Throne, where himſelf was to ſit, another under his Feet, and the three others were laid in Order near the Footſtool of the Throne: Then the Doors of the Apartment were open'd, at which all the chief Nobility and Generals of the Army were allow'd to enter; and after them the Duke, in the Middle between two Cardinals. On *Cæſar*'s Approach to the Papal Throne, he bowed obſequiouſly, and kneeled, after which Silence being commanded, he made the following Speech to the Pope:

Here am I come, [3] *Holy Father, with dutiful Reverence, and the higheſt Marks of Affection, to kiſs the Feet of your Holineſs, and to render Thanks for the Honours and Favours beſtowed on me in my Abſence from your Perſon, tho' I believe not from your Heart: I aſſure your Holineſs, that on Account of theſe and many others, as I have hitherto declared myſelf an obedient Son of the Church, and under many Obligations to her; ſo ſhall I always endeavour to ſhew Proofs of my Gratitude for the ſame, by employing my whole Life in the Service of the Holy See, and this Sacred College, of which I glory in the Remembrance of having been once a Brother.*

[1] The Day on which this Cavalcade was made was very remarkable, it being the Birth-Day of the famous *Charles* V. Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*.

[2] I am afraid ſome may judge ſuch minute Deſcriptions of the inſupportable Vanity of the *Borgians* in their Entries and Cavalcades, too circumſtantial and tedious in the Recital: but theſe Things the more readily I relate minutely, becauſe it will effectually ſhew they were inſupportable; and becauſe not only has Tom. Tomaſ. thought fit to give us this Deſcription, Part II. from p. 61 to 65. but alſo Burchardus, in his Diary, p. 64, 65, 66. has given us this Account moſt minutely, to which the Reader is referr'd, and to the Appendix, in Articulo *Ingreſſus Borgiæ Romam.*

[3] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 65.

As

As this Speech was ſpoke in *Spaniſh*, the Pope thought fit to make Anſwer in the ſame Language; thus,

The Effects of your Praiſe-worthy Actions have always been acceptable to us, as is the agreeable Aſſurance you now give, in Words, of your future Fidelity in our Service, which we accept as a Pledge for ſo doing: On our Part, as Compenſation for the ſame, we promiſe to reward you with new Honours and Favours: For the Holy See wants not Dominions and Riches to make her great, but Princes, who ſhall acknowledge their own Greatneſs as proceeding from her, that ſo they may the better procure a Veneration for her from others: Such a one we will you to be, and accordingly ſhall furniſh you with Aſſiſtance for that End, in ſpight of thoſe who ſeem the leſs dutiful, in proportion as their Obligations to us are the greater.

After this *Valentine* kiſſed both the Pope's Feet, and his Hands and Mouth: and then the Ambaſſadors, and the reſt of the Nobility were permitted to touch with their Lips the Croſs on his Holineſs's Slipper. This Entry, *Burchardus* tells us, was on the 26th of *February*, ſo that the Jubilee was actually begun; notwithſtanding which, the next Day after *Valentine*'s Entry, the Pope order'd a Maſquerade to be made over all *Rome*, with Deſign that by ſuch an Opportunity, *Valentine* might the better diſplay his Grandeur: For as his Name was *Cæſar*, being puffed up with the vain Glory of his own Fortune and Military Exploits, he imagin'd himſelf inferior to none of the *Cæſars* among the antient *Romans*. Accordingly at this Maſquerade he aſſumed a Motto for himſelf, which was, *Aut Cæſar, Aut Nihil*: And in the great Market-Place *Navona*, he order'd a Repreſentation of the Triumphs of *Julius Cæſar* to be made, with 12 triumphant Chariots nobly adorn'd with Trophies, after the Manner of the Antients; where, in the laſt of theſe Chariots, *Valentine* himſelf rode, dreſſed in ſo pompous a Manner, and with ſuch a vaſt Number of Attendants on Foot, that nothing could repreſent an antient Triumph better, being as near to the Deſcription which the *Latin* Authors give thereof, as can poſſibly be imagin'd. In this Manner was he led to the *Vatican*, that ſo the Pope might not be deprived of the Pleaſure in beholding ſo fine a Shew.

After

After the Carnival on the 4th *Sunday* of *Lent*, the Pope convened a Congregation of Cardinals, where he propoſed to create Duke *Valentine* Confalonier and Generaliſſimo of the Church, and to beſtow on him the Gift of the Golden Roſe, to which Propoſal that flattering Crew immediately acquieſced: accordingly, the Pope going to the Chamber *del Papagallo*, after being dreſs'd in his Pontifical Habit, with the uſual Ceremonies he bleſt the Roſe, then was carried in a Chair on Mens Shoulders to St. *Peter*'s Church, holding the Roſe in his Hands, before whom *Valentine* walk'd on Foot, being apparel'd in a Gold Brocade Veſtment, reaching down to his Knee, having on his Head a Bonnet of Crimſon Velvet, lined with Ermine, in heighth about two Palms: Before him march'd a 'Squire, carrying a Mantle of the ſame Brocade. About the Duke's Waiſt was a Girdle of the ſame Stuff, to which were fixt four large Pearls by Way of Buttons; and on the underpart of his Veſtments was Ermine turned up, from which hung two Pendants of the ſame: On the Top of his Ducal Bonnet was the Figure of a Dove made of Pearls, repreſenting the [1] Holy Ghoſt, from whence were Rays made artificially to ſpread over the Bonnet. In this Manner, marching to St. *Peter*'s, High Maſs was tuned by the Cardinal of *Benevento*, where the Pope, with the uſual Ceremonies, conferred the Office of Confalonier on *Valentine*; then he bleſt the Staff and Enſigns of the Generalate of the Church [2], all which the Duke received with great Formality: So that after taking the Oaths uſual on ſuch Occaſions, as a new Surname was to be given him, he ſtil'd himſelf *Cæſar Borgia* of *France*: Laſt of all he was preſented with the Golden Roſe, which he carried in his Hand as far as the *Area* of St. *Peter*'s Church, where the Pope took leave of him: Then *Valentine* mounted on Horſeback, and, attended by a very numerous Retinue, rode to the Palace of Cardinal *Sclafenate*, which was fitted up for his Service on that Occaſion, and where a ſumptuous Entertainment was made. The Cavalcade was order'd in the following Manner:

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 70.

[2] The Reader is referr'd to Burchardus's Account of theſe Ceremonies in his Diarium, p. 66, 67, 68. and to his Deſcription thereof in the original Language in the Appendix. *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo *de Roſa Aurea*, which Account is much more circumſtantial in ſome Things than as I have related it, and differs little from Tom. Tomaſi's Account thereof. *Vid.* Tom. Tom. Part II. p. 72 to 75.

Firſt

Firſt a Number of Drums and Trumpets marched in Front; after them the Heralds; next the Gens d'Armes *led by their Captains; then the Foreign Ambaſſadors, Prelates, and* Roman *Barons: Next came up two* Spaniſh *Soldiers on Horſeback, arm'd Cap-a-pe, carrying the Standards of the Church diſplay'd: Then the Cardinals, ranked according to their Seniority; and between thoſe of* Sienna *and* Ceſarino *rode the Duke, ſurrounded by his Guards, after whom follow'd a Multitude of Prelates: And laſt of all the Troops in the Rear.* After their Arrival at the fore-mention'd Palace, the Duke received the Compliments of thoſe of the greateſt Diſtinction; then all of them retired to their reſpective Homes.

But as the Pride or Oſtentation of the *Borgians* was really what almoſt exceeds common Belief, ſo were the Means they took to ſupport it equally aſtoniſhing; every Thing being judg'd lawful with them, provided they could but thereby procure Money. A pregnant Inſtance of this appear'd in the Affair of the Divorce granted by *Alexander* to the King of *Hungary*, for diſannulling his Marriage with his Wife *Beatrix*. This Lady was a Daughter of old King *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, and married firſt to *Mathias* King of *Hungary*, afterwards to *Ladiſlaus*, the King of *Poland*'s Brother, who ſucceeded after *Mathias* to the Crown of *Hungary*. This Lady, as ſhe was a Princeſs of ſingular Probity, ſo was ſhe, in her firſt Husband's Time and afterwards, in great Eſteem among the *Hungarians*, inſomuch that, on his Deceaſe, the Emperor *Maximilian*, being a Competitor for that Crown, judg'd he ſhould have a better Chance to ſucceed, if he could obtain *Beatrix* for his Spouſe, conſidering how great her Intereſt was among the *Hungarians*: And as *Ladiſlaus* had conceiv'd the like Opinion in his own Views to the Crown, the latter, in ſhort, was preferr'd by the Lady, and ſo he married her, and accordingly was crown'd King of *Hungary*, with whom he reign'd ten Years: At laſt *Ladiſlaus* growing tired of his Queen, on Account of her advanc'd Age, at the ſame Time being very much in Love with a certain Lady called *Anna Candalia*, of *French* Extraction, and a near Relation of *Lewis* King of *France*, finding ſo great a Diſpoſition at the Court of *Rome* for doing any Thing for Money, he accordingly applied to Pope *Alexander* for obtaining a Divorce for annulling his Marriage with *Beatrix*, and a Diſpenſation to

eſpouſe *Anna*: The better therefore to facilitate his Deſigns this Way, he gave the King of *France* to underſtand how willing he was to join Intereſts, and to enter into a [1] ſtrict Alliance with him, which was accordingly accepted: At the ſame Time he found the Pope made no Obſtacle to his Propoſal for a Divorce, which was granted, notwithſtanding the Ambaſſador of *Naples* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and enter'd a Proteſtation in his Maſter's Name againſt that unjuſt Proceeding; but it availed nothing, for in a private Conſiſtory held on Purpoſe, *Alexander* declared the Marriage of *Ladiſlaus* with *Beatrix* Null, and of no Effect: at the ſame impoſed perpetual Silence in the Matter, and, what was more extraordinary, deprived the Lady of 25,000 Ducats of her Dowry, which Sum was actually kept back from her after her Divorce: So fell that good Lady, by the Violence of an ungrateful Husband, and a perfidious Pope [2].

The *Borgians* were going on with their Schemes of Iniquity in a triumphant Manner, ſhelter'd by the Power of the *French* Arms; but Providence was pleaſed to interpoſe for a while, and give, as it were, a Breathing Time to the Oppreſſed, by making the Scale of the *French* Fortune turn exceedingly in *Italy*; to give the better Idea of which, 'twill be neceſſary to reſume ſome few Things already mention'd.

The Reader then may remember that *Lodovick Sforza* and his Children, with the Cardinal his Brother, and the Treaſure, had all happily got ſafe out of *Milan* into *Germany*, where they met with a very gracious and humane Reception from the Emperor. But after ſome ſmall Stay there, the People of *Milan* being diſpleaſed with their new Governors, ſent frequent Meſſages to their late Sovereign, deſiring his Return among them; which Invitations *Lodovick* and the Cardinal his Brother willingly embraced: So that having raiſed a conſiderable Number

[1] *Vid.* Ferronius de Rebus Geſtis Gallorum, p. 50.

[2] This Affair of the Divorce is confirmed by Burchardus, Diar. p. 68. and expreſs'd in theſe Words: Feria ſexta tertio Menſis Aprilis fuit Conſiſtorium ſecretum, quod duravit uſque ad Horam vigeſimam primam, in quo Sanctiſſimis Dominis Noſter per ſuam Sententiam in Scriptis pronunciavit præſentium *: *Matrimonium inter illuſtriſſimum Regem Ungariæ, & illuſtriſſimam Dominam Beatricem Filiam Ferdinandi Regis Neapolitani, relictam Matthiæ Regis Ungariæ, eſſe Nullum.* Et de Facto præſumptum, & impoſuit perpetuum Silentium ipſi Beatrici, & eam condemnavit in expenſis Sportulæ ſive * Propriæ quæ fuit 25,000 Ducatorum ut dictum fuit. *Vid.* etiam Tom. Tomaſ. p. 78, 79.

of

of *Swiſs* Forces, they marched to *Como*, from which Place the *French* were obliged to retire, on Account of the Diſaffection of the Inhabitants towards them, ſo that *Lodovick* regain'd that Place, and took Poſſeſſion of it. On this, no ſooner did the Inhabitants of *Milan* hear of *Como*'s being in *Lodovick*'s Hands, than they roſe up in a tumultuous Manner againſt the *French*, eſpecially thoſe of the *Gebelin* Faction, inſomuch that *Trivulzio*, finding no Remedy for the King's Affairs, was obliged to retire within [1] the Caſtle; where, the Night following, he embark'd privately, with his *Gens d'Armes*, aboard of the Boats on the Lake near there, and fled directly to *Novara*: On whoſe Departure the People of *Milan*, in a tumultuous Manner, purſu'd him as far as the River *Teſino*; but *Trivulzio* having left 400 Lances in *Novara*, went with the reſt of his Forces to *Mortara*, hoping to recover the whole Dutchy to his Maſter, as ſoon as the new Succours from *France* were arrived.

In the mean time *Lodovick Sforza* returned to *Milan*, where he was received with great Joy, and took [2] Poſſeſſion of the whole City, except the Caſtle. This favourable Diſpoſition for *Lodovick* was not only at *Milan*, but over the whole Dutchy, ſo that the Cities of *Pavia* and *Parma* declared for him: *Lodi* and *Piacenza* would have done the like, had not the *Venetian* Troops, which came along the *Adda*, taken Poſſeſſion of them. *Aleſſandria*, and the neighbouring Towns on the other Side of the *Po*, as they were at a Diſtance from *Milan*, lay by quiet, being near *Aſti*, where moſt of the *French* Troops were; ſo that they wanted nothing to excite them to a Revolt, but only waited to ſee how Affairs would ſucceed, and until they could find a fit Opportunity to declare for *Lodovick*.

As ſoon as *Sforza* recover'd *Milan*, no Time was loſt in raiſing new Troops within *Italy*; having at the ſame Time excited the Powers with whom he was in Friendſhip, to ſend him their Aſſiſtance, for maintaining what he had ſo lately regain'd; in particular the Emperor, whom he acquainted with the proſperous Turn his Affairs had taken. For this End he ſent the Cardinal St. *Severino* to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of his Imperial Majeſty: And that the Senate of *Venice* might deſiſt from pro-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 127. Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 164.

[2] Bemb. ibid. p. 165. Guicciard. ibid. Ferronius in Lud. XII. p. 51. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VII. p. 262.

ſecuting

ſecuting their Enmity againſt him, he ſent the Biſhop of *Cremona* thither, to offer them what Terms they pleaſed. But his Efforts this Way were in vain, ſince they were determin'd at no rate to break their Friendſhip and Alliance with the *French*: Nor would the *Florentines* liſten to his Sollicitations for returning the Sum of Money they had borrowed of him.

However, the Marquiſs of *Mantua* ſent his Brother with a ſmall Number of Men at Arms to his Aſſiſtance; as in like Manner a few other Troops were given him by the Lords of *Mirandula*, *Carpi*, *Correggio*, and *Siena*, the laſt of which furniſh'd him with Money.

Lodovick in the mean time (beſides the *Burgundians* in his Service) brought together about 1500 Men at Arms, and join'd a good Number of *Italian* Foot, to the 8000 *Swiſs* which he had in Pay, and with them march'd from *Milan*, leaving his Brother *Aſcanius* to beſiege the Caſtle there. So having paſs'd the River *Teſino*, he took the Caſtle of *Vigeuene*, which ſurrender'd on Conditions: Then he pitch'd his Camp at *Novara*, reſolving rather to beſiege it than *Mortara*, either becauſe as it was a Place of the greateſt Importance, the taking of it he knew would be of no ſmall Reputation to his Affairs, or that he knew *Mortara* was then very ſtrongly garriſon'd by the *French*, tho' he did not deſpair but it would ſoon ſurrender for want of Proviſions: Beſides, he foreſaw that if he could regain *Novara*, it would effectually hinder *Ivo d'Allegri* in his March from *Romagna*, to join with the *French* Army, whom he knew had ſome Time before left *Valentine*'s Army, and with great Speed come as far as *Tortona*, which Place, as it had declared for *Lodovick*, ſo he enter'd and plunder'd it in an hoſtile Manner. From thence *Allegri* came to *Aleſſandria*, where the *Swiſs* under his Command deſerted for want of Pay, and went over to *Lodovick*'s Army, who by this Time finding himſelf ſuperior to the Enemy in Strength, had laid Siege to *Novara*, and batter'd it ſo violently with his Artillery, that, in fine, the *French* finding they had no Hopes left them to defend it, they [1] ſurrender'd on Conditions which were religiouſly obſerv'd by *Lodovick*, their Goods and Effects being left untouch'd, and Guards ſent to eſcort them as far as *Vercelli*;

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 127. Bembo, Lib. V. p. 165.

notwith-

notwithſtanding *Sforza* was adviſ'd, by ſome of his own People, not to regard the Stipulations made at ſurrendering, becauſe it might be of the greateſt Importance to his Affairs, to ſlay and deſtroy the Soldiers of that Garriſon now in his Power; to which baſe and unjuſt Propoſal *Lodovick* would by no means [1] conſent; on the contrary, as we have ſaid, he order'd his own Troops with great Honour to eſcort them ſafe to the Place above-mention'd.

As ſoon as *Lodovick* had taken Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Novara*, ſome ſay he laid Siege to the Caſtle; others, that he marched towards *Mortara*, where, the *French* not agreeing among themſelves, 'twas believed *Trivulzio* and *Ligni* deſign'd to retire to the other Side of the *Po*. But while *Lodovick* was thus employ'd, the *French* were not loſing Time for retrieving their Affairs.

For as ſoon as King *Lewis* heard of the Inſurrection of the *Milaneſe*, he was fill'd with no ſmall Indignation and Shame, ſo that he immediately ſent his General *Tramoglia* into *Italy* with 300 Lances, ordering at the ſame Time a great Number of *Swiſs* to be liſted in his Service, and conſtituted Cardinal *Rouen* his Lieutenant in *Italy*: In fine, ſo great were the Reinforcements appointed to be ſent thither, that about the Beginning of *April* enſuing he had within *Italy* an Army of 1500 Lances, 10,000 *Swiſs*, and 6000 of his native Troops; in all about [2] 17 or 18,000 Men, which Army was commanded by *Tramoglia*.

In the mean time *Trivulzio* and *Ligni* having join'd their Forces at *Mortara*, they advanc'd towards *Novara*, confiding no leſs in their Force than in Guile. For notwithſtanding the *Swiſs*, in *Lodovick*'s Service, had behaved very gallantly in the Siege of *Novara*, yet they afterwards kept up a very fraudulent Correſpondence with their Countrymen in the *French* Army in *Sforza*'s Prejudice, which *Lodovick*, ſome Way or other, began to ſuſpect, and ſent Orders for the 400 Horſe and 8000 Foot in *Milan* to come and join him: But in the mean time the *Swiſs* began to mutiny in *Novara*, being inſtigated thereto by their Leaders, under Pretence of not having been

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 127. [2] Ibid. 128.

paid on the Day appointed : On which the Duke immediately applied himſelf to pacify them, and with ſuch ſmooth Words and Intreaties as were capable of raiſing Compaſſion in the moſt ſavage Breaſts. He likewiſe diſtributed his very Plate among them, deſiring them to accept of it, until Money ſhould be brought from *Milan* to pay off their Arrears. This had the Effect to pacify their Inſolence a little : But the *Swiſs* Commanders fearing leſt the Troops which were to come from *Milan* might have an Opportunity to join with the Duke, and thereby hinder the Execution of their treacherous Deſign, they gave private Intelligence to the *French* Army to haſten to the Walls of *Novara*; which they accordingly did, and placed a Number of their Horſe between the Town and the River *Teſino*, to hinder the Duke and his People from eſcaping to *Milan*. But the Duke, more than ever ſuſpecting their Treachery, deſired the Troops to march out of *Novara*, and make Head againſt the Enemy, having for this End commanded the Light Horſe, and the *Burgundian* Soldiers, to begin the Attack. But the Duke's Orders this Way were, in a bare-fac'd Manner, countermanded by the *Swiſs* Officers, who alledged, That, without Permiſſion from the Magiſtrates of *Switzerland*, they would not fight againſt their own Countrymen and Relations in the *French* Army ; ſo they told him frankly they were determin'd to return without Loſs of Time to their own Country : On which *Lodovick*, with Tears and Entreaties, beſought they would not deſert, and betray him into the Enemy's Hands ; but to this the Traitors lent a deaf Ear. Then he begg'd that at leaſt they would eſcort him to ſome Place of Safety ; this they denied him, having concerted Matters with the *French* to deliver him in Perſon over to them : However, they propoſed that he might diſguiſe himſelf among the Ranks of their Soldiers, to which he agreed, and accordingly, being drove to this fatal Neceſſity, he ſtript himſelf of his own Apparel, and put on a common Soldier's Coat, and in this poor Manner march'd out of *Novara* among the Ranks of the Troops.

But while they were on their March through the *French* Army, the Villains, who all along were bent on betraying him, diſcover'd *Lodovick* in that [1] Diſguiſe ; ſo that the poor unfortunate Prince was taken and made Priſoner, a Spectacle ſo very

[1] Paulus Jovius, Lib. VII. p. 202.

deplorable,

deplorable, that many of the *French* themſelves could not forbear, on that melancholy Occaſion, to ſhed Tears: Beſides, the Duke, *Galeazzo da Sanſeverino*, *Fracaſſa*, and *Antonmaria*, his Brothers, were alſo made Priſoners, having in the like Manner diſguiſed themſelves like common Soldiers, and had been mixt among the Ranks. The Names of thoſe who were the chief Actors in this Piece of villainous Treachery, were [1] *Ridolfus Salice*, and one *Grigione*, who had the Nick-name of *Lungo* given him; and another called *Gaſparo Sileno* of *Urania*, a *Swiſs* [2].

I cannot, however, omit acquainting the Reader, that ſome other very authentick Hiſtorians of thoſe Times relate this Affair of *Lodovick*'s Capture, with Circumſtances ſomewhat different from my Author *Guicciardin*: For [3] Cardinal *Bembo* ſeems to agree with *Arnoldus Ferronius* in deſcribing it thus; namely, That as ſoon as [4] *Sforza* had got Intelligence that *Tramoglia*, with the *French* Army, was on his March to *Milan*, he retir'd with his Troops to *Novara*; on which the Count *d'Obigni* perſuaded *Tramoglia*, before he ſhould attempt to enter that Metropolis, firſt to go and attack *Sforza* in *Novara*; to which he agreed, both judging that, after diſcomfiting *Lodovick*, they could make the eaſier Conqueſt of *Milan*: On this, having ſent as many of their Cavalry as might infeſt the Roads thereabout, and cut off any Communication which might be between *Sforza* and *Milan*, they turn'd their main Force againſt *Novara*, in which Town were the *Swiſs* under *Lodovick*'s Pay, with whom *Tramoglia* kept up a private Correſpondence in *Sforza*'s Prejudice; and that by Letters he had engaged them to deſert his Service, for which End he brib'd them with conſiderable Sums of Money, to which they readily conſented: and altho' the Town of *Novara* was poſſeſſed by *Sforza*, yet the Caſtle there was in the *French* Hands, of which one *Lovenius* was Governor.

[1] *Vid.* Alphonſo Ulloa in Vita Caroli V. Edit. Venet. Lib. I. p. 14. Etiam Paulus Jovius, Lib. VII. p. 202.

[2] All this Account of the Capture of *Lodovick*, and Treachery of the *Swiſs*, is Guicciardin's Way of relating it, to which the Reader is referr'd. *Vid.* Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 128.

[3] Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 165.

[4] Arnoldus Ferronius in Lud. XII. p. 52.

Lodovick,

Lodovick, therefore, wanting to take *Novara* from the *French*, had employ'd his Troops in beſieging it, on which *Tramoglia* brought his whole Army thither to defend the Fort, and give the Enemy Battle.

Hence having drawn up their Armies in Battle Array, there happen'd a very ſmart [1] Engagement, ſtrenuouſly fought on both Sides; but at laſt the *French* Cavalry turned the Scale of Fortune on their Side, ſo that *Sforza*'s Troops being worſted, he retired to the Town of *Novara*, by which he was ſhelter'd from the Purſuit of the Enemies. Not without great Hopes, however, of making another freſh and more ſucceſsful Attack on the *French*. Some affirm the *Swiſs* would not fight for *Sforza*, which was the Occaſion that he loſt the Battle, and who finding that the Troops which *Lodovick* expected had not arrived from *Milan*, having been, as we have ſaid before, bribed to betray him, they declared to *Sforza* that they would ſtay no longer in his Service, but go Home to their own Country. This being perceived by *Lodovick* and his People, one *Cribellus*, a faithful Friend of *Sforza*'s, ſpoke to them in a very pathetick and moving Speech, in order to deter them from ſo baſe an Action; at which ſome of them began to waver a little in the Matter, but the others their Ringleaders were inflexible: on which *Cribellus*, finding them unalterable in their Treachery, judg'd it not neceſſary for *Sforza*, and the *Italians*, to leave the Place, becauſe that the *Swiſs* had deſerted it, but that it was better for them to remain there, until Cardinal *Aſcanius* ſhould ſend Troops and Succour from *Milan*; and in the mean time to ſollicit *Francis Gonzaga* to haſten thither with the Cavalry. But one *Stampa*, another ſincere Friend of *Lodovick*, was of a different Opinion, and ſaid 'twould be fooliſh if they pretended to keep out the Place againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, when within a few Days they could not ſhun periſhing for want of Proviſions; and if they ſhould, as they muſt, ſurrender, no Kind of Terms would, he ſaid, be granted them by the Enemy: ſo that it was better for *Lodovick* to diſguiſe himſelf, and, like one of the common Soldiers, mingle among the *Swiſs* Troops; where, as 'twould be impoſſible to know him in that Dreſs, ſo he might eaſily make his Eſcape when they paſſed thro'

[1] *N. B.* The other Hiſtorians do not mention this Battle.

the

the *French* Army. *Cribellus* was quite averſe to that Overture, and ſaid, ſince the *Swiſs* had done ſo treacherouſly already, it would be very imprudent to truſt them again, eſpecially in an Affair of ſo great Conſequence: But, in fine, the bad Counſel prevailed, and *Sforza* dreſt himſelf in the Diſguiſe juſt now mention'd, where the *French*, being apprized of the whole Matter, gave them to underſtand, that they would not permit the *Swiſs* to paſs thro' their Army but ſingly one by one, and every Soldier, as he came up, to be called by his Name, and his Face to be examin'd; which Terms the *Swiſs* did not refuſe: So when *Lodovick* came up in his Turn, the Signal being given by the Traitors, they ſeized on him, and forthwith ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Novara*. Some alledge his own People diſcover'd him, but moſt agree that it was the *Swiſs*; others of the *French* Writers ſay he was taken in the Diſguiſe of a Franciſcan Friar: [1] *Bembo* ſays he was in the Habit of one of the Foragers of the Army, and was ſeized riding on an ugly Magure Horſe. But as *Guicciardin*, *Jovius*, and *Ferronius* all concur in the Circumſtance of his being diſguis'd like a common Soldier, and hid in the Ranks, I am moſt inclined to give Credit to their Relation as the moſt probable; however it be, there is no doubt but that unfortunate Prince was vilely and moſt villainouſly betray'd by the *Swiſs*. As to the reſt of *Lodovick*'s Army, Part of them were taken Priſoners within *Novara*; the others on their Flight towards the River *Teſino*, but the *French* gave the *Burgundians* and *German* Horſe their Liberty.

On the News of *Lodovick*'s being taken, his Brother *Aſcanius* (who ſome Time before had ſent the other Troops in *Milan* towards the Duke's Camp, where they had not arrived in Time) left that City, and [2] fled to where he thought he might be ſafe, in Company of many of the *Milaneſe* Nobility, who had always been faithful to *Sforza*'s Intereſt, and who having, on every Occaſion, appear'd Enemies to the *French*, now deſpair'd of Pardon; ſo that, with the Cardinal, they were reſolv'd to ſecure themſelves by Flight: Accordingly, as they all had taken

[1] Bembo Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 165. Poſteroque Die, cum ſe fugæ dare decreviſſet, omni cum exercitu oppido egreſſum, veſte Pabulatoria & Strigoſo in Equo inter Milites ſe celantem, permittentibus Helvetiis perquiſitum cepit.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 128. Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 165.

the Road towards *Piacenza*, the greateſt Part of them halted to reſt and refreſh themſelves at the Houſe of a certain Gentleman whoſe Name was *Currado Lando*, with whom moſt of them were intimately acquainted, and was an old Friend and Relation of the *Sforza* Family; and who, on learning of their preſent Diſaſter, ſeem'd in appearance to commiſerate their Condition, and to treat them with great Humanity: But the moſt unprecedented Guile, that ever perhaps was heard, lurk'd in his Diabolical Heart; for while he was thus ſolacing the Fugitives in his Houſe, he privately ſent to *Piacenza* for one *Carlo Orſino*, and *Sonzino Benzone*, who commanded the *Venetian* Troops there, in whoſe Hands he [1] deliver'd over all his Gueſts as their Priſoners, and with them *Hermes Sforza*, Brother of the deceaſed *Giovanni Galeazzo*: but it happen'd ſome who had come out of *Milan* in the Cardinal's Company, had thought it adviſeable not to halt at *Lando*'s Houſe, ſo they eſcaped being taken.

In the mean time Cardinal *Aſcanius* was immediately ſent Priſoner to *Venice*; but the King of *France* thinking it would be of no ſmall Conſequence to his Affairs to have him in his own Cuſtody, deſired earneſtly that the *Venetians* would deliver him over into his Hands, with which Requeſt they complied, being unwilling to diſoblige ſo powerful an Ally.

In the mean time the City of *Milan* being depriv'd of all Manner of Hopes of avoiding the *French* Government, ſent to Cardinal *Rouen*, imploring him to intercede with his King for obtaining their Pardon for their late Rebellion; which his Eminence granted in his Majeſty's Name, at the Price of 300,000 Ducats; which vaſt Sum the King did not exact of them, and only demanded what was very moderate, and ſo diſcharged them of the reſt. In like manner did the Cardinal iſſue out an Indemnity and Pardon to the other Towns and Villages within the Dutchy, of whom he accepted what Money they could beſt ſpare.

On this great Succeſs of the *French*, the *Swiſs* Troops, who had ſo baſely betray'd *Sforza*, were all diſmiſſed from the Ser-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 128. Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 166. Alſo Paulus Jovius, Lib. VII. p. 202.

vice

vice of that Nation, ſo that they march'd Home to their own Country: Nor did they arrive there till firſt they committed another Piece of Treachery, which was by Force and Fraud to poſſeſs themſelves of the Caſtle of *Bellinzone*, which was in the *French* Hands, and ſituated within the Mountains of *Switzerland*, on the Frontiers of *Milan*; which Place they offer'd to reſtore to the *French* for a Sum of Money; but as they neglected to embrace that Offer, they had afterwards great Occaſion to repent it, being of great Importance to the *French*, by reaſon of its Situation.

Lodowick Sforza, in the mean time, was carried Priſoner to *Lions*, at which Place the King of *France* then reſided. He was brought into the Town about Mid-day, where vaſt Numbers of People came flocking to ſee a Perſon who in his Proſperity had made ſo great a Figure in *Europe*, and who, ſome Time before, had had the Ballance of *Italy*'s Power in his own Hands, but now fallen into a State of ſo great Miſery, that, for all his Intreaties, he could not get Admittance into the King's Preſence. Two Days after, he was ſhut up within the Tower of *Locces*, in which he remain'd ten Years, and a Priſoner to the End of his Life; the ambitious Views of this Man being now confin'd within the Walls of a narrow Priſon, which ſome Time before all *Italy* was not able to contain, and who, notwithſtanding of the many Blemiſhes in his Character, yet it cannot be denied but he was a Prince endow'd with great Eloquence, and of a vaſt Genius.

Some Time after *Aſcanius* the Cardinal was alſo brought Priſoner into *France*, but was received with more Humanity and Reſpect than what was ſhewn his Brother, having been viſited by Cardinal *Rouen* in a moſt courteous Manner. The Place of his Confinement was the Tower of *Borges*, in which formerly the King himſelf had been a Priſoner for two Years; ſo very uncertain and variable are the Affairs of human Life, that what is To-Day the Lot of one Man, becomes afterwards that of another.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the great Joy which the Pope and Duke *Valentine* felt, on the News of *Lodovick*'s Misfortunes, becauſe it again open'd ſo ſpacious a Field for proſecuting their vaſt Deſigns, ſince the violent Career of their Fortunes had

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ſo lately met with a Stop, and had been intermitted. The Couriers who brought the News to *Rome* had conſiderable Preſents made them, and the Tidings were proclaimed all over the City by Sound of Trumpets and Drums, where nothing was to be heard in the Streets but loud Acclamations of Joy, the Words *Francia*, *Francia*, *Orſo*, *Orſo*, echoing from every Corner, and Bonefires and Illuminations were order'd to be made over the whole City, with as much Demonſtration of Content as if it had been for the taking of *Conſtantinople*, without the leaſt Reſpect to the Devotion of the Times of the Jubilee and *Eaſter* Week in which it happen'd, where at *Rome* upwards of 200,000 People had come to obtain from the Pope Plenary Indulgence, and Remiſſion of all their Sins. But to proceed in our Hiſtory :

The *French* having in this fortunate Manner eſtabliſh'd their Affairs within the Dutchy of *Milan*, and retaken Poſſeſſion of all that Country, even as far as *Genoa* ; the King, however, had not got every Thing in Readineſs for proſecuting his next intended Expedition on *Naples*, and particularly had not ſettled Matters, either by Truce or Peace, with his Neighbours, ſo that his Forces in *Italy* were in a Manner unemploy'd, and of Conſequence in greater Readineſs to join his Allies in that Country ; among which were the *Florentines*, to whoſe Aſſiſtance 600 Lances, in the *French* Pay, were ſent, which the King had obliged himſelf to, in order to facilitate their recovering *Piſa* ; and who alſo for that End had hired no leſs than 7000 *Swiſs*, which were kept up in the *Florentine* Pay, and had brought along with them ſufficient Quantity of Ammunition, and Store of Artillery for the Undertaking againſt that City and its Territory.

Among the King's other Confederates, were the Pope and Duke *Valentine*, who, by Means of their Miniſters and Agents, began anew to ſollicit him for Aſſiſtance againſt the Vicars in *Romagna* : But as *Valentine* had denied *Trivulzio* the Aſſiſtance of his Troops for recovering *Milan* to his Maſter, when they laſt revolted ; for this Reaſon their Sollicitations this Way met but with a cold Reception from *Lewis* : However, when he began to reflect on the Danger which might enſue to his own Affairs, eſpecially in his intended Expedition on *Naples*, he even thought it beſt to ſmother his Reſentments that Way, and acquieſce

acquieſce to a Propoſal, which his own Affairs could not permit him to deny. The better to perſuade the King to this, *Alexander* promis'd to aſſiſt his Majeſty conſiderably in his *Neapolitan* Enterprize, and for that End to ſend his Son Duke *Valentine*, with his Forces, along with him: And that as to what his Majeſty had deſired of him, namely, of declaring Cardinal *Rouen* Legate of *France*, he willingly conſented thereto; a Thing which, as it was advantagious to *France*, was, however, no leſs detrimental to *Rome*, in-ſo-far that, by introducing a Cuſtom of employing Nationaliſts in Legations to their own Country, 'twould be hard to get it diſus'd. By this and other Means the *Borgians* got the King engaged to allow Cardinal *Rouen* to give them what Aſſiſtance they ſhould want for carrying on their Affair againſt the Vicars, and aſſiſt them with Troops, that Cardinal being to reſide at *Milan* in Quality of the King's Lieutenant in *Italy*.

The *Borgians* being thus ſecured in the King of *France*'s Protection, Aſſiſtance, and Countenance in their Deſigns; nothing they found wanting to put them in Execution, but to raiſe Money capable to defray the vaſt Charge of carrying on their intended War: To effect which, laying their Heads together, they found the Method of levying Money by common Taxes, would not be ſufficient, nor yet the ſelling Benefices, or inhancing private Peoples Properties, ſending them out of the World by Poiſon, nor even the Datary and the Exchequer: None of theſe Means affording Sums large enough for carrying on their Deſigns, they found themſelves oblig'd to have Recourſe to more powerful and general Methods, which, tho' never ſo ſcandalous or tyrannical, were not to be regarded, if they could but gain their Aim: So that a new Invention was found out, that under the Veil of pretended Piety and Conſcience, they might extort Money out of the Pockets of the whole Body of *Chriſtians* in *Europe*; and that this Pretence ſhould be, of making a War againſt the *Turk*, whoſe Invaſions, they gave out, were greatly threatning to *Chriſtendom* at that Time.

Alexander accordingly publiſh'd two Bulls for this End, one for levying [1] the tenth Part of Eccleſiaſtick Revenues, of what Kind or Nature ſoever, thro'out *Europe*, not ſo much as Mo-

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 91.

naſteries, or the Incomes of the Cardinals themſelves, being excepted: The other Bull was for raiſing the like Sums out of the Wealth of the [1] *Jews*; both which were iſſued out with Excommunications and the ſevereſt Penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould oppoſe or refuſe them. 'Tis ſcarcely to be credited what enormous Sums of Money *Alexander* rais'd by theſe two Methods, who, altho' he gave out that all this was for the Defence of the Chriſtian Religion, yet it was plain that his ſole Deſign therein, was to amaſs a Treaſure for carrying on the War [2] begun by his Son *Valentine*, which, in Effect, was a more ſacrilegious one than any ever attempted by the worſt of *Turks* or *Infidels*.

Another Invention of the Pope was to ſell the Indulgences: for, altho' the Vicars of Chriſt are obliged to diſpenſe, they ſay, ſuch Holy Favours to *Chriſtians*, *gratis*, yet *Alexander* found Means to make them pay pretty extravagant Prices for them, eſpecially thoſe *Chriſtians* who were not able to come to *Rome* in the Jubilee Time: So that in granting Remiſſion of theſe Peoples Sins, he would nor part with a Sous of the Money, which he calculated might be the third Part of the Sum they muſt have expended in coming to *Rome* to fetch Indulgences Home with them: So that theſe Collectors of Money, the chief of whom was one *Lodovico della Torre*, by theſe Indulgences, raiſed ſuch immenſe Sums as almoſt ſeems Romantick to relate: Nay, Cardinal [3] *Bembo* confeſſes, that, within the *Venetian* Territory alone, *Alexander*, on this Occaſion, raiſed no leſs than 799 Pound Weight of Gold; a much greater Sum in thoſe Days than now, ſince the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico* have been dug.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 91.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 133.

[3] Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 185. Edit. Venet. M.DCC.XVIII. *His Words are thus* —— Pecuniæ vero Sacræ Summam libuit mihi huic loco adſcribere, ut intelligi poſſit, quanta quamquam ardens eo tempore fuerit in hominum mentibus Religionis exiſtimatio, & Deorum immortalium timor. Porro in *Urbe* auri libræ ducentæ nonaginta ſeptem eo nomine ſunt confectæ, *Patavii* una & ſexaginta, *Vicetiæ* ſexaginta quatuor & ſeme libra, *Veronæ* una & triginta, *Brixiæ* quadraginta octo, *Bergomi* fere quadraginta quatuor, *Cremonæ* duodecim, *Cremæ* plus novem, *Tauriſi* viginti quatuor, *Feltriæ* duodecim & ſeme libra, *Cividali Carnico* novem, *Ultini* quadraginta duæ, atque ut à claris urbibus ad tenuiora oppida deſcendamus, *Foſſa Clodia* libras auri paulo minus octo facile contulit: Portus quem *Gruarium* appellant fere undecim, *Colonia*, qui quidem vicus eſt in vicetinorum finibus, quatuor: itemque ſupra quam quis crederet alia in continenti caſtella, vicique; ut eſſet *Summa omnis auri libræ ſepties centies & nonies*, eoque amplius.

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In this Particular I find my [1] Author agrees perfectly with *Bembo*, as to the Sum of Money raiſed in *Venice* by his Bulls and Indulgences, but does not accord with the Cardinal in the whole Narrative: For [2] *Tomaſi* ſays, that notwithſtanding the Pope had raiſed the ſaid Money by his Bulls for carrying on a War againſt the *Turks*, and ſo had promis'd to aſſiſt the *Venetians* with Gallies, to be built and equipt with the Money, yet *Alexander* did not make good his Engagements this Way, but inſtead of aſſiſting them with Gallies, he put the Money into his own Pocket, being determin'd to apply theſe Sums (as we have hinted already) for carrying on the War which his Son had begun againſt the Vicars; and inſtead of defraying the Charge of the Equipment of the Gallies, he ſent the *Venetians* nothing but an Order to ſay an *Ave-Maria* on the ringing a Bell at Mid-day, which Cuſtom of ſaying *Ave-Marias* has been ever ſince continued, tho' the Hour changed: But [3] *Bembo* ſeems in ſome Degree to clear the Pope of this Crime, and ſays, *He did employ his Agents to build* 15 *Gallies, and order'd the* Venetians *to equip other five, in all* 20, *the Care of which was given to one* Piſauro, *who made Part of the five which the Republick was to equip, to be commanded by* Venetian *Officers*: However, his Eminence does not mention that the Pope ſent Money to defray the Charge of their Equipment, ſo that I cannot ſay it is unlike *Alexander*, if, altho' he had order'd the Gallies to be equipt, he left the *Venetians* to pay for them. But

[1] Tomaſo Tomaſi.

[2] Ibid. Part II. p. 93. E benchè ſi ricopriſſero gli inordinati fini di queſta ſtrana è ſcandaloſa effigenza col manto dun uſo Pio, qual fu quello di voler armare un buon numero di Galere in Soccorſo de Venetiani contra il Turco, nientedimeno l'effetto fu il medeſimo che, dell altre, nè dal ſuo proteſtato zelo ſi riportò altro Soccorſo contra il Turco, che d'un *Ave-Maria* da recitarſi per tutta la Chriſtianità nel mazzo giorno al Suono delle Campane, che da indi in poi ordinò ſi ſonaſſero à tal fine perpetuamente.

[3] Bemb. Lib. V. p. 184. Eo tempore Alexander triremes Reipublicæ viginti pecunia ſua ſacraque ſe armaturum pollicitus, quibus Civitas bello Thracio uteretur, quindecem modo per ſuos Miniſtros, ut inſtruerentur, diligentiam adhibuit: reliquas quinque Senatui armandas remiſit, cum ei pecuniam ſacram, quam homines in Imperio Veneto, ut criminibus & maleficiis obnoxii, ob comiſſa poſt mortem apud inferos pæna liberarentur, ex Alexandri literis perſolverent, bello Thracio inſumendam permiſiſſet: quarum omnino viginti navium Imperium legatus ab ſeſe datus obtineret. Is fuit Jacobus Piſaurus Epiſcopus Paphiorum ex Veneta Nobilitate: qui etiam majori earum navium parti quam Venetiis armandam curavit (nam reliquam in Flaminiæ Maritimis municipiis Anconæ inſtruxerat) præfectos cives ſibi Venetos adlegit.

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this Contrariety, in *Bembo* and *Tomaſi*'s Account of the Matter, we refer to the Reader's Determination, and proceed :

While the Pope and his Son were going on in their Deſign of Rapine and Oppreſſion, it ſeem'd at that Time as if Heaven had Indignation at their black and diabolical Machinations ; ſo that ſundry Admonitions of Providence were given the Pope, to try, as it were, if thereby he might be deterred from continuing in his wicked Courſes : This ſeem'd viſible by two remarkable Examples, which, as they were ſingular in their Nature, deſerve the Reader's Regard. For it happen'd that, on the Vigil of St. *Peter*, the Steeple on the *Baſilick* Church of that Name, one Way or other giving way, fell down, endangering not a little the whole Fabrick, where it chanced that a huge Bar of Iron, which had been one of its chief Supports, diving through the Roof of the Building, came with great Violence down, and [1] fell juſt at the Pope's Feet, having been but a few Hands Breadth from cruſhing him to Pieces, while he and the Cardinal of *Capua* were walking in the great Gallery above the Church ; but it ſo happen'd that the Pope did not then receive any Hurt. However, the very next Day another Accident fell out, no leſs remarkable, and attended with more Tragical Conſequences. For as the ſame Cardinal of *Capua* was in like Manner in one of the Rooms of the *Vatican* walking with the Pope, and together with them *Alexander*'s private Chamberlain, all on a ſudden a dark Cloud ariſing and overſpreading the Firmament ; 'twas very ſoon attended with a boiſterous Wind, Rain, and Hailſtones of an extraordinary Bigneſs, which impetuouſly beat down a large Chimney of one of the Rooms, under which the Pope and the other two were at that Time ; but before it fell, and on perceiving the Storm coming, the Pope order'd the two-mention'd Gentlemen to run and ſhut the Windows of the Apartment in which they were ; where, no ſooner had they gone to execute that Order, than immediately the Chimney from above gave Way, by the Weight of which in falling, it broke thro' the Roof juſt above them, and not only brought along with it Part of that Roof, but likewiſe two large Beams which had ſupported it ; ſo that the Cardinal and the Chamberlain had juſt Time to mount up on the Window, by which they were ſaved from being cruſh'd

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 24.

by

by the Rubbiſh and Stuff that came tumbling down : On this, ſeeing the Pope had been left in the Middle of the Room where the greateſt Part of the Materials fell, they concluded he was killed out-right, ſo that they called aloud to the Door-keepers on the other Side of the Apartment that the Pope was dead. This Rumour, as it ſoon ſpread over the Palace, in a little Time reach'd the City, and made ſuch a Confuſion there, as may well be imagin'd on that Occaſion : However, the Materials from above when they had all ceaſed to fall, and the Duſt of the Rubbiſh ſettled a little, the Cardinal and Chamberlain, getting down from the Window, began to move to the Place where they thought the Pope was to be found; where, ſearching among the Rubbiſh, they found a Man lying dead, having been miſerably cruſht by the Ruins. This unfortunate Wretch was one *Lorenzo Mariana Chigi*, a *Sienneſe* Gentleman ; near him were two others expiring, having all three fallen down with the Roof from the Chamber above : After this looking diligently every where for the Pope, as much as this Confuſion could permit, they found him ſitting in a Chair ſpeechleſs, for calling to him two or three Times he could make no Anſwer, having been ſtun'd with the Horror of the Thing, and quite ſtupified with Fear, but not dead, tho' very much wounded in two or three Parts of his Body. For as Providence was pleaſed for its wiſe Purpoſes to direct, one of the Beams in falling broke in the Middle, ſo that coming down on the Floor of the Room where the Pope was, the two Ends flew upwards, and reſted on the Wall juſt above him, ſo that the broken Beam became a Kind of Shield to him, and ſaved the reſt of the Rubbiſh from falling on his Head, in which, however, he received two Wounds or Contuſions, but not mortal, and occaſion'd only by the Points of Splinters or Nails, which had juſt touch'd him as they came tumbling down ; but his right Hand was indeed very much bruiſed, eſpecially the Middle-Finger, on which was his Pontifical Ring, and his right Arm pierced thro' with a Nail : However, not ſo very much hurt, but, with Help, he could walk to the contiguous Chambers, where his Domeſticks immediately got him Cordials, Surgeons, and other Help [1].

[1] The Account of this Accident of the falling of the Chimney and Roof above the Pope in the Vatican, as it's amply deſcrib'd by Burch. Diar. p. 71. ſo I have tranſcrib'd it from him verbatim in the Appendix. *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo de Vitato Periculo Papæ inter Rudera Vaticani dilapſa.

On this, Accounts of the Pope's being alive were immediately ſent every where, and of the Manner how he had eſcaped the imminent Danger; whereupon *Valentine* and his other Son, with joyful Hearts, came in great Haſte to congratulate his Holineſs, and with them a Number of Courtiers and others, to belie thoſe very Sentiments which they had a little before declared, on the Report of his being kill'd. But Providence ſeem'd to preſerve him then, that ſo he might ſuffer a more terrible Death, and without regret, in-ſo-far as himſelf was the Author of it, as ſhall be amply related in its due Place.

But this viſible Admonition of Providence was interpreted by the Pope, not as a threatning of worſe Puniſhment to befal him on not reforming, but as an irrefragable Example of his own good Fortune: However, for Formality's Sake, he went to the Church of the Virgin *Mary del Populo*, with a Shew of rendering God and Her Thanks for his Deliverance; in which Church on the left Hand of the great Altar, my [1] Author ſays, there was the Portrait of his Miſtreſs Madam *Vanozza*, within a little Chapel there, and which was adored like the reſt of the Saints, but unknown to the Devotees; and as ſhe was the Pope's Tutulary Goddeſs, he had another Portrait of her hung up in his own Cloſet within the *Vatican*. But not to be too tedious by this Digreſſion; *Alexander* came attended to the foreſaid Church with much Pomp and Solemnity: *Firſt of all was carried the Great Croſs; next came the Cardinals walking two a-Breaſt; then Duke* Valentine, *attended by the chief Officers of his Army, amidſt whom was the Pope in a Chair, behind him follow'd a Multitude of Prelates and others.*

On his Arrival at the Church he was received with a *Te Deum laudamus*, and other Hymns were compoſed on Purpoſe to gratify his Vanity. For this Purpoſe an Oration was made by the Prior of that Convent, which being ended, *Alexander* aſcended the Steps of the Great Altar, and, by Way of Donative to the Virgin, offer'd a large Silver Chalice, wherein were 300 Crowns, which Money the Cardinal of *Sienna*, to make the Pope's Generoſity the more conſpicuous, in Preſence of all the People, turned out of the Cup on the Great Altar.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 98. This Particular I mention the rather, becauſe it may be a Direction to ſome curious Perſon or other in going to *Rome* to procure a Copy of that remarkable Lady's Picture, if it be yet preſerv'd.

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This was all the Demonſtration of Chriſtian Piety made by the Pope for ſo ſingular a Deliverance: But very little Effect indeed had it on his future Actions; for about this very time he and *Valentine*, the better to ſecure the State of *Sermoneta*, had order'd Monſigneur *Jacomo Caetano*, who, as we have already mention'd, had been arreſted and impriſon'd within the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to be poiſon'd: And that the Death of this illuſtrious Perſon might be judg'd to have proceeded from a natural Cauſe, the Corpſe was allow'd to be carried by the Deceaſed's own Relations, and buried publickly within the Church of St. *Bartholomew*: However, Care was taken that the Body ſhould be ſent out of the Caſtle well wrapt up and cover'd. But among the Number of Friends and Relations attending the Funeral, was the afflicted Mother of the Deceaſed, and with her his other Brothers and Siſters, who, having private Notice given that her Son had not got fair Play for his Life, was determin'd, before the Corpſe ſhould be interred, to put the Matter to an Examination; ſo that, in Preſence of a Number of People, ſhe boldly uncover'd the Corpſe, on which ſhe plainly diſcover'd to the Spectators the viſible [2] Marks of his having been barbarouſly poiſon'd, a Sight indeed horrible and ſhocking to behold.

But a more Tragical Caſe never perhaps happen'd, than that of Don *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, *Lucretia*'s Husband, who, as he was a near Relation of the King of *Naples*, whom the Pope and *Lewis* of *France* deſign'd within a little while to ſtrip of his Dominion, and to which Family the *Borgians* were Enemies at that Time, ſo they could not brook the Thoughts that *Lucretia* ſhould be tied to ſuch a Husband; for which Reaſon *Valentine* and the Pope between themſelves determin'd at any rate to ſend him, among the Number of many others, out of the World: To effect which, after a ſolemn Bull-Feaſt had been given on the open Place before St. *Peter*'s, *Valentine* invited the ſaid Don *Alphonſo* to ſup with him; where, on his going thither in the Evening, at the Foot of the Steps leading up to the aforeſaid Church, he was aſſaulted by a Number of Ruffians, placed there on Purpoſe to murder him; ſo that without being able to defend himſelf, or to find an Opportunity to make his

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 104. [2] Ibid.

Eſcape,

Eſcape, he was miſerably wounded by the Aſſaſſins, particularly on the Head and Shoulder by the Stroke of a Halbert, while another had run him into the Side with a Knife: he had two other Wounds, one in his Hand the other in his Leg; in this Manner was he left for dead on the Spot. As ſoon as this Piece of horrid Barbarity was executed, the Aſſaſſins leaving the Place where they aſſaulted him, went and join'd a Body of 40 others on Horſeback, who, on the Area of St. *Peter's*, were waiting to conduct them ſafe off, and who, at the Time the others were butchering him, ſtood there by Way of Guards, to hinder People from coming to his Aſſiſtance; after which the whole Gang rode out of Town, taking the Road without the Gate called *Porteſe*[1].

After this a Number of People hearing the Groans and Cries of the miſerable Man, not as yet dead, they came up and found him in that lamentable Condition, wallowing in his Blood, by whom he was carried to his Apartment in the Palace, and deliver'd over to the Care of Phyſicians and Surgeons. On which *Valentine*, to palliate his own Villainy of being the chief Author of the Whole, immediately cauſed one *Franciſco Maria Caſella*, Uncle to the ſaid Don *Alphonſo*, to be arreſted, as if he had perpetrated the ſame; and ſome Time after, notwithſtanding no Manner of Proof had ever been ſhewn that he had had the leaſt Hand in ſo unnatural a Crime, his Head was order'd to be cut off: All which *Giulio Paſſeri* makes very clear in his Journal he wrote of the Tranſactions of thoſe Times.

[1] This Inſtance of horrid Barbarity is confirm'd by Burchard. in his Diar. p. 72. and told in a Manner very little differing from the above-mention'd Account: His Words are thus; —— Feria quindecima Menſis Junii circa horam primam noctis Illuſtriſſimus Dominus Alphonſus de Aragonia Dux Biziliarum, Maritus Dominæ Lucretiæ Filiæ Papæ ſupra Planum Scalarum Baſilicæ Sancti Petri ante primum introitum verſus Baſilicam prædictam per plures Perſonas aggreſſus fuit, & in Capite & Brachio dextro, & Crure graviter vulneratus: Invaſores effugerunt per Scalam Sancti Petri, ubi circiter quadraginta Equites eos expectarunt, cum quibus equitarunt extra Portam pertuſam. ——— Feria tertia octavadecima Menſis Auguſti Alphonſus de Arragonia Dux Biziliarum & Princeps Salernitanus, qui in ſero Diei quindecimi Menſis Julii proximè præteriti graviter fuit vulneratus, & deinde ad Turrim nonam ſupra cantinam Papæ in Horto majori Palatii apud Sanctum Petrum portatus eſt, & diligenter cuſtoditus, cum non vellet hujuſmodi vulneribus mori, *in Lecto ſuo fuit ſtrangulatus*: Circa horam primam Noctis portatum fuit Cadaver ad Baſilicam S. Petri, & ibidem in Capella Beatæ Mariæ de Febribus depoſitum: Capti fuerunt & ad Caſtrum S. Angeli ducti medici defuncti & quidam gibboſus, qui ejus curam habere conſueverat, & contra eos inquiſitio facta: liberati poſtea fuerunt cum eſſent Juvenes * mandantibus capi erat optimè notum.

Valentine,

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Valentine, however, perceiving that by the great Care and Diligence of the Surgeons, Don *Alphonſo* was, notwithſtanding his Wounds, like to do well, and fearing to loſe his whole Aim if he ſhould recover, reſolv'd it ſhould not be ſo: accordingly he employ'd his truſty Friend in Iniquity *Michelotto*, to ſtrangle him privately in his Bed; which, as [1] *Burchardus* my Author ſays, was accordingly done, and he was afterwards buried within St. *Peter*'s, in the Chapel of *Sancta Maria delle Febri*.

On which *Valentine*, to palliate this ſecond Piece of Villainy, cauſed the Phyſicians, who had attended Don *Alphonſo* in his Illneſs, to be impriſon'd in the Caſtles of St. *Angelo*: but when the Affair began to be forgot, they were all reſtor'd to their Liberties.

Donna *Lucretia*, however, on this Occaſion appear'd very much afflicted, ſo that ſhe retired to *Nepi*, to bewail the Loſs of this her third Husband.

About this Time Monſigneur *Villanuova* arrived at *Rome*, the ſame Miniſter who before had been ſent by *Lewis* to bring *Valentine* to the *French* Court: on which, before that Ambaſſador made his Entry, *Cæſar*, diſguiſed with a Mask on his Face, went out of Town on Horſeback to compliment him; where alighting, and without taking off his Mask, welcomed the Ambaſſador, with whom he was in Conference about ſundry important Affairs, as long as the Brevity of the Time would allow. After this he return'd in the ſame Manner Incognito to *Rome*, at which Time the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *Naples* went likewiſe to wait on the ſame Miniſter, for as yet the Princes their Maſters had not begun Hoſtilities againſt the *French*. On their Arrival at the Place where *Villanuova* was, their only Compliment they paid him, was, [2] *Sir, you are welcome*. This Dryneſs being taken Notice of by the *French* Maſter of Ceremonies there, who was very much ſurprized thereat, he asked them as briefly, If they had nothing elſe to ſay? to which they replied, *No*: This being heard by *Villanuovo*, he replied, *Thoſe who have nothing to ſay, need no Anſwer*. On this he

[1] Burchard. Diar. p. 73.

[2] Ibid.

turned about to the others, and made them the uſual Compliments, after which being put in the Middle, between the Archbiſhop of *Reggio*, Governor of *Rome*, and the Archbiſhop of *Raguſa*, in this Manner they arrived at the Palace of the *Sancti Apoſtoli*, which was fitted up for his Reception.

A few Days after, one *Mario Georgi*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary of *Venice*, brought to *Rome* a Patent from that Republick for *Valentine*, as a Noble *Venetian*, which Honour was deſired and obtained by the Pope, with whom, and the King of *France*, the *Venetians* were in ſtrict Alliance at that Time, as indeed they and the *French* were the chief Hopes of the *Borgian* Schemes. For nothing was now wanting for the Pope's Army to march into *Romagna*, and proſecuting the War with the Vicars there, but the vaſt Sums of Money he was on the Point of receiving by the new Promotion to be made of twelve Cardinals, all of them Men exactly fitted for *Alexander*'s Deſigns, and ready to acquieſce to whatever he ſhould propoſe.

This Promotion was publiſhed on the 3d of the ſame Month, and the Names of the newly dignified were as follow, *viz.* [1] *Diego di Mendoza*, Archbiſhop of *Sevile*; *Giacomo*, Archbiſhop of *Arboren*, the Pope's Vicar-General; *Tomaſo*, Archbiſhop of *Strigonia*; *Pietro*, Archbiſhop of *Reggio*, Governor of *Rome*; *Franciſco Borgia*, Archbiſhop of *Coſenza*, Treaſurer-General; *Giovanni*, Archbiſhop of *Salerno*, Vice-Chamberlain, and who had had the Honour to be Duke *Valentine*'s *Præceptor*; *Lodovico Borgia*, Archbiſhop of *Valenza*, his Holineſs's Secretary, Brother to that Cardinal *Borgia* whom *Valentine* poiſon'd; *Antonio*, Biſhop of *Como*; *Gio-Baptiſta Ferraro*, Biſhop of *Modena*, that famous Simoniſt mention'd before now, and the Pope's Datary; *Amadeo d'Alberet*, the King of *Navar*'s Son, and Brother-in-Law to *Valentine*; laſt of all *Marco Cornaro*, a Noble *Venetian*. Of theſe twelve Cardinals ſix were then in *Rome*, and in the ſame Conſiſtory called up to receive their Caps from the Pope; after which they were conducted by other Cardinals to the Duke, who had prepared an elegant Entertainment for them. The Pope declared the Cardinal of *Reggio* Legate *a latere* for *Hungary*, *Salernitano* for *France*, and

[1] *Vid.* Platina Vit.Pontiff. in Alex.VI. p. 479, 480. Guicciard Lib. V. p. 132. Alſo Tom. Tomaſ. p. 111. *N. B.* My Author has forgot to name the twelfth Cardinal.

Gurgence

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Gurgence for *Germany*, who, as he was a *Frenchman*, was become a great Intimate of the *Borgians*; tho' in the Reign of King *Charles* VIII. the Reader may remember how greatly he was hated both by the Father and Son, and how boldly he had upbraided the Pope with the Simony uſed at his Election, and Correſpondence held with the *Turk*.

But ſince the Profits ariſing from ſo many new Impoſitions and Taxes, the tenth Part of all Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, the Sums raiſed on the Spoils of dead Men, the mercenary Promotion of ſuch a Number of Cardinals, all were judg'd not ſufficient to defray the Expence of the War begun by *Valentine*: And as the levying the Money ariſing from theſe Particulars would require a conſiderable Time, and conſequently would not anſwer their preſent Exigences; the Pope therefore was obliged to borrow very conſiderable Sums from Merchants and others; among whom was one *Agoſtine Chigi*, Brother to that *Lorenzo* who had been killed by the falling of the Rooms in the *Vatican*. This Man, as he was one of the moſt Wealthy about Court, ſo did he advance his Holineſs many Thouſands of Crowns, and even gave his Plate to *Alexander*, which was afterwards coin'd into Money; by all which *Valentine* was pretty well enabled to begin the War in *Romagna*, and to proſecute thoſe Deſigns which had for a long Time been interrupted, for the Reaſons already mention'd.

His firſt Attempt, therefore, was to attack the City of *Peſaro*, of which he [1] took Poſſeſſion without any Manner of Reſiſtance, and out of the Hands of *Giovanni Sforza*, Prince of that Place, being all the Reward that illuſtrious Lord met with, in having been four Years at *Rome* in the Quality of *Lucretia Borgia*'s Husband: So that *Sforza*'s own Subjects ſeeing no Hopes of Relief, or the leaſt Proſpect of a Poſſibility to defend that Territory, they had, out of Love and Affection to their Sovereign, perſuaded him not to venture his Perſon and Life into the Hands of the *Borgians*, nor, by a fruitleſs Reſiſtance, to expoſe his flouriſhing Country to the Devaſtations of that inſatiable and blood-thirſty Crew. Accordingly the poor Lord recommending his Family and Concerns to the Good-will and Love of his faithful Subjects, left his Territory and Place of Nativity

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 132. Platina Vit. Pontiff. in Alex. VI. p. 476. Edit. Venet. M.DCC.III.

with

with a very afflicted Heart, going to ſeek out for a Place of Safety, and where he might abide until Providence ſhould be pleaſed to make the Face of Affairs change: on whoſe Departure *Valentine* took Poſſeſſion of his Dominion in the Manner already related.

After his Example *Pandolfo Malateſti*, Lord of *Rimini*, gave [1] up his City, of which, and the former *Borgia* having taken Poſſeſſion, and left a ſufficient Garriſon within them, march'd his Troops with great Expedition to beſiege *Faenza*, which at that Time was under the Government of *Aſtor Manfredi*, a Minor of about 18 Years of Age, and who, notwithſtanding he was abandon'd by the *Bentivogli* his Relations, and the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*, the which States, by Virtue of former Alliances, were obliged to protect and aſſiſt him, yet was he ſo well provided for defending his Territory, by the Aſſiſtance and Bravery of his own Subjects, and ſome foreign Troops in his Pay, that *Valentine* could not find a Method to wreſt his Town out of his Hands at that Time, notwithſtanding he had ſpent a long Time in beſieging it, and with a very conſiderable Army of *French* and *Italians*, the laſt of which were eſteem'd the beſt Troops then in *Italy*, having no leſs Commanders than *Pagolo*, and *Giulio*, *Orſino*, *Vitellozzo*, *Vitelli*, and *Gio Paolo Baglioni*, all of them Generals of the firſt Rank.

Valentine, however, before he approached *Faenza*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Village *Berſighella*, with the new and old Caſtle of that Place, together with the whole Valley *Lamona*: This he had done by Means of one *Dionigio da Naldo*, and was in Hopes of having the Caſtle of *Faenza* deliver'd up into his Hands, by Virtue of a fraudulent Agreement between the ſaid *Naldo* and the Governor: However, this traitorous Machination was luckily [2] diſcover'd by the *Faentines*, and an adequate Puniſhment inflicted on the Traitor. Mean time thoſe within the City were more than ever determin'd to defend the Place, from which unanimous Reſolution *Valentine* could not move them, neither by large Promiſes, nor the worſt of Threatnings; ſo that after this he drew his Troops cloſe under the Walls of the Town, between the Rivers *Lamona* and

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 132. Platina Vit. Pontiff. Alex. VI. p. 475. Edit. Venet. M.DCC.III. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 204.

[2] Guicciard. ibid.

Marzano,

Marzano, and planted his Artillery towards that Part of the Town oppoſite to *Forli*, where the *Faentines* had erected a very ſtrong Baſtion, and *Valentine* a conſiderable Battery; after which the Duke reſolved to make a general Storm; but in that Attempt he was repulſed by the Inhabitants in ſuch a Manner, that he loſt [1] a great Number of Men, among whom was *Honorio Savello* ſlain on the Spot.

In the mean time the Beſieged within the City were not wanting to gall the Enemy prodigiouſly with their Cannon, and to make very ſucceſsful Sallies from Time to Time; nor did *Borgia*'s People ſuffer a little by the Rigidity of the Seaſon, it being then in the Beginning of a very bitter and cold Winter, and were obliged to lie in the open Field, without any Kind of Shelter, having neither Houſes nor Trees near them, by which they could be cover'd from the Injury of the Weather; the laſt indeed the *Faentines* had taken Care to cut down over all the Country, before the Approach of the Pope's Army: So that the Hardſhips of the Beſiegers being very great, *Valentine* was obliged to [2] leave the Place, and retire with his People into Winter Quarters, not a little grieved that he ſhould be ſo baffled in the Beginning of his Enterprizes, and in a diſgraceful Manner forc'd to quit a ſmall Town, unaſſiſted with Foreign Succour, and govern'd by a ſeeming helpleſs Minor; ſo that on his going away from thence, he ſwore ſolemnly that as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, he would return with his Forces, and beſiege it with all his Might, and either gain the Place or loſe his own Life in the Attempt.

As this Diſappointment, for a while, put a Stop to the Progreſs of this violent Mortal, and from executing his unjuſt Schemes, form'd on the Ruin of ſo many Princes in *Italy*, yet was it not able to reſtrain him from acting with his wonted Violence in the Prejudice of other Princes far ſuperior to him in every Reſpect: and inſtead of laying himſelf out to govern thoſe other Towns (he lately had acquired) with a becoming Moderation, they only ſerv'd as ſo many Receptacles for his Debauchery and Lewdneſs, eſpecially *Ceſena*, *Forli*, and *Imola*, in which Places he ſpent the whole Winter in Riot, Luxury,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 132. [2] Ibid.

and wallowing in venereal, and every other Kind of ſenſual and brutiſh Pleaſures.

Among the other Exceſſes committed by the Duke, there was one of a very ſhocking Nature, which, all its Circumſtances conſider'd, deſerves the Reader's Notice.

About that Time *Elizabeth Gonzaga*, Dutcheſs of *Urbin*, had one of the Ladies of her Bed-Chamber married to a certain *Neapolitan* Lord, whoſe Name was *Gio-Baptiſta Caraccoli*, Captain General of the *Venetian* Infantry. This Lady, as being thereby diſengaged from the Service of the Dutcheſs, was ſent by the Road through *Romagna* with a very pompous Retinue to her Husband at *Venice*. As to her Character, ſhe was allow'd to be one of the moſt virtuous and chaſte, as well as the moſt beautiful Ladies perhaps in *Italy*; but it unluckily happen'd, as ſhe was on the Road travelling towards *Venice*, ſhe was met by *Valentine*, who, on the very firſt Sight, fell violently in Love with her: Knowing, therefore, that he had no Manner of Hopes to corrupt her Mind, with either Gifts or Entreaties, in making her thereby yield to his luſtful Appetite; he determin'd, however, by one Means or other, to have the Lady in his Poſſeſſion, and that nothing ſhould, right or wrong, hinder him from ſatiating his Luſt with her. On this, without ſeeming to take Notice of the Lady or her Retinue, as ſhe paſt along, being near his own Town of *Ceſena*, he immediately flew thither, and, without loſing Time, ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe to intercept and ſeize her on the Road; where, no ſooner were theſe Orders given, than executed by the mercenary Barbarians employ'd for that End: For, coming up to the Lady, they deſired her to ſtop, on which her Attendants, ſeeing themſelves beſet, were determin'd at any rate to defend their Lady, and rather loſe their Lives, and all that was dear to them, than to yield the harmleſs Prey to the Rapine and Violence of thoſe inhuman Robbers: On which a very ſmart Engagement enſued, where was conſiderable Slaughter and Bloodſhed on both Sides; but the Lady's Retinue being partly ſlain, and over-power'd by Numbers, found they could reſiſt no longer, ſo that the others, to ſave their Lives, were forced to take to Flight, leaving the poor abandon'd Lady in the Hands of the mercileſs Ruffians, by whom ſhe was brought Priſoner to the Duke.

I ſhall

I ſhall not for Modeſty's Sake relate what happen'd to her, when in the Hands of her luſtful and repacious Lover, ſince the Reader may eaſily form an Idea of the Treatment ſhe met with from him, and ſhall only mention the Husband's Behaviour on this melancholy and unexpected Occcaſion.

When the diſmal News was brought him to *Venice* by ſome of his Wife's Attendance, who had made their Eſcape out of the Hands of *Borgia*'s Soldiers; hearing he had loſt the chief Comfort of his Life, and that ſhe was treacherouſly and villainouſly made a Prey of by another, the Enjoyment of whom he had propoſed as the greateſt Baſis of his future Happineſs; on the Thoughts of this he appear'd at firſt quite ſtupified, and out of his Senſes, ſtanding with his Arms croſs his Breaſt, and his Eyes fixt on the Ground, without any other Motion than what was occaſion'd by the deep Sighs which came from his afflicted Breaſt; but on a ſudden looſing his Arms from his Breaſt, as if he had been quite diſtracted, he fell a ſtamping on the Ground with his Feet, and, being full of Madneſs and Rage, fixt his wild Looks upwards towards Heaven, upbraiding as it were his Fate on this diſmal Occaſion.

In this confuſed Manner did he ſtalk along ſpeechleſs to the Ducal Palace; where, finding the Doge *Barbarigo* ſitting in the Counſel of Ten, having got Admittance, he began to ſpeak at firſt in a very confuſed and broken Manner; but after he had recover'd a little, he expreſt himſelf in theſe Words: *I am come to take leave of your Serenity, in order to go and loſe that Life in Revenge, which I had determin'd to have ſpent not unprofitably in the Service of this moſt Serene Republick. I am wounded in the moſt tender Part of my Soul! in my Honour! and bereaved of the moſt ineſtimable Treaſure I had, my Spouſe; and all this by the moſt perfidious and ſacrilegious Villain on Earth,* Valentine: *Don't wonder, my Lords, if I expreſs my ſelf in ſuch a Manner about one who has the Honour of being now a Noble* Venetian, *and under the Protection of this moſt Serene Republick, ſince his Flagitiouſneſs renders him every Day more and more undeſerving thereof, and unworthy of the leaſt Reſpect, yea, of Life itſelf, which, with a Dagger, I will make fly from the Vitals of that Monſter; Sacrilegious from his very Birth, a Fratricide, an Uſurper of others Rights, an Oppreſſor*

Oppreſſor of the Innocent, *a common Robber, one who violates all Manner of Laws, even thoſe of Hoſpitality to Friends within his own Dominion, a Thing which the very* Barbarians *obſerve; and one who within his own State has committed Violence on a poor Female Paſſenger; who, notwithſtanding the Security due to her on Account of her Rank and Sex, or Reſpect to the Prince from whoſe Court ſhe came, or even my ſelf, who am honour'd with ſo conſiderable an Employment in the Service of this State, with which he is in Alliance; without conſidering theſe Things, or that ſhe is my Wife, has he villainouſly raviſh'd her from me; and what torments me moſt, now detains her as a Prey to his inſatiable Luſt. This, my Lords, this, I ſay, deſerves a different Kind of Puniſhment, and another Sort of Death, than what ſhall come by my Hand: But ſince the Perſon who ought to revenge this Injury, I eſteem neither as a Prince or Judge, but a Father equally Criminal with the Son; ſince 'tis ſo, I will my ſelf ruſh on that Revenge due to his Barbarities, and ſacrifice my own Life, not only to avenge the Offences done me, and the Blood of ſo many Innocents crying aloud for Revenge, but it ſhall be done for the future Safety of this Republick, ſince 'tis now no Secret that this Monſter of Ambition, after oppreſſing and ſubduing the other States and Princes of* Italy, *aſpires at no leſs than to the Sovereign Power among you, and ſo to tyrannize over her and your Liberty* [1].

The

[1] This Circumſtance of the Rape of *Caraccoli's* Wife is not only amply related by Tomaſo Tomaſi, from p. 123 to 131. Edit. Mon. Chiar. M.DC.LXX. but confirm'd by Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. Lib. V. p. 181, 182. And altho' the Cardinal does not give ſo very minute an Account of all its Circumſtances as what Tomaſi does, yet he ſays enough to confirm the Subſtance of the whole Narrative, whoſe Words are as follow; thus——*Iis rebus domi foriſque adminiſtratis, Cæſar Alexandri Filius, cui paulo ante a Republica petente patre cum Jure Comitiorum Civitas data fuerat, Puellam ex Elizabethæ Metaurenſium Reginæ familiatu, ad Carratium Reipublicæ Militibus præfectum, cui erat Nuptui tradita, proficiſcentem, medio inter Ariminum Ravennamque itinere miſſis Ceſena ſuis Equitibus, vi rapuit, comitatu ejus pulſo, vulneratis compluribus.* ——*Ea erat Puella miræ pulchritudinis, itaque amoris incenſus Adoleſcens, cum pretio aut precibus aſſequi ſeſe poſſe nihil videret, ſumptis a novo Regno animis, ad vim faciendam ſe convertit, & Virgine per ſcelus eſt potitus. Ea re ad Patres celeriter delata, Decemvirum Decreto Aloiſius manentius eſt ad Cæſarem eo ipſo Die juſſus contendere (is erat Fori Cornelii) queſtum de Injuria tam Inſigni, quam Reſpublica pro ſuis in eum Beneficiis nihil meruiſſet Puellam repetitam. Poſtereoque Die Aloiſii Regis legatus, re a Patribus graviter apud illum expoſtulantibus cognita, ſua Sponte ad Cæſarem iiſdem cum mandatis eſt profectus, cum eam Fraudem atque Injuriam etiam ad ſuum Regem, qui Cæſarem, ut Flaminia potiretur, adjuviſſet, exiſtimaret pertinere. Nihiloque ſecius Literæ ſunt ad Alexandrum a Senatu datæ magna cum Querela. Sed neque manentius, neque Regis legatus quidquam apud eum valuerunt, Nedum Literæ ad*

Patrem

The Account of this Rape had ſome Way or other come to the Ears of the Doge and Senators, a few Minutes before *Caraccioli* arrived there, for which they were greatly incenſed, not only on Account of the Fact itſelf, but alſo for the little Regard *Valentine* had ſhewn therein towards the Republick, having done ſo baſely by the Wife of their General, a Perſon of ſo conſpicuous a Rank, and endow'd with ſo many good Qualities: Beſides, hearing *Caraccioli*'s Reſolution to go in Perſon to avenge the grievous Injury he had received, they could not help bewailing his hard Fate, and being concern'd for the Danger he would incur by ſo doing. The Doge, therefore, with the ſofteſt Words he could uſe, endeavour'd to ſooth his Paſſion, and allay his Grief; and the whole Senate aſſured the afflicted Husband, that they would unanimouſly intereſt themſelves in his Quarrel, and, without Delay, procure an adequate Satisfaction for ſo heinous an Injury and Affront: At the ſame time the good old Doge aſſured him, *Valentine* would ſoon be oblig'd to return the Lady in no reſpect injur'd. On this the Council of Ten agreed, that *Luigi Menenti*, their Secretary, ſhould forthwith go to *Imola*, where *Valentine* was at that Time, and there ſignify the vaſt Diſpleaſure the Senate felt at this flagrant Injury, committed, not only againſt the Lady and her Husband, but the whole Republick, being, they ſaid, a very bad Reward for the many Favours they had conferred on him: At the ſame Time they charged *Menenti* to demand that the Lady might, without Delay, be ſent back to her Husband at *Venice*.

This being his Inſtructions, next Day the Senate ſent for the *French* Ambaſſador, and made heavy Complaints to him, on Account of the Violence committed by *Valentine*, who was carrying on the War in *Romagna*, under his Maſter's Protection;

Patrem miſſæ proficerent, pernegavit enim ille ſuo juſſu id feciſſe, qui Puellam rapuiſſent neque ſe, qui eſſent, adhuc quidem comperiſſe: repertis autem Raptoribus, cui quidem rei omnem eſſet diligentiam adhibiturus, ſe daturum operam, ut & Rex, & Senatus Venetus, & omnes Homines intelligerent, quam ægre tulerit ſuis in finibus, id fuiſſe facinus atque flagitium perpetratum: Puellas ſibi non deeſſe, quas habere facile poſſit; ne hac tanta cum Reipublicæ Offenſione atque Invidio, & ſuo cum Probro, per vim atque Fraudem potiri concupieret. Patres verba ſibi dari intelligentes, cum mittendis Nunciis ac Literis multos Dies conſumpſiſſent, quod rebus Belli ab ea cogitatione avocabantur, Carratium, qui ad eos quæſtum venerat, conſulati, ejus vindictam ſceleris in aliud tempus diſtulerunt.

whoſe Reaſonings this Way had ſo great an Influence on that Miniſter, that he immediately in Perſon ſet out for *Imola*, to declare to *Borgia* himſelf the Diſpleaſure he felt at ſo ſhameful a Crime, and to aſſure him that the King of *France* would reſent it in the ſtrongeſt Manner. At the ſame Time the Senate wrote to the Pope an Account of the whole Affair, and demanded Satisfaction from him : but no Manner of Impreſſion did theſe Complaints make on the Mind of either the Father or Son, nor could they obtain the leaſt Redreſs from them : For *Valentine* being unwilling to part with his Prize, had the Impudence barefacedly to deny the Fact, aſſerting, he had not given any ſuch Orders for ſeizing the Lady, declaring, that if he could find out thoſe who had committed that Crime, and for which End he would uſe all Manner of Diligence to diſcover them, he would then convince the King of *France*, and the Senate of *Venice*, how highly he was offended, that ſuch a vile Action ſhould have been committed within his Territories ; adding, that as he did not want the handſomeſt Women in the Country for his Pleaſures, and with their own Conſents too, he conſequently had, he ſaid, no Occaſion to make uſe of Violence and Force. In this Manner did he baffle all the Endeavours and Remonſtrances made for delivering up the Lady, ſo that the *Venetians*, after ſending a great many Letters backward and forward to the Pope and *Valentine*, had nothing in Return but Denials and Evaſions : However, they found it not a fit Occaſion at that Time to proceed to Reſentment, eſpecially ſince the War commenced againſt them by the *Turk* did not allow them an Opportunity of falling out with the Pope, and ſo were obliged to poſtpone their Revenge till another Time, comforting *Caraccioli* in the beſt Manner they could.

Valentine, from the Experience he had in Iniquity and Violence, knew very well this deteſtable Action could not but be highly diſpleaſing to thoſe Princes by whom he had been ſo greatly favour'd, ſo that an obſtinate Denial of the Fact he thought was the beſt Subterfuge he could invent : However, what the poor Lady's Fate was, will be related in its due Place.

Mean time the violent cold Weather continuing, *Valentine*, as we have ſaid, having put his Army into Winter Quarters, ſecured the High Roads on every Side of the Town leading

to

to *Faenza*, that ſo all Communication with that Place might be cut off, thereby to hinder the Beſieged from being ſupplied with Succours and Proviſions, by which he judg'd the Town would at laſt be obliged to ſurrender: Nor was he out of Hopes of being very ſoon Maſter thereof, on Account of a fraudulent Intelligence he thought he had with ſome of the Beſieged; on which, judging that by their Means he might obtain Entrance within the City, he therefore made his Soldiers in the Night-time carry a Number of Ladders of Ropes, for ſcaling the Walls near the Place of the Town called *Borgo*: But his Attempts in this proved very fruitleſs; for the Beſieged, inſtead of conniving with him in giving up the Place on his Approach, repulſed him with no ſmall Havock and Slaughter of his People: On which the Duke, loſing all Manner of Hopes of taking the Place by Guile and Stratagem, filed off his Troops, and went to the Village of *Ruſſi*, of which, and others in that Neighbourhood, he took Poſſeſſion. However, on the Approach of the Spring Seaſon, he made his whole Army take the Field, and march once more to *Faenza*, where they encamped on the Ground oppoſite to the Caſtle; and where, having for a long Time batter'd the Walls with their Artillery, he order'd the *French* and *Spaniſh* Troops in his Service to begin the Attack; but they were again repulſed by the Inhabitants with great Loſs: Three Days after which he drew up his whole Army before the Place, being determin'd to give again a general Storm: For this Purpoſe, having made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, the Attack was begun by the *Italians*, who were ſupported by the Troops of other Nations; and was made with ſo much Force and Reſolution, that his Men were upon the Point of entering the City, *Valentine* having himſelf, with no ſmall Courage, attempted among the firſt to ſcale the Walls; but they met with ſo very warm and reſolute a Reception, (the very Women aſſiſting in the Defence with ſurprizing Intrepidity and Courage) that, in fine, the *Faentines*, having made Ramparts of the broken Walls, and with their Cannon, ſo cruelly galled the Enemy in the Flank of their Army, and made ſo vaſt a Havock of them, that the *Borgians* were forced ſhamefully once more to retire, with the Loſs of 2000 of their Men; among whom *Ferdinando Farneſe* was killed, and a Number of other Perſons of Diſtinction.

But

But that which neither the Force of *Valentine*'s Army, nor the Excommunications of the Pope could do, was, however, effected by the Deſpair of the *Faentines*; who, conſidering the Loſs they had already ſuſtain'd in the many Attacks of the Enemy, and being deprived of all Hopes of Succour, beſides the great Scarcity of Proviſions among them: on all theſe Accounts deſpairing of being able to make a very long Reſiſtance againſt ſo conſiderable an Army, and terrified at the Cruelty of the *Borgians*, if their Town ſhould at laſt be taken by Force; on theſe Conſiderations they declared to their young Sovereign *Aſtor*, that it was beſt to come to a Capitulation, and to ſurrender the Place; which accordingly was done on the following Conditions, namely, [1] *That the Perſons and Effects of the Inhabitants ſhould be ſafe, and* Aſtor *their Sovereign at Liberty to go unmoleſted where he pleaſed, and his Perſonal Eſtate to remain in his Poſſeſſion as formerly.*

Theſe Conditions were accepted, and agreed to by *Valentine*, and every Thing obſerved punctually, with Regard to the Inhabitants, but not what was agreed upon with reſpect to *Aſtor*, for whoſe Ruin many concurring Circumſtances conſpired: Firſt, on Account of the vaſt Affection his Subjects had for him; next, his Dependance on the *Venetians* and *Florentines*: thirdly, his Relation to the *Bentivogli*: and laſtly, on Account of the remarkable Beauty of his Perſon, who, as he is deſcrib'd by ſome Writers, in that Reſpect, had not his Equal in *Chriſtendom*: For theſe and ſome other Conſiderations, his barbarous Conqueror, inſtead of giving him his Liberty, in a villainous Manner, and expreſly contrary to the Articles of Stipulation juſt now mention'd, after having made him tarry a-while with him in his Army, ſent him under a Guard Priſoner to *Rome*, where he was ſhut up within the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and, as [2] *Guicciardin* informs us, his Perſon made uſe of to ſatiate the unnatural Luſt of a certain Perſon, in ſo ſhocking a Manner, as the Laws

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 134. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 138.

[2] Guicciard. ibid. *His Words are theſe*: Ma Aſtorre ch'era minore di diciotto anni, & di forma eccellente, cedendo letà e linnocedtia alla perfidia, & crudentà del vincitore, fu (ſotto ſpecie che rimaneſſe nella ſua [illegible]rte) ritenuto apreſſo a lui con honorevoli dimoſtrationi; mà non molto tempo Poi condotto a Roma, *ſatiata prima* (ſecundo ſi diſſe) *la libidine di qualcheuno*; fu occultamente inſieme con un ſuo Fratello naturale privato della vita.

of

†

of Modeſty ſcarcely permit to mention; after which, the ſame *Guicciardin* ſays, both he and his younger Brother were privately murder'd in Gaol. Another [1] Author, not only confirms this Account, but adds, that about a Year after, the Body of *Aſtor* was found in the *Tyber*, with a Bow-ſtring about his Neck, and near his Corps were two other young Perſons, with their Hands tied behind their Backs, one about the Age of 15 Years, the other 25; the firſt of which was *Aſtor*'s Baſtard Brother, the other a young Woman, the unfortunate Wife of *Caraccioli* already mention'd, who, after the Enquiry made about her by the *Venetians*, was never heard of till now that her murder'd Body was found. At the ſame time ſeveral other Corpſe were alſo taken up, who all of them had undergone the ſame barbarous Fate [2].

The taking *Faenza* was joyful News to the Pope, by which his Son had now aſſumed the Title of Duke of *Romagna*; and his new Dominion there was confirmed to him, the Inveſtiture thereof given him in publick Conſiſtory, and the ſame ratified by many of thoſe unhappy Potentates who were at that Time in Alliance with the *Borgians*, particularly the King of *Hungary*, and the Republick of *Venice*, becauſe *Alexander* aſſiſted them in the War againſt the *Turk*, who at that Time had come to open Hoſtilities with thoſe States: Moreover, the Pope found Means to have this new Title of Duke of *Romagna* acknowledg'd by the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, at the Time he made up the Difference between thoſe two Monarchs, about the Navigation in the Ocean, and the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*; which Difference, with Regard to their mutual Claims, was left to the Pope's Arbitration, and the Affair determin'd in this Manner; namely, *That the Boundaries to their new Conqueſts in thoſe Parts, ſhould be by a Line, ſuppoſed to be drawn from North to South, paſſing about* 100 *Leagues from the Iſlands of* Cape Verde; *and that that Part of the Ocean lying to the*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 139.

[2] Bembo confirms this Tragical Account about *Aſtor*, which he expreſſes thus, Lib. V. p. 185. Atque illo ipſo tempore Cæſar Alexandri Filius diu preſſam armis atque acri obſidione Faventiam, à qua Patres Alexandri Precibus Legatum ſuum revocaverunt, certis Conditionibus tandem cepit: Hiſtorique Puero ea lege ſe dedenti, ut ſalvus ſoſpeſque eſſet, fidem fregit: Romamque aductum, atque in Cuſtodia complures ad menſes adverſatum necavit. See alſo Platina in Alex. VI. p. 475. Edit. Venet. Anno M.DCC.III. Alſo Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 204.

Weſt ſhould belong to the King of Caſtile ; *the other towards the Eaſt to the King of* Portugal [1].

For theſe, and ſundry other Matters, great Rejoicings were made at *Rome*, but particularly on Account of the League concluded againſt the *Turk* ; and the better to flatter the Pope's Vanity midſt their Acts of publick Devotion, in their Panegyricks on *Alexander*, they ſtiled him the *Arbitrator of the World*, and the *Subduer of Tyrants* ; at which Time the Pope's other Son *Squillace*, and *Carlo Orſino*, with a Number of their Faction at the Head of the Mob, run up and down the Streets with lighted Torches in their Hands, raiſing loud Acclamations of Joy, and crying out, *Long live* Alexander *and* Cæſar! *Long live the Duke of* Romagna !

In the mean time, *Valentine* being quite intoxicated with Pride and Ambition, and encouraged with the Succeſs he had had over the Vicars, already ſubdued, determin'd likewiſe to diſpoſſeſs the Family *Bentivogli* of their Sovereignty of *Bologna*, which Dominion had Time out of Mind been in their Poſſeſſion. To this he was the more readily excited by the *Mariſcotti*, who were at that Time Enemies to the *Bentivogli* and their Government. But this Enterprize met with much greater Oppoſition than he had imagin'd ; for not only was *Jovanni Bentivoglio*, his Sons, and the *Bologneſe* themſelves prepared to make a vigorous Defence, but the Duke had ſcarcely arrived with his Forces againſt that Place, than he received an Expreſs from the King of *France*, ordering him to deſiſt immediately from that Attempt, being, he ſaid, under Obligations to protect and defend that City and People : And notwithſtanding there was a Clauſe annext to the King's Agreement for protecting *Bologna*, that the Rights of the Church ſhould thereby not be infringed, yet the Conſtruction the *French* King made on this, was, that the Spiritual Juriſdiction of the

[1] As the Diſcovery of *America* at that Time was the greateſt, and of the higheſt Conſequence to Mankind of any that ever happen'd ſince the Birth of Chriſt, I think it not unworthy of the Reader's Regard, if he peruſe the Hiſtory thereof, wrote by *Franciſco Lopez*, where a minute Deſcription of the Whole is given ; as alſo in the Tranſlation thereof by *Agoſtino di Carvaliz* in *Italian*, p. 24. Edit. Venet. M. DC. LXXVI. where the Pope's Bull granted to King *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* is tranſcrib'd verbatim. *Vid.* Hiſtoria della Nuove Indie, &c. from p. 24 to 28. See alſo Bembo, Lib. VI. p. 190.

Pope ſhould not be impared, but that the Church had no other Title to *Bologna* and its Dominions; tho' the Pope did not underſtand the Matter in that Senſe, but claim'd the Temporal as well as the Spiritual Sovereignty thereof: Be that as it will, *Valentine*, in fine, was obliged, in ſpight of his own and the Pope's Inclinations, to yield the Point; for which *Alexander*'s Miniſters at the Court of *France* made a hideous Clamour, no leſs than publickly to accuſe the King of infringing the Articles ſtipulated in his late Alliance with the Pope, giving out, that it was great Injuſtice in *Lewis* to deprive his Holineſs thus forceably of the Right of exerciſing his Sovereign Power over his Subjects in his own Territories: However *Alexander*, by Means of *Paolo Orſino*, made a Shew of compromiſing the Matter with the *Bentivogli*, allowing them the Poſſeſſion, on Condition they ſhould oblige themſelves to give the Pope's Army a free Paſſage thro' their Territories, and furniſh them with all Kinds of Proviſion and Forage; likewiſe to aſſiſt them with 100 of their Men at Arms, and 2000 Foot, on their March into *Tuſcany*: Moreover, that the Caſtle *Bologneſe* ſhould be deliver'd up into the Hands of the ſaid *Paolo Orſino* their Mediator.

But as this was an Agreement made more out of Neceſſity than Choice, it deprived *Valentine* that Year of the Fruit of his intended Labour, but not of the Hopes of reaping it on a more favourable Occaſion; for which, before his Departure, he took Care to ſow the Seeds of Diſſention among the Inhabitants there, that ſo, in his future Attempts on that Place, he might the better ſucceed in making a Prey of them and their Liberties.

As therefore the next Expedition *Valentine* was about to undertake required a good Number of Troops; and as he found he could no longer have the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, becauſe their Forces (which before now had been in his Service) were commanded to halt near *Bologna*, and join the Royal Army, being on the Point of proceeding in their Expedition againſt *Naples*. *Valentine*, therefore, demanded the Troops from the *Bentivogli*, which were agreed to be given him by Virtue of their late Stipulations; and accordingly was granted.

As to what regarded the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Lewis*, on his Acceſſion to the Throne of *France*, with an Ambition equal to his Predeceſſor *Charles*, had always had its Conqueſt in his View;

View; nor did any Thing retard the proſecuting his Deſigns this Way, but the Difficulty of adjuſting Matters with the Neighbouring Powers, that ſo, by ſettling Things in a peaceable Manner with them, he might the better ſucceed in that Enterprize.

The chief Potentate which he knew could either facilitate or obſtruct his Deſigns this Way, was the King of *Spain*, whoſe Country bounded *France* on one Hand, as *Sicily* did *Naples* on the other. With regard to that Iſland and its Dominion, it had been in the Poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Arragon*, by a lineal Deſcent, ever ſince the Time of *Peter* of that Family, who occaſion'd the famous *Sicilian* Veſpers: But *Naples*, as it was conquer'd by *Alphonſus*, had devolved on *Ferdinand* his Baſtard Son, and his Succeſſors: However, *John*, Brother to *Alphonſus*, and *Ferdinand*, Son to *John*, had always, by Virtue of their Legitimacy, pretended a Right to the ſaid Kingdom, and becauſe it was originally conquer'd by the Arms of *Arragon*: but as they never had in their Hands a ſufficient Force to ſupport their Pretenſion, nor Ability to proclaim their Right by the Sound of their Artillery, the chief Support of the Titles of Princes; for theſe Reaſons they had been forced to ſuccumb to the Fate of never being Poſſeſſors themſelves: tho' for all that they ſtill thought it more agreeable if it was uſurp'd by Princes of their own Family, than Foreigners, eſpecially the *French*, whoſe Turbulency and Inquietude always render'd that Nation ſuſpected by their Neighbours: And notwithſtanding *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* did enter into an Agreement with *Charles* VIII. not to oppoſe his Expedition on *Naples*, yet his Deſign in that was with a View of obtaining for himſelf the County of *Roſſiglion*, having firmly been of Opinion, that the young King *Charles*, unfurniſh'd of Money, and deſtitute of good Counſel, by invading other Peoples Countries, could not miſs to plunge himſelf into an Ocean of Inconveniences and Diſaſters, and conſequently return Home no ſmall Loſer by ſuch Expeditions.

But when, on the contrary, he found his good Fortune and Succeſs were ſo miraculouſly great, that, as Pope *Alexander* uſed to ſay, he had over-run all *Italy* with wooden Spurs, and Chalk in his Hands, to mark out Quarters for his Army, in whatever Territory or Place they pleaſed: On this, he began to find plainly his own Politicks had not been well-grounded, and

and that it was high Time for him to arreſt, if poſſible, the Career of ſo much Succeſs: Accordingly he cauſed his Ambaſſador *Fonſeca* to make the Declaration and Proteſt, which we mention'd in the antecedent Part of this Hiſtory; but indeed it was fruitleſs, and came too late, not having been able to ward off the fatal Blow given the *Arragoneſe* in *Naples*: So that when the Kings of that Family were expelled from thence, and, on Account of the *French*, forced to take ſhelter in *Sicily*, as is already related, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* received the Royal Fugitives with ſuitable Humanity, and by his Means it was that they were reinſtated in their former Dominion in *Naples*: On which, *Charles* perceiving how very difficult a Matter it was for *France* to keep Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, without the Concurrence and Conſent of *Spain*, or at leaſt if an equivalent Conceſſion was not made to keep them neutral, and from moleſting his Enterprizes this Way; *Charles* therefore, before his Deceaſe, had propoſed to divide the ſaid Kingdom between him and the Catholick King, and, by uniting their Forces, to make a Conqueſt thereof; but his ſudden and unexpected Death put a Stop to thoſe Treaties.

However, *Lewis*, now finding he was in peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, and in a Condition of proſecuting his Deſigns againſt *Naples*, was determin'd to follow the ſame Counſel which his Predeceſſor had been guided by, more eſpecially ſince he had a Suſpicion that the Pope and the *Venetians* began to be a little jealous of his Greatneſs, by which he thought they might the eaſier be induced to join with *Spain* againſt him: For theſe Reaſons *Lewis* reſolv'd to renew the Treaties formerly begun by *Charles* and *Ferdinand*; which, as ſoon as propoſed, were accepted by the King of *Spain*, and the Affair concluded in the following Manner; *viz.* [1] *That both* France *and* Spain *ſhould join in the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples, *and that when ſubdued, it ſhould be divided between them*: *That* Lewis, *for his Part, ſhould have the City of* Naples, *all the Province* di-Lavoro *and* Abruzzo, *and the King of* Spain *all* Calabria *and* Puglia; *which four were the chief Provinces of that Kingdom*: *That* France *and* Spain *ſhould conquer their reſpective Shares of that Kingdom, according to the aforeſaid Diviſion, without being obliged to aſſiſt each other in their Con-*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 133. Fer. in Lud. XII. p. 55. Tom. Tom. p. 149.

queſts, and at the ſame time engaging not to oppoſe each other.

Theſe Stipulations were not diſagreeable to *Ferdinand*, who reſolv'd for ſome time to lay by his Pretenſions to the Whole, thinking that altho' the *French* are ready for acquiring Dominion, yet they are obſerv'd to be negligent in maintaining their Acquiſitions; for this Reaſon *Ferdinand* thought within himſelf it would not be long before he ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Whole: Both Parties were, however, willing that the Stipulations between them ſhould not be made publick, until the Army, which was to be ſent by the King of *France* on the ſaid Expedition, ſhould firſt arrive at *Rome*, and the Forces of *Spain*, under the Notion of coming to aſſiſt King *Frederick*, get a ſure Footing within the Kingdom of *Naples*, that ſo they might the better ſurprize *Frederick* unawares, and when he leaſt expected it.

At the ſame Time *Lewis* concluded a Truce of ſeveral Months with the Emperor *Maximilian*, hoping ſpeedily to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace: This he obtained by giving the latter a large Sum of Money, out of which Agreement *Frederick* of *Naples* was totally excluded, notwithſtanding, to ſecure *Maximilian*'s Friendſhip and Alliance, he had given his Imperial Majeſty 40,000 Ducats, and obliged himſelf to pay 15,000 more every Month during his own War with *France*, and never to come to any Agreement with *Lewis*, unleſs the Emperor was thereby included: Beſides which, he engaged to ſend ſome of his Troops to join the Emperor's Forces for re-taking *Milan* out of the *French* Hands, if ſuch a Diverſion of their Arms ſhould be found neceſſary.

In this Manner was *Frederick* deluded, betray'd, and abandon'd by every Body, even thoſe in whom he had the moſt confided; and who, under the Veil of Friendſhip, were barbarouſly ſmiting him under the fifth Rib: Mean while the *French* were not loſing Time in their intended Expedition to *Naples*, ſo that their Troops were actually on their March towards this Kingdom.

While theſe Things were tranſacting, Duke *Valentine* was not ſlow in carrying on his own Schemes, having reſolved to invade

invade *Tuſcany*; and for this End to take an Opportunity when he knew the *French* were buſy in their Expedition on *Naples*: on which he brought together his own Forces, conſiſting of 700 Men at [1] Arms, 5000 Foot, perhaps the beſt Troops at that Time in *Italy*, to which were join'd the 100 Men at Arms, and the 2000 Foot, given them by the *Bentivogli*.

What chiefly excited him to undertake this amazing Deſign, and what gave him Hopes of Succeſs therein, was, becauſe of the vaſt Confuſion at that Time in *Florence*, on Account of their [2] Government, which being now in the Hands of the People, every Thing there was acted with great Precipitation and Diſorder, and the Factions and Contentions among themſelves came to ſuch a height, that the King of *France* grew weary of protecting them; by all which *Valentine* flatter'd himſelf into the Belief, that the ſaid Dominion was to fall into his Hands, to which he had no Shadow of Claim or Right, but what downright Uſurpation and Violence gave him: However, the better to ſucceed in this Attempt, he took Care no Mortal ſhould be able to penetrate into his Machinations this Way, and made a Shew as if his Expedition was deſign'd elſewhere: Accordingly ſent to the Magiſtrates of *Florence*, in a very peaceable and friendly Manner, deſiring Paſſage for his Troops through their Dominions, and alſo Proviſions and Forage for his People: however, he did not think [3] fit to tarry for their Anſwer, but march'd directly into the Heart of their Territory, before the *Florentines* knew any Thing of the Matter, and plunder'd the Country of Neceſſaries for his Army every where as he came along. On the News of this, the Magiſtrates deputed ſome of their People to meet him, and learn the Cauſe of his coming there in ſuch an abrupt and unexpected Manner. The Names of thoſe Deputies were *Pietro Soredini*, *Alemanno Salviati*, and *Jacomo Nerli*: On their Arrival at *Valentine*'s Army, he received them very graciouſly, and with a Shew of great Courteſy; however, had order'd his Troops to continue their March, in which Interim he was entertaining the Deputies with very good Words, and ſmooth Speeches, until he got over the *Appenines*: But at the Place called *Barberino*, after his Army had deſcended into the Plain on the *Florence* Side of the Mountains, he began to talk with them in [4] another Language, and to let them know

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 135. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

that

that their Senate had beſt join in Alliance with him: This, he ſaid, he would have done at any rate, and that they muſt aſſiſt him with what Number of Troops his Service ſhould require; and that they behoved to model their new Government in a Manner he ſhould approve of: In fine, at a Diſtance, and by indirect Terms, gave them to underſtand, that he was to intereſt himſelf for reſtoring *Peter de Medicis*; and ſo, that he might carry on his Fraud the better, making a Shew as if that had been his chief Deſign in coming there, he had cauſed the ſaid *Peter* to come to the *Florentine* Confines, as far as the Village *Loggiano*, tho' 'tis certain *Borgia* had no real Deſign for reinſtating that Prince, becauſe, not only would it have been quite oppoſite to his own Schemes, but he had contracted a perſonal Hatred and Antipathy to him, ever ſince they had been together at the Univerſity of *Piſa*; nor, indeed, could *Peter*'s Succeſs in the leaſt contribute to *Borgia*'s own Greatneſs, which Thing was his chief and only View; ſo that he had made a Handle and a Pretext of this, thinking that the *Florentines*, terrified with the Apprehenſion of having the *Medici* Family reſtor'd among them, would, out of two Evils, chuſe the leaſt; and, rather than this, conſent to have *Borgia* himſelf for their Governor.

But that this Terror might not ſeem to be in vain, he perſuaded *Juliano de Medicis* to haſte to *Rome*, and implore the Pope's Aſſiſtance and Concurrence, for having the whole Family of *Medici* reinſtated in their wonted Dominion in *Florence*.

While *Valentine* was thus laying his Snares to entrap the *Florentines*, and thinking his Affairs this Way were going on with Succeſs, he received an Expreſs from the King of *France*, the Contents of which were, that he ſhould, on Receipt thereof, inſtantly [1] depart out of the *Florentine* Dominions, and not preſume to meddle any more with their Affairs or Government; and that if he did not, without Loſs of Time, comply with theſe his Majeſty's Orders, he had commanded *Obigni*, with his Army then in *Lombardy*, to compel him by Force. On the Receipt of this diſagreeable Order, *Valentine* was quite diſtracted with Rage and Grief; but thinking cooly on the Conſequences if he ſhould not obey, and finding he had not

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 155. Alſo Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 135.

ſufficient

ſufficient Force to reſiſt the King's Orders, he deem'd it moſt adviſeable to acquieſce to them, notwithſtanding they went very much againſt the Grain, ſo that he began by little and little to file off his Troops and retreat: However, ſo very much enrag'd and incenſed was he at the King, that he vow'd henceforth to be his implacable Enemy; ſo that lingring for ſome time within the Territory of *Florence*, under one Pretence or other, on his Departure he put the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages to the Sword [1], burning and deſtroying all the other Places in which he could not find Plunder. Hence judging it an Affront to his Arms to leave *Tuſcany* without making a freſh Attempt on ſome Peoples Properties or other, he turned his Force againſt the Territory of *Piombino*, of which *Jacomo Appiano* was Sovereign, being determin'd to ſeize on that State alſo; to effect which, he one Way or other diſpoſed the Government of *Piſa* in ſuch a Manner, as to perſuade them to ſend him their Artillery; (ſome ſay it was obtain'd for him by Means of *Vitellozzo*) after which he poſſeſſed himſelf of [2] *Sughereto*, *Scarlino*, the Iſlands *Elba* and *Pianoſa*, and within a little while laid Siege to *Piombino* itſelf, in which Place *Appiano* had brought together all his Force for its Defence.

At this Time the Arms of the *French* were employ'd in proſecuting the Conqueſt of *Naples*, which gave the Pope and *Valentine* an Opportunity to act in a Manner with Impunity, in Prejudice of any one's Rights, they had a mind to invade within the Eccleſiaſtick State; and as the Family of *Colonna* had lately eſpouſed the *Arragoneſe* Intereſt, and conſequently had no Favour to expect from the *French*, *Alexander* thought it the fitteſt Opportunity of any to ſeize on their Poſſeſſions; for now the Mask was fairly taken off, and it plainly appear'd that no one Prince was ſecure of having his Properties not made a Prey of by the *Borgians*, if he had not himſelf a ſufficient Force to repel their Uſurpations: This being foreſeen by the *Colonneſe*, they found no other Remedy for ſecuring their Eſtates, but voluntarily to conſign them over to the [3] Sacred College, and to implore their Protection; which Reſolution having been communicated to the Pope by the ſaid College, *Alexander* gave them to underſtand, that no other Reſignation would he accept

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 135.
[2] Ibid. p. 136.
[3] Burchardus Diar. p. 74. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 157.

of, but the [1] Keys of their Towns put into his own Hands, prohibiting the Cardinals, under the Penalty of being puniſh'd, from meddling directly or indirectly in the Affair, for that nothing would ſatisfy him but their Dominion, of which, he ſaid, in ſpight of all Oppoſition, he would take Poſſeſſion, threatning the whole Family of *Colonna* with Impriſonment and Death, in Caſe they ſhould pretend to reſiſt his Decrees this Way.

The *Colonneſe* on this finding there was no Remedy, nor a Poſſibility to ward off their impending Ruin, thought it moſt adviſeable to ſubmit, thereby not to expoſe their Lives, in Caſe of a Refuſal, to the Mercy of theſe *Barbarians*: Accordingly they [2] conſigned the Keys of their Towns up to the Biſhop of *Ceſena*, Auditor of the Chamber, who for this End had been ſent to them by the Pope: More than that, Cardinal *Colonna*, fearing that, if he kept Poſſeſſion of his rich Abbacy of *Subiaco*, his Life might be in no ſmall Danger, voluntarily gave it [3] up to the Pope, notwithſtanding it had been beſtow'd on him as a Bribe for his Vote in *Alexander*'s Election to the Pontificate, as is already mention'd, and by which the *Jus Patronatus* deſcended from him to his Heirs for ever; in which Juriſdiction were 18 Villages, of all which, and the Right of Patronage, the Pope actually took Poſſeſſion; and within a few Days 20 Subſtitutes from theſe Towns or Villages came to *Rome*, to acknowledge their Allegiance to the Pope. To each of theſe Peaſants *Alexander* gave a [4] Gold Ducat, and a Pair of Stockings: Next, a Council was held in the *Campidolium*, where it was agreed, That as the Town of *Marino* had been made uſe of by the *Colonneſe* as a Place of Arms in the late War againſt the *French*, and the Friends of the Holy See, and as it had been a Receptacle for their Soldiers, conſequently that it ſhould be deſtroy'd, and razed to the Ground; which Sentence was ſoon executed by *Valentine* and the *French* Troops in their Paſſage to *Naples*.

The Family of *Savelli* being likewiſe in the *Arragoneſe* Intereſt, found they were the next in Courſe to be plunder'd, and their Eſtates within the Territory of *Rome* taken from them; ſo that foreſeeing their inevitable Fate this Way, they reſolv'd at leaſt to ſecure their Lives by Flight; and accordingly went to a

[1] Burchard. Diar. p. 74.
[2] Burchard. ibid. Tom. Tom. p. 158.
[3] Ibid. T. T.
[4] Burchard. ibid.

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Place of [1] Safety, leaving their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions as a Prey to their inſatiable and blood-thirſty Enemies, and to wait until Fortune ſhould preſent them with a more favourable Opportunity for recovering their Properties, and re-eſtabliſhing their Family: For to ſave one's Life in thoſe Days was reckon'd a Piece of no ſmall good Fortune, ſince generally Peoples Lives and Fortunes went together; for whoever was depriv'd of the one, ſeldom eſcaped being robb'd of the other, without Hopes of ſeeing their Properties, in their own Life-time, ever reſtor'd or taken out of the Hands of thoſe inſatiable and rapacious Monſters: And altho' the Divine Vengeance ſeem'd at that Time to be moving with a ſlow Pace, for bringing along with it Puniſhment to fall on their perfidious Heads, yet it was ſure to ſeize them at laſt, as will appear clearly in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

Among the many Inſtances of the *Borgian* Rapaciouſneſs, 'tis not, I think, unfit in this Place to acquaint the Reader with a few very remarkable Ones: Among the reſt, it happen'd that Cardinal *della Rovere* at that time died in *Rome*, whoſe Wealth and Goods were left, by his laſt Will, to his own Relations and Friends: But on the News thereof, ſome few Minutes after he had expired, the Pope ſent the Cardinal of *Capua* with ſtrict Orders to go, notwithſtanding it was about Midnight, to the Houſe of the Deceaſed, and, as we uſe to ſay, before his Feet were well cold, to ſeize upon his Effects, particularly his Money, Plate, Jewels, and Things of the greateſt Value, and bring them to him in the *Vatican*; which Orders the Cardinal was oblig'd to [2] obey, notwithſtanding he himſelf had been left a conſiderable Share of the Legacy, and which was done without any Manner of Oppoſition: But it happen'd that the very ſame Cardinal, a few Days after, died alſo, whoſe Wealth was [3] ſeized by the Pope in the very ſame Manner, and who had been ſent out of the World in that horrid Way by which a great many others loſt their Lives, namely, Poiſon. But No-body's Caſe was more remarkable than that of Cardinal *Baptiſta Zeno*, called *de Sancta Maria in Porticu*, who, about the ſame Time, died at *Padua*, and who, ſeveral Years before, had obtained from ſeveral Popes, *Alexander*'s Predeceſſors, a Liberty of making a Will, by Virtue of which, as he was re-

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Lib. V. p. 160. [2] Ibid. p. 162. [3] Ibid.

markably

markably Wealthy, he had diſpoſed of his Riches in the following Manner; namely, that 25,000 Ducats was to be left for Pious Uſes, and 100,000 to be given the Republick of *Venice*, for enabling them to carry on the War againſt the *Turk*: But the Pope finding this was too great a Booty not to ſtruggle for getting into his Pocket, had the Aſſurance to write the Republick a Letter, wherein he ſignified, that he had revoked the Power of that Cardinal's diſpoſing his Riches, and that whatever laſt Will he had made, was of no Effect, becauſe, as the Cardinal had been his Spiritual Subject, ſo he ſaid his Wealth and Subſtance appertain'd to him; for which Reaſon he had prohibited any Perſon whomſoever, under the Penalty of Excommunication *Latæ Sententiæ*, from preſuming to intermeddle with his Eſtate; ſo that he commanded them on their Peril, and under the ſame Penalty, not to refuſe, within a limited Time, to ſend his Money and Effects to *Rome*. But altho' theſe Orders did not meet with the Regard from the Republick that *Alexander* expected, yet he did not altogether loſe his Aim; for the Deceaſed having, as it happen'd, conſigned two Cabinets to certain Nuns in a Monaſtery of *Ancona*, in which was to the Value of 20,000 Crowns in Gold, and ſundry other Things of great Price, and had given them a preciſe Command, that all this Wealth ſhould be deliver'd to a certain young Man of the Town of *Ancona*, who formerly had done great Services to the Cardinal: However, it happening that the Heir deſtin'd by the Cardinal died before his Benefactor, and the latter in his Illneſs having forgot that he had depoſited the ſaid Cabinets into the Nuns Hands, had accordingly not given Directions, on his Death-Bed, in what Manner they were to be diſpoſed; a Hint of which being given the Pope, he immediately ſent his Agents thither, who, in a forceable Manner, ſeized on the Money and every Thing for his Holineſs's Uſe, and brought the Whole with them to *Rome* [1].

But

[1] What relates to the plundering Cardinal *Zeno's* Wealth, the Reader is referred to my Author Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 162, 163, 164. Edit. Mon. Chiar. Anno M. DC. LXX. whoſe Narrative thereof I have exactly follow'd, as above; the ſame being confirm'd by Bembo, tho' all its Circumſtances are not ſo minutely related, and in ſome few Particulars different: However, the Cardinal's Words, for the Reader's greater Satisfaction, I have ſubjoin'd. *Vid.* Bemb. Lib. V. p. 185. Edit. Venet. —— Per eos etiam Dies Patavii Baptiſta Zenus è Cardinalium Collegio moritur, grandi Pecunia, argentique fabrefacti magno pondere Teſtamenti Tabulis ſuæ Genti, & propinquis, & Sacerdotium Collegiis, & Reipublicæ relicto. Abſcondiderat is Romam veniens, aliquot ante

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fool'd and deceiv'd, under the Notion of [1] Peace; for which his Majeſty determin'd, with the whole Force he could muſter, at all Events, to recover, both his Honour, and the Kingdom he had now very near loſt, and with his own Arms revenge the many Injuries received. But before he proceeded further, he complained heavily to the Archduke, who, as yet, had not left *Bles*, deſiring he would procure him an adequate Satisfaction and Reparation for that which, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace, had been acted in his Prejudice; beſides hop'd, he ſaid, that *Philip* would maintain his Word and Honour, and not ſuffer him to be ſo ſhamefully trick'd and abuſed by his Father-in-Law. On which the Archduke, who indeed was innocent of the Matter, in moſt preſſing Terms, deſired, that *Ferdinand* would give the King of *France* due Satisfaction: At the ſame Time complained bitterly, That he had, in Sight of the whole World, allowed Things to be tranſacted in a manner very much to his own particular Infamy. But before the Victory of the *Spaniards* within the Kingdom of *Naples* enſued, *Ferdinand* had all along, with various Excuſes, deferred ratifying the ſaid Peace, pretending Matters could not be ſo well adjuſted, becauſe of the great Diſtance he himſelf was from the Place where it had been made; alledging, that he was then buſied in other Matters, and the like.

But certain it is, that either the Archduke had [2] in ſome Things, exceeded his Inſtructions about making Peace, or that after his Departure from *Spain*, *Ferdinand* had conceived greater Hopes about Succeſs in the War of *Naples*, than before; or that he thought it not fair in *Philip* to arrogate Part of that Kingdom to himſelf, being altogether uncertain, by Reaſon of the Infancy of his Son and *Lewis*'s Daughter, whether or not that Marriage would take Effect.

But for all this, the King of *Spain* had never poſitively [3] refuſed to ratify the ſaid Peace; on the contrary, always had given the *French* Hopes, that he was willing to bring it to a Concluſion, on the Footing it had been agreed on between *Lewis* and the Archduke: However, it was plain he had been poſtponing and procraſtinating Things, on purpoſe to gain Time, and, by the Delay, to procure all the Advantages he could, juſt as Affairs ſhould prove more or leſs proſperous.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

But when *Ferdinand* heard of the Victories and Succeſs of his Arms, he plainly ſhew'd that he deſpiſed Treaties; tho' in this delay'd as long as he could letting the Archduke know his true Sentiments, becauſe he thought the longer the King of *France* ſhould remain in Suſpence, and the Affair appear ambiguous, the leſs aſſiduous would *Lewis* be in ſending Succours and Reinforcements to *Gaeta*, and other Towns, which as yet remain'd in his Hands.

Philip, in the mean time, gave his Father-in-Law to underſtand, that he would not depart out of *Bles*, until he ſhould declare himſelf either as to Peace or War: On which *Ferdinand* ſent ſome other ſham [1] Plenipotentiaries thither, ſo that the Form of a Treaty began anew, and continued ſome few Days; but at length they fairly took off the Mask, and plainly declared, *That their Maſter, the King of* Spain, *would* [2] *not ratify the Peace made at* Bles, *becauſe it was neither for his Honour or Safety; and that his Majeſty had Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with* Philip *for having exceeded his Commiſſion in making ſuch a Peace: And altho' that, for that Archduke's Honour, their Maſter had given him a very ample Commiſſion, and a Plenipotentiary Power, to act for him, yet the ſame was with Reſtrictions and Limitations, which he had not followed.* On this, very ill Blood aroſe, and the Archduke replied, *That his Inſtructions were to make a Peace; and that* Ferdinand, *before his leaving* Spain, *had ſworn over a* [3] *Crucifix to ratify and confirm whatever he ſhould conclude this Way; nor had he*, he ſaid, *made uſe of the full Extent of the Power lodged in him for that End, or acted in any Thing, but by the Conſent of* Ferdinand's *own Miniſters and Plenipotentiaries, who in every Point had concurred with him.*

After this, the above-mention'd Ambaſſadors, or Plenipotentiaries, propoſed a Treaty on a new Foundation, ſignifying a Kind of Deſire for reinſtating [4] *Frederick* in *Naples*. But the *French* knew that all this was Sham and Trick, propoſed, in an inſidious Manner, to alienate *Philip* from the their King's Friendſhip, the former being anxious for having his own Son ſucceed to the Kingdom of *Naples*: On which *Lewis*, in a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

publick

publick Audience, declared his Mind to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, in the following Manner, *viz.* [1] *That he would not liſten to new Treaties, or acquieſce to new Propoſals, until they firſt ratified the above-mention'd Peace, and acknowledg'd their Treſpaſs lately done him within the Kingdom of* Naples; *adding, That he thought it no leſs amazing than vile, that a Prince, who gloried in the mighty Title of Catholick, had ſo little Regard to his Word, Honour, Oath, or Religion, and ſo ſmall a Reſpect for the Archduke, a Prince of ſuch eminent Greatneſs and Valour, their own Son-in-Law and Heir.*

On this, he inſtantly gave Orders that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors ſhould, that very ſame Day, [2] depart from his Court, and, without Delay, out of his Dominions; ſo that *Lewis*'s Mind was now bent to proſecute the War againſt *Ferdinand* with all imaginable Vigour and Reſolution, deſigning to make his Preparations this Way greater, both by Sea and Land, than had been ſeen by any King of *France* for many Years: Accordingly he order'd a moſt powerful Fleet to be immediately equipt, and ſent to *Naples*, for preventing *Gaeta*, and the Caſtles within *Naples*, being taken by the Enemy. At the ſame time commanded other powerful Succours to be ſent thither, and a numerous Reinforcement of Troops, with every Thing neceſſary for proſecuting this War, and for hindering the *Spaniards* from being ſuccour'd: Beſides, he determin'd to attack *Spain* in two different Places, one Army to be ſent into the Country of *Roſſiglion*, another to *Fonarabia*, and the adjacent Places on the Ocean; and that a Fleet ſhould be alſo fitted out, and ſent to cruiſe on the Coaſts of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*.

While theſe Preparations were making, *Conſalvo* was buſy in beſieging the Caſtles of *Naples*, having planted his Artillery at the Foot of St. *Martin*'s Hill, againſt the Caſtle *Nuovo*, where, from an Eminence, he batter'd the Citadel, ſituated over-againſt the ſaid Hill, the moſt of which were principally above Ground; and under it *Pietro Novarra* had dug a Mine, in order to blow up and demoliſh it: At the ſame Time, they were likewiſe buſy in battering the Walls of the Caſtle, from the Place called St. *Vincent*, which *Conſalvo* had lately taken. The Caſtle *Nuovo* was then fortified in a different Manner from what it had been

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157. [2] Ibid.

before,

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before, for the Citadel being detach'd from it, the Fort was ſurrounded every where with a large and ſtrong Wall, extending from the open Place before it, even to the Sea-Side, which Work had been begun by King *Frederick*; it was therefore very difficult to be undermined, being countermined every where: However, it happen'd that when *Pietro Navarra* blew up the Mine, it damag'd the Citadel ſo very much, that Part of the Wall was thrown down, and a Breach made: on which the *Spaniards* made a vigorous Attack at different Sides, ſo that with their Ladders they ſcaled the Wall, and enter'd the Citadel there, chiefly where the Breach had been made, and in a very ſhort Time became [1] Maſters of the Whole.

The *French* ſeeing this from the Caſtle, came out to encounter the Enemy, with a Deſign to drive them from the Citadel; but meeting with a vigorous and reſolute Reception, they were forced to retire again within the Caſtle: However, it happen'd that the *Spaniards*, being in Numbers mix'd among the *French*, and finding the Gates of the Caſtle were open to receive the latter, they loſt not this Opportunity, but, puſhing on boldly, ruſh'd into the Caſtle by the ſaid Gates, in ſuch a Manner, that the *French*, being terrified at their own Unſucceſsfulneſs, and the Fury and Bravery of the Enemy, were in a ſhort Time forced to [2] ſurrender, and give up every Thing a Prey to the Enemies; in which Place many Perſons of Diſtinction had retired with their Things of greateſt Value; but their Effects were ſeized and plunder'd, and themſelves, and the whole Garriſon, taken Priſoners; among whom was the Count *Montorio*, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction.

This Affair of taking the Caſtle was particularly unlucky to the *French*, ſeeing the very next Day, a powerful Reinforcement [3] arrived at *Naples* from *Genoa* to their Aſſiſtance, conſiſting of ſix Men of War, and a great Number of Tranſports, loaded with Proviſions, Arms, Ammunition, and 2000 Foot; on the Approach of which, the *Spaniſh* Fleet, within the Harbour of *Naples*, retir'd to *Iſchia*. But when the *French* heard of the Loſs of the Caſtle *Nuovo*, they immediately tacked about to purſue them; on which the *Spaniards* ſunk ſome of their own Veſſels, to hinder the Enemies Approach: But after having

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 158. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

exchanged

King *Frederick*, on the News of *Spain*'s having join'd with *France* in his Prejudice, was not a little alarm'd and confounded at the unexpected Turn, and indeed, with Reaſon, was under no ſmall Dread and Concern, notwithſtanding *Conſalvo* the *Spaniſh* General, who ſome Time before had arrived with his Troops within the Kingdom of *Naples*, under the Notion of having been ſent by his Maſter to *Frederick*'s Aſſiſtance, aſſured his Majeſty by Letters, that ſuch Reports ſpread about at *Rome* were falſe and groundleſs, and that he might [1] confide in his Maſter's firm Friendſhip; and that as for himſelf, he would, to the utmoſt of his Power, act in his Service; and the like Speeches: However, *Frederick* did not think fit to put great Truſt in theſe Promiſes, accordingly retir'd to St. *Germano*, where he was to wait for the Arrival of thoſe Troops, which, by his Order, the *Colonneſe* had raiſed and liſted in his Service: But as ſoon as *Conſalvo* had got Intelligence that the *French* Army had marched out of *Rome*, he made his own [2] Commiſſion publick, and ſent ſix Gallies from the Place where he then was to the City of *Naples*, to take on Board the two old Queens there, one of which was Siſter, the other Niece to King *Ferdinand* his Maſter: On which *Proſpero Colonna* adviſed *Frederick* not to loſe the Opportunity, but to ſeize theſe Gallies, and, by uniting his whole Forces, to attack the Enemy in the open Field, which, before their whole Army was got together, he might have a fair Chance for Victory; declaring, that if he neglected this Opportunity, he had but a bad Game to play againſt the united Power of two ſuch great Monarchs, who deſign'd to attack him in different Parts of his Kingdom: But *Frederick* was ſo much infatuated as to reject this good Counſel, judging it better to employ his Troops in the [3] Defence of his Towns, notwithſtanding he got Intelligence that St. *Germano*, whither he had intended to march in Perſon, had actually revolted from him before *Obigni* left *Rome*; for which Reaſon *Frederick* reſolv'd then to make *Capua* the chief Place of his Defence, whither he had ſent *Fabricius Colonna* and *Rinuccio da Marciano* with 300 Men at Arms, ſome Light Horſe, and 3000 Foot; having at the ſame Time left *Proſpero Colonna* for the Defence of the City of *Naples*, and halted himſelf at *Averſa* with the reſt of his Army.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 137. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

But *Obigni* by this Time having march'd, as we have ſaid, out of *Rome*, had advanced forward conſiderably, and on the Road had burn'd and deſtroy'd the Towns of *Marino* and *Cavi*, together with the other Villages belonging to the Family *Colonna*; being exaſperated againſt the latter for having [1] ſlain the Deputies ſent by the diſaffected Barons of *Naples*, who had offer'd to treat with the *French* about joining with them in their Meaſures. From thence *Obigni* came to *Montefortino*, at which Place 'twas judg'd *Julius Colonna* would have made ſome Oppoſition to the *French*, but before their Arrival he had ſhamefully abandon'd the Place. *Obigni*, after this, proceeding in his March, took Poſſeſſion of the adjacent Towns and Villages on the Road to *Capua*, as far as the River *Vulturno*, which near that City was unfordable, ſo that he went with his Army above it towards the Mountains, where his Troops could paſs, on the News of which *Frederick* left *Averſa*, and retir'd to *Naples*, and on his Arrival there, heard that both *Averſa*, *Nola*, and ſundry other Towns, had ſurrender'd up to the *French*.

Obigni had now paſs'd over the *Vulturno*, and was buſy in the Siege of *Capua*, his Troops being placed on different Sides of that River, the City they attack'd with great Fury, and batter'd it violently with their Artillery, after which they gave the general Storm: but in this Attempt they were forc'd to retire, having been vigorouſly, and with great Loſs, repuls'd by the Garriſon within the Place: However, the Beſieged finding they could make no very long Reſiſtance, began to think about a Capitulation, more eſpecially ſince they found the Inhabitants, and others belonging to the adjacent Places, who had taken Refuge therein, began to be mutinous: For which Reaſon, on the eighth Day after the Siege had begun, *Fabritius Colonna*, from one of the Baſtions, demanded a Conference with the Count *Gaiazzo* about a Surrender, which was not refuſed by the Beſiegers: However, it happen'd (as it often does with thoſe who are in Hopes of an approaching Agreement) that the Guards were but careleſly poſted at the Entries of the City, by which the Enemy, one Way or other, began to get [2] Admittance within the Place, inſomuch that they all

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 137. [2] Ibid.

forced

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forced their Way thro' the Gates; and being greedy of Plunder, and enraged on Account of the Loſs they had ſuſtain'd on their late Aſſault, ſlew a great Number of the Inhabitants, plunder'd the Place, and took Priſoners the others who had ſurvived their Cruelty.

Nor was their Barbarity leſs towards the [1] Women of all Ranks, even the Religious, who, with the others, were a Prey to the Luſt and Avarice of their inhuman Conquerors: many of them were alſo taken Priſoners, and afterwards ſold at *Rome* like Goods in a Market for Money; but others having valued their Honour more than their Lives, rather than be at the Mercy of theſe Ruffians, choſe Death, and accordingly threw themſelves headlong into [2] Draw-Wells, and the River. And as Duke *Valentine* was there among the other Plunderers, he was not behind-hand with them in Barbarity; for ſome of the Women having eſcaped the Fury of the Soldiers in their firſt Aſſault, had taken Refuge within one of the Towers of the Caſtle, of which *Borgia* having got Notice, being attended by ſome of his own Soldiers, he flew to the Place where they were, and having ſatiated his Beaſtly Luſt in a forceable Manner, cauſed the Villains in his Company to aſſiſt him till he made a Survey of them all, out of which he pick'd [3] 40 for his own Uſe.

The Number of Inhabitants ſlain on this Occaſion, was about 6000. Within *Capua Fabritius Colonna* was taken Priſoner, as alſo Don *Hugo di Cardona*, with all the other *Arragoneſe* Generals and People of Diſtinction there, among whom was *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who, having been wounded in the laſt Attack on the Town, and deliver'd over to *Valentine*, died within a few Days, not without Suſpicion of having been murdered by him.

On the Loſs of *Capua*, *Frederick* had no Hopes left him of defending the reſt of the Kingdom, more eſpecially ſince *Gaeta* had ſurrender'd, as ſoon as *Obigni* had got to *Averſa*. In like Manner did *Naples* itſelf come to an Agreement with the Conquerors, the Citizens of which obliged themſelves to pay them a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 137.
[2] Ibid. Guic. Tom. Tom. p. 177.
[3] Ibid. Guic. Tom. ibid.

Sum

Sum of 60000 Ducats. On this *Frederick* retir'd within the Caſtle *Nuovo*, where, ſome Time after, he agreed to [1] deliver up that Fort to the Enemy within ſix Days, and with it all the other Towns and ſtrong Holds belonging to thoſe Countries which were within the Diviſion allotted the *French*, reſerving only for himſelf the Iſland of *Iſchia*: This he was to keep for the Space of ſix Months; on the expiring of which, he ſhould be at Liberty to go where he had a Mind, provided it was out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Another Article of Stipulation, was, That he might be allow'd to ſend what Force remain'd in his Service to *Tarento*, to ſuccour his Son the Duke of *Calabria*, who was in that Place: Next, That he ſhould be allow'd to carry along with him all his Furniture and Things of Value out of the Caſtles *Nuovo* and *Vuovo*, except the Artillery left there by *Charles* VIII. Moreover, That an Indemnity and Pardon ſhould be granted to every one for all paſt Actions, ſince the Time *Charles* had taken Poſſeſſion of *Naples*; and that the Cardinals of *Arragon* and *Colonna* ſhould be allow'd to enjoy what Eccleſiaſtick Benefices and Endowments they had within the Kingdom of *Naples*. Theſe were the chief Articles agreed upon between the *French* and *Frederick*.

It deſerves to be remarked, that within that ſmall Iſland of *Iſchia*, in which *Frederick* took Shelter, a deplorable [2] Example of the accumulated Miſery of old *Ferdinand*'s Progeny was to be ſeen there at that Time: Firſt of all *Frederick* himſelf, now diveſted of his Kingdom, with a numerous Family of Children, deſtitute and unprovided for, and his eldeſt Son in a helpleſs Condition, ſhut up within *Tarento*. Here alſo was *Frederick*'s Siſter *Beatrix*, who had been in ſo barbarous a Manner divorced from her Husband *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*, as is already related. In this ſame Place of Affliction was *Iſabella*, Dutcheſs of *Milan*, who, about one and the ſame Time, had been bereaved of her Husband *Giovanni Galeazzo*, likewiſe of her Dominion, and her eldeſt Son.

My Author [3] *Guicciardin* mentions another very remarkable Circumſtance of a Child's extraordinary Affection to a Parent. It happen'd, about the ſame Time that the *French* retook *Naples*,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 138. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

that

that a Son of *Gilbert Monpenſier* came there alſo; and as his Father, who had been in King *Charles*'s Service, had died, and was buried at *Putzuolo*, the young Man, the better to ſhew his Affection for his Father's Memory, went to viſit his Tomb, on approaching which he immediately fell into a Flood of Tears, and ſtretching himſelf on his Grave, expired on the Spot with down-right Grief: But to proceed in our Hiſtory;

On *Frederick*'s taking Shelter in *Iſchia*, he began to ponder in what Manner he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf and Family, being now an Exile from his own Country; ſo that, reflecting on the barbarous Treatment he had met with from the *Spaniſh* King his Relation, he determin'd, rather than to have any thing to do with that Nation, to ſeek Protection and Safety from his very Enemies; accordingly he ſent to *Lewis*, deſiring a Safe-guard for bringing him into *France*, where he intended to live the reſt of his Life-time; which Propoſal was immediately accepted by the King of *France*: Accordingly *Frederick*, having left the reſt of his Family in *Iſchia*, together with *Fabritius* and *Proſpero Colonna*, and having, as was agreed upon, ſent his remaining Troops to ſuccour his Son in *Tarento*, he embark'd aboard one of the five [1] Gallies ſent to receive him, with which he arrived ſafe in *France*; and, as ſoon as he came there, *Lewis* receiv'd him moſt graciouſly, and, for his Support, gave him the Dutchy of *Anjou* in a free Gift, with an additional Revenue of 30000 Ducats *per Annum*. On this, *Frederick* ſent Orders to deliver up the Iſland of *Iſchia* to the *French*, which, after ſome Delay, was done.

About this Time *Conſalvo* the *Spaniſh* General had march'd into *Calabria*, where, altho' that Part of the Kingdom was inclinable to the *French* Government, yet being deſtitute of Force to ſupport their Choice of Maſters, all the Towns there, except *Manfredonia* and *Tarento*, gave themſelves up to *Conſalvo*, the firſt of which being afterwards taken by Siege, *Conſalvo* brought the reſt of his Troops before *Tarento*, which at laſt, after no mean [2] Defence, ſurrender'd on Conditions. For the Count *di Potenza*, and one *Fra. Leonardo*, Knight of *Rhodes*, and Governor of *Tarento*, to whoſe Care the young Duke of *Calabria* was committed, deſpairing of defending the Place long,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 138. [2] Ibid.

agreed, that if no Succour was ſent them within four Months to ſurrender; at the ſame Time obliging *Conſalvo* to take a Solemn Oath on the conſecrated Hoſt, that the Duke of *Calabria* ſhould, at the Expiration of that Term, be at [1] Liberty to go where-ever he pleaſed free and unmoleſted, the young Prince having received Orders, in Caſe they could not reſiſt the Enemies Power, to come to his Father in *France*: But neither the Solemnity of his Oath, nor any Regard he had to his own Reputation among Mankind, were ſufficient Motives with *Conſalvo*, for making him obſerve his Promiſes: for imagining the Perſon of the Duke would be of Importance to his Maſter's Affairs if he was in his Hands, he ſent him, as ſoon as he was in his Power, with a ſtrong Guard by Sea [2] Priſoner into *Spain*.

While the *French* had in this eaſy Manner taken Poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and of all their own Diviſion within that Kingdom, *Cæſar Borgia* finding they had no more Occaſion for his Aſſiſtance, ſent *Giovanni Baglioni* and *Vitellozzo*, with his own Troops, to lay cloſe Siege to *Piombino*: on which *Appiano*, Lord of that Place, finding he had not ſufficient Force to defend his Territory, left a conſiderable Garriſon within that City, and went himſelf into *France*, to implore King *Lewis*'s Protection. But altho' that Monarch, by Virtue of former Stipulations, was obliged to protect *Piombino*, yet *Appiano* found *Lewis* nowiſe friendly to him on this Occaſion; on the contrary, without diſſembling the Matter, he declar'd, he was obliged, by a new Treaty with the Pope, not to oppoſe *Valentine*'s Arms, nor could he do ſo, he ſaid, without manifeſtly prejudicing his own Intereſt. After this cold and unkind Reception, his Town of *Piombino*, together with the Caſtle, were forced to [3] ſurrender to the *Borgians*.

While theſe Things were thus tranſacting in *Naples* and *Tuſcany*, the Pope, with his Bulls and other Artifices, was ſecuring, in as authentick a Manner as he could, the Eſtates and Properties of the unfortunate People he had ſtript and robb'd, and granting the Inveſtitures thereof to his Relations; out of all which *Alexander* erected two Dutchies, one of [4] *Nepi*, the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 138.
[2] Ibid. Guic. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 179.
[3] Ibid. Guic.
[4] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 181.

other
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other of *Sermoneta*, diſtributing the Towns taken from the *Colonneſe*, ſome of them to one Dutchy, and ſome of them to the other. Of the Dutchy of *Nepi* he inveſted Don *Giovanni Borgia*, another [1] Baſtard Son of *Alexander*, not begot by *Vanozza*, but another *Roman* Lady, after his Acceſſion to the Pontificate; but in the granting the Inveſtiture the Pope deſign'd *Giovanni* as Son to *Cæſar Borgia*. As for the Dutchy of *Sermoneta*, the Inveſtiture of it was given to Don *Roderick* of *Arragon*, *Lucretia*'s Son, who had been born ſome Months before the unfortunate Death of his ſuppoſititious Father Don *Alphonſo*; ſo that this Child was treated in the moſt tender and affectionate Manner imaginable; and indeed, perhaps, there was a Reaſon for it, for many did not ſcruple to believe, O frightful Thought! that the Pope had too great Familiarity with his own Daughter *Lucretia*; for certain it is both Night and Day ſhe was admitted into his Bed-Chamber, and aſſumed ſuch an Authority at Court, as never was known before or ſince, inſomuch that ſome of the moſt judicious and graveſt Writers of thoſe Times believed, that *Alexander*, and *Valentine* his Son, and even the Duke of *Gandia*, had all three Carnal Correſpondence with this *Lucretia*; the Pope in particular, as appears by the Satirical Lines made on him by *Pontanus* and *Sanezarus*, quoted by many other Authors. *Pontanus*'s Lines, by Way of Epitaph on *Lucretia*'s Tomb, are thus;

Hic jacet in Tumulo Lucretia Nomine, ſed Re
Thais; Alexandri Filia, Sponſa, Nurus.

The others of *Sanezarus* as follows,

Ergo te ſemper cupiet Lucretia Sextus
O Fatum diri Numinis: hic Pater *eſt.*

Nay, this was become very conſpicuous to ſeveral about the Court, who had Opportunities of prying into their [2] Behaviour; for not only was *Lucretia* admitted into the Pope's Bed-Chamber, but, when he went out of Town, ſhe had the Superintendency

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 181.

[2] My Author Tom. Tomaſ. expreſſes his Sentiments on this Affair very elegantly and modeſtly——ſpeaking of *Lucretia*, he ſays, Part II. p. 181.—La quale teneva luogo tanto inoltrato nelle Grazie del Papa, quanto permitteva il Seſſo, *anzi molto piu, che non permettea il Seſſo.*

of

of Affairs given her, with a Power of breaking open [1] Letters, ſending Diſpatches, and even calling the Cardinals together, if ſhe thought fit, her Lodgings being fitted up within the Pope's own Palace.

As this Charge upon the Pope of Inceſt with his own Daughter is of the moſt ſhocking Nature, we ſhall not content ourſelves with what the aforeſaid Authors have given us in Relation thereto; but ſhall inſert in this Place the following Quotation from *Guicciardin*, the latter Part of which, printed in the *Italick* Character, has been [2] omitted in all the Editions hitherto publiſhed. The Author's Words are thus;

Ma non potette fugire gl' Infortunii Domeſtici e quali perturbarano la caſa ſua con Eſſempii Tragici & con Libidine & Crudeltà Horribile etiamdio in ogni barbara Regione: per che havendo in fino da Principio del ſuo Pontificato diſegnato di volgere tutta la Grandezza temporale al Duca di Candia ſuo Primogenito, il Cardinale di Valenza il quale di animo totalmente alieno dalla profeſſione Sacerdotale aſpirava al eſercitio delle arme, non potendo tollerare che queſto loco gli foſſe ocupato dall Fratello: Impatiente oltre a queſto che egli haveſſe piu parte di lui nell amore di *Madonna Lucretia Sorella commune, incitato dalla Libidine, & dall Ambitione, Miniſtri potenti ad ogni gran Sceleratezza, lo fece una notte, che ei cavalcava ſolo per Roma, amazzare, & poi gittare nel Fiume del Tevere Segretamente. Era medeſimamente fama, ſe però è degna di crederſi tanta enormità, che nel amore di Madonna Lucretia concorreſſino non Solamente li duo Fratelli, ma etiamdio* il Padre medeſimo: *Il quale havendola come fu fatto Pontifice, levata dal primo Marito come diventato inferiore al ſuo grado, & maritatala a Giovanni Sforza Signore di Peſaro, non comportando d'havere anco il Marito per Rivale, diſſolvè il Matrimonio gia conſumato, havendo fatto inanzi a Giudici delegati da lui, pro-*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 182. Alſo Burch. Diar. p. 75.

[2] The Caſtrations in Guicciardin's Hiſtory, of which the above is one from his third Book, were preſerv'd by ſome curious Perſons, who took the Pains to collate the printed Hiſtory with the Original Manuſcript at *Florence*, and publiſh'd them firſt in three ſeveral Languages at *Bazil* in *Switzerland*, and were afterwards reprinted at *London*, Anno M. D. XCV. by W. I. in four different Languages. *For farther Satisfaction on this Head, the Reader is referred to the* Appendix in Articulo Diſcorſi di M. Guicciardino.

vare

vare con falſe teſtimonianze, & di poi confirmare per Sentenza che Giovanni per Natura frigido & impotente al coito.

In *Engliſh* thus;

But he could not, however, get rid of the Domeſtick Calamities with which his Family was harraſs'd, and which were attended with ſuch Tragical Examples of Lewdneſs and Cruelty, as are even held in Abhorrence among the moſt barbarous Nations: For, from the Beginning of his Pontificate, having determin'd to raiſe the Duke of *Gandia* his eldeſt Son to all the Temporal Grandeur he could; Cardinal *Valentine*, on this, as he was averſe to the Sacerdotal Profeſſion, and had naturally a vaſt Propenſity to War, ſo not being able to brook the Thoughts that he himſelf was, as he judged, ſupplanted therein by his Brother; and being, beſides, enraged that the ſaid elder Brother ſhould be his Rival in the Amour which he had with *his own Siſter* Lucretia, *and that he was her greateſt Favourite*: *Excited thus by Luſt and Ambition, thoſe powerful Prompters to every Kind of Wickedneſs, one Night, as* Gandia *was riding along the Streets of* Rome, *he cauſed him to be murder'd, and afterwards, his Body to be thrown privately into the* Tiber: *Beſides, there was a Report, (if ſuch an Enormity can be credited) that not only did the two Brothers commit Inceſt with their Siſter* Lucretia, *but* even the Father himſelf lay with her alſo; *and who, when raiſed to the Pontificate, took her forcibly away from her firſt Husband, not thinking him good enough for her, and ſo married her to* John Sforza, *Lord of* Peſaro: *but even then, not being able to bear that this other Husband ſhould be a Kind of Rival to him, he accordingly annulled the ſaid Marriage, which had been actually conſummated, having by falſe Witneſſes endeavour'd to prove, and made it be confirmed by certain Judges appointed by himſelf, that* John *was of a frigid Conſtitution, and Impotent.*

One of the Pope's chief Cares was, that *Lucretia* his Daughter might change Husbands as often as poſſible, becauſe, on their Deceaſe, he was ſure to ſeize on their Eſtates and Properties: Hence it was, that, ſhe being freed from her Matrimony with Don *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, in the barbarous Manner already related, and her Son provided with ſo opulent a State, who had two Cardinals appointed for his Governors, together

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with four inferior Tutors, the Pope, by Means of the King of *France*, was doing what he could to marry her to Don *Alfonſo* of *Eſte*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ferrara*, of whoſe Eſtate *Alexander* thought if he could afterwards uſurp it into his own Family, it would be a noble Security for Duke *Valentine*'s keeping Poſſeſſion of his other acquired Dominions within *Romagna* and *Tuſcany*, by which they had a Chance of becoming in Time Maſters of all *Italy*. In fine, one Way or other the *Borgians* got this Marriage concluded, altho' indeed it was very diſhonourable to the Family of *Eſte*: However, the chief Deſign of the latter in this, was, among ſo many Revolutions, to ſecure that Dominion, eſpecially ſince the Pope was in ſo ſtrict an Alliance with the King of *France*, who they thought would be a very powerful Protector of their Family.

On the News of this Marriage being concluded, 'tis ſcarcely to be believed how much Pleaſure the *Borgians* felt, nor the pompous Demonſtrations with which they expreſſed their Joy, Orders having been given to the Governor of the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, not to ceaſe firing their Cannon from Morning to Evening. Among other Things, Donna *Lucretia* herſelf, in the Habit of a Bride, went by Way of publick Cavalcade to the Church *del Populo*, to render the Virgin *Mary* Thanks for the Concluſion of her Marriage. In this Solemnity ſhe was attended by the chief Ladies and Nobility of *Rome*, and Multitudes of Biſhops and Prelates; on which Occaſion the Great Bell of the *Vatican* was rung, Bonefires and Illuminations made over the whole City, and in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, which Feaſtings were continued for ſeveral Days[1], and conſiderably augmented on the News of the taking of *Piombino*, which happen'd about that Time, and on *Valentine*'s Return after the Conqueſt of *Naples*; ſo that, among the other Diverſions, a Maſquerade was appointed to continue from *October* to the Beginning of *Lent*, and Races order'd to be run for ſome Time by Women, from the *Ponte* St. *Angelo* to the *Vatican*; Bull-Feaſts after the *Spaniſh* Manner were given, and Comedies every Night acted within the Pope's Palace, where

[1] For what relates to the Marriage of *Lucretia* with the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Reader is refer'd to Burchard. in his Diarium, p. 57. and to the Appendix, where the Whole is tranſcribed verbatim, as it is in the Original Latin. *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo de Matrimonio Lucretiæ Borgiæ cum Primogenito Ducis Ferrariæ.

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the Strolers were ſeen to ride up and down the Streets in Brocade Habits, given them by *Lucretia*, and as they paſs'd along, cry'd aloud [1], *Long live the Dutcheſs of* Ferrara, *Long live Pope* Alexander. A great deal of other Pageantry and even Lewdneſs was committed within the very Apartments of the Pope at that Time, which, *Burchardus*, *Alexander*'s Maſter of Ceremonies, mentions particularly in his *Journal of this Pope's Actions*: Among the reſt, there is that Paſſage in his *Diarium* about the Feaſt *Valentine* made for 50 Harlots within the Apoſtolick Palace: But as this Story is ſhocking to modeſt Ears, that we may not offend the Ladies, we chuſe to give it from [2] *Burchardus* in the Original *Latin*, it being too material for the diſplaying the Characters of this Pope and his Family, to be entirely omitted.

Dominica ultima Menſis Octobris in Sero fecerunt Cœnam cum Duce Valentinenſi in Camera ſua in Palatio Apoſtolico quinquaginta Meretrices Honeſtæ, Cortegianæ nuncupatæ quæ poſt Cœnam chorearunt cum Servitoribus & aliis ibidem exiſtentibus, primo in Veſtibus ſuis deinde nudæ. Poſt Cœnam poſita fuerunt Candelabra communia Menſæ cum Candelis ardentibus & projectæ ante Candelabra per Terram Caſtaneæ, quas Meretrices ipſæ ſuper Manibus & Pedibus nudæ Candelabra pertranſeuntes colligebant, Papa, Duce, & Lucretia Sorore ſua præſentibus & aſpicientibus: Tandem expoſita Dona ultimo, Diploides de Serico, Paria Caligarum, Bireta & alia, pro illis qui plures dictas Meretrices carnaliter agnoſcerent, quæ fuerunt ibidem in Aula publice carnaliter tractatæ arbitrio præſentium, & Dona diſtributa victoribus.

The ſame Maſter of Ceremonies, *Burchardus*, who it ſeems was an Eye-Witneſs of this deteſtable Scene of Lewdneſs, as he has given the aforeſaid particular Deſcription, he mentions likewiſe another of a more beaſtly, and, if poſſible, a more ſhocking Nature, which, for the above Reaſons, we ſhall give in his own Words [3] in *Latin*.

Feria quinta undecima Menſis Novembris intravit Urbem per Portam viridarii quidam Ruſticus ducens duas Equas Lignis oneratas, quæ cum eſſent in Plateola Sancti Petri, accurrerunt

[1] Burchard. Diar. p. 75.
[2] Ibid. p. 77. De Convivio quinquaginta Meretricum cum Duce Valentinenſi.
[3] Ibid.

ſtipendarii

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ſtipendarii Papæ inciſiſque Pectoralibus, & Lignis projectis in Terram cum Baſtis, duxerunt Equas ad illam Plateolam quæ eſt inter Palatium juxta illius Portam, tum emiſſi fuerunt quatuor Equi curſerii liberi ſuis Frœnis & Capiſtris ex Palatio, qui accurrerunt ad Equas, & inter ſe propterea cum magno Strepitu & Clamore, Morſibus & Calceis contendentes, aſcenderunt Equas & coierunt cum eis, & eas graviter piſtarunt & læſerunt, Papa in Feneſtra Cameræ ſupra Portam Palatii & Domina Lucretia cum eo exiſtente, cum magno Riſu & Delectatione præmiſſa videntibus.

While the *Borgians* were thus involv'd in Luxury and Lasciviouſneſs, Cardinal *d'Eſte*, with his two Brothers, came in a very pompous Manner to *Rome* to ſolemnize the Marriage with Donna *Lucretia*. The Number of Nobility and dignified Clergy which attended them was very [1] great: among others, he was accompanied by the Lord of *Correggio*, and his Son, alſo *Hannibal Bentivoglio*, and many others of Diſtinction. The Pope gave Orders to receive them with extraordinary Marks of Honour and Reſpect, and with a Kind of Regal Magnificence; for all the Officers of the Court were ſent to meet them, as did the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Spain*, and with them 200 of the Troops on Horſeback, and 100 Harbingers on Foot, beſides an innumerable Sight of other Servants, with Trumpets and Drums all richly apparel'd, and all of them in new rich Liveries.

Valentine, on meeting the Cardinal, condeſcended to put him on his Right Hand, in which Manner he was accompanied to the Pope's Palace; on whoſe Approach there, 20 Cardinals came out to meet him, by whom he was conducted to the Pope: It was however obſerv'd, *Valentine* would not grant the Precedency to the Cardinal's Brothers, nor the Foreign Ambaſſadors, the Princes of *Germany*, nor even, in the Jubilee Time, to Monſigneur *Bourbon* of the Royal Blood of *France*.

On the Arrival of theſe great Perſonages, the Pope, in Conſiſtory, diminiſh'd the Annual [2] Fee paid by the Dukes of *Ferrara* to the Church, reducing it only to 100 Crowns; and gave the Village of [3] *Lento*, and the Caſtle *della Pieve*, to-

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 119. [2] Burchard. Diar. p. 76. [3] Ibid. p. 87.

gether

gether with 10,000 Crowns in Specie, as Part of *Lucretia*'s Dowry, altho' to the two fore-mention'd Places he had no other Title but Uſurpation, ſince they were the Properties of the Chapter of the Clergy of *Bologna*.

[4] On the Day before the laſt of the old Year 1500, when the Maſquerades, Races, and other Diverſions were ended, Donna *Lucretia*, attended by a numerous Train of Gentlemen and Ladies, and placed in the Middle between *Ferdinand* and *Sigiſmond*, Princes of the *Eſte* Family, was conducted from her own Lodgings to the *Vatican* Palace. She was cloathed in Gold Brocade, having ſome young Ladies ſupporting her Train, accompanied by 50 others on Foot, and a Number of Waiting-Maids. On the Stairs of the *Vatican* Palace were placed a Number of Perſons with Trumpets and other Muſical Inſtruments, which they ſounded on their Approach: In this Manner they marched along towards the Great Hall of the Apoſtolick Palace, called *Paulina*, where the Pope, with 13 Cardinals and Duke *Valentine*, were waiting to receive them: There a Table was placed, on one Side of which ſat the Pope, over-againſt whom ſtood *Ferdinand*, the Bridegroom's Proxy, who advancing, put a Ring on the Bride's Finger; as in like Manner the Cardinal of *Eſte* going up to her, preſented her with four Rings,

[4] For the Reader's greater Satisfaction, I here ſubjoin Burchardus's Deſcription of the Solemnity of this Marriage, p. 79. ——— Feria quarta, nona Decembris, Tibicines & omnia Muſicorum Inſtrumenta, parata in Plano ſuper Scalas S. Petri, inceperunt magna vehementia ſonare, ſinguli Inſtrumenta ſua propè Domum Dominæ Lucretiæ juxta Baſilicam S. Petri, exivit ipſa Domina Lucretia in Veſtibus Brocati Auri circumdatis more Hiſpanico cum longa Cauda, quam quædam Puellæ deferrebant: Ipſa Domina Lucretia media inter Ferdinandum à dextris & Sigiſmundum à ſiniſtris Fratres Mariti ſui; ſequebantur circiter quinquaginta Romanæ pulchrè Veſtitæ, & poſt illas pediſſeque Dominæ Lucretiæ, & aſcenderunt ad primam Aulam Paulinam ſuper Portam Palatii, ubi erat Papa, cum 13 Cardinalibus ac Duce Valentinenſi; finito Sermone fuit poſita ante Papam quædam Menſa ſive Tabula, ad quam acceperunt Ferdinandus Frater & Procurator Sponſi, & Domina Lucretia cui ipſe Ferdinandus Procuratorio nomine Fratris ſui impoſuit quemdam Annulum Aurium ſive Gemmam; apportati deinde fuerunt per Cardinalem Eſtenſem etiam Fratrem Sponſi, quatuor alii Annuli magni valoris, & apportata una capſa ſuper dictam Menſam poſita & de mandato Prædicti Cardinalis aperta, qui extraxit ex ea multa Collaria ſive Torques pulcherrimis Lapidibus pretioſis & margaritis ornatos. Item quatuor pulcherrimæ Cruces, &c. — quæ æſtimata ad * * Ducatos, oblata Sponſæ per Cardinalem Eſtenſem verbis ornatiſſimis; his factis retraxit ſe Papa ad ſequentem Aulam ſive Cameram Paulinam, quem ſecuta eſt Domina Lucretia cum Mulieribus & multis aliis, & manſerunt in Palatio uſque ad duodecimam Horam Noctis vel circa, Cardinalis & alii qui voluerunt receſſerunt.

ſet with very coſtly Diamonds, and placing a ſmall Box on the Table, out of it he took ſundry Diamonds, Necklaces, ſeveral Bracelets of large Pearls, and four beautiful Croſſes, with other Things of Price, in all amounting to the Value of 100,000 Crowns [1] and upwards, which were given in a Preſent to the Bride, deſiring ſhe would, in the mean time, be pleaſed to accept of theſe, as a Mark of his own Reſpect towards her, ſince the Bridegroom intended, within a little while, to offer her ſome other Things of the like Nature, but of more Value, and conſequently more proportionate to her Merit.

When this Solemnity was over, the Pope retired to another Hall, after whom follow'd Donna *Lucretia*, accompanied with a numerous Train of Ladies: in the Evening Balls and other Diverſions were made, which laſted till twelve o'Clock at Night; Fire-Works were alſo played off on the Area before St. *Peter*'s Church.

As the Pomp and Splendor of the Marriage was moſt extravagant, in like Manner was the Ceremony of delivering *Lucretia* over to her new Husband, and the Grandeur of her Attendance in her Journey to *Ferrara*, on which Occaſion the Cardinal of [2] *Coſenza* was made Legate *a latere*, on Purpoſe to accompany her in that Character. *Valentine*'s Guards eſcorted her on the Road, and Orders were given, that, as ſhe paſſed *Peſaro*, and other Towns of his Dominion in *Romagna*, ſhe ſhould be received with extraordinary Grandeur, as indeed ſhe was; and alſo on her Arrival within the Territory of *Ferrara*, having been met by the old Dutcheſs, and a numerous Retinue, on the Confines of that Dutchy: However, *Valentine* and the Cardinal of *Eſte* returned to *Rome*; and whereas this was in the Time of *Lent*, the Pope diſpenſed with the Duties of Devotion, uſually perform'd on that Time, till *Midlent* [3] *Sunday*, on Purpoſe that they might not interrupt the Rejoicings and Feaſtings made on Occaſion of this Marriage [4].

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 193.

[2] Burchard. Diar. p. 86. Tom. Tom. ſays *Franciſco Borgia* was the Legate a latere; but in this he miſtakes.

[3] Dominica Lætare, Midlent Sunday, Burch. p. 87.

[4] See all the Pageantry of *Lucretia*'s Journey to *Ferrara* deſcrib'd by Burch. p. 86, 87.

But

But amidſt this great Joy ſome very Tragical Events happen'd, occaſion'd by the Reſentment of ſeveral private Perſons, who found themſelves and Families ſo grievouſly oppreſs'd by the *Borginn* Tyranny, and whoſe ſuing for a Revenge on their Oppreſſors, ſerv'd for no other Purpoſe but to precipitate their own Ruin: Among the reſt, it chanced that in the Maſquerade Time a certain Perſon in Diſguiſe encounter'd *Valentine* in the Streets, againſt whom he vented ſome Satirical and cutting Expreſſions, on which he was immediately ſeized and led to Priſon, where, that ſame Evening, *Borgia* order'd one of his [1] Hands to be chopt off, and the fore-part of his Tongue to be cut out of his Mouth, and the ſame to be tied to the little Finger of his Hand, and placed on one of the Grates of the Window of the Priſon, ſo that for two full Days it was expoſed in this Manner to publick View, tho' they concealed the Perſon who was guilty of the Miſdemeanour.

At the ſame Time it happen'd that the Pope and *Valentine* got private Information that one *Giovanni Lorenzo* a *Venetian*, a Perſon famous for Learning, had wrote ſeveral Satires againſt the *Borgians* in *Greek*, whoſe Brother ſent Tranſlations thereof to *Venice*: On which, Orders were given to ſeize him, his Effects and Writings; and accordingly it was done, Notice of which being given to the Senate of *Venice*, they immediately ſent Orders to their Ambaſſadors at *Rome* to intercede with the Pope for his Liberty, and that his Goods and Effects might be reſtored. To which the Pope anſwer'd, *That he did not imagine the Republick of* Venice *had the Concerns of the Priſoner ſo much at Heart, and was ſorry he could not comply with their Demand, becauſe the Perſon for whom they interceded was already, by his Orders, put to Death; ſo that their Interceſſion was come too late*: And indeed ſo it was, for the poor unfortunate Man had been order'd to be ſtrangled, and thrown into the *Tiber* [2].

[1] Not only Tom. Tomaſi gives us the Account of this horrid Cruelty, p. 197. but alſo Burchard. in his Diar. p. 78, 79. *whoſe Words are thus*—— Eadem die ſerò quidam Maſcheratus uſus eſt per Burgum quibuſdam verbis inhoneſtis contra Ducem Valentinum, quod Dux intelligens fecit eum capi & duci ad curiam S. Crucis, & circa nonam Noctis fuit ei abſciſſa Manus & anterior pars Linguæ, quæ fuit appenſa parvo Digito Manus abſciſſæ, & Manus ipſa Feneſtra curiæ S. Crucis appenſa, ubi manet ad ſecundam Diem.

[2] Not only is this other Piece of barbarous Cruelty on *Gio. Lorenzo* related by Tom. Tomaſ. p. 197 to 199. but by Burchard. Diar. p. 87, 88.

Some

Some few Days after an anonymous Letter was privately handed about at *Rome*, directed to one *Silvius Savelli*, who, together with the reſt of that Illuſtrious Family, had taken Sanctuary in *Germany*. This Letter was dated from the *Spaniſh* Camp before *Tarento*, a Copy of which, among the others, came into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Modena*, the Pope's Datary, and by him was ſhewn to the Pope and *Valentine*: And as this Letter is printed in *Burchardus*'s *Diarium*, and in *Tomaſo Tomaſi*, from the former I have tranſcrib'd it verbatim, and have given it in the [1] Appendix to this Work, which may be peruſed; tho', for the Satisfaction of the *Engliſh* Reader, I here ſubjoin a Tranſlation thereof, done with as much Exactneſs as I could, and with as much Juſtice in the Tranſlation, as the Phraſeology of our Language can admit of. It is as follows:

To the Noble Lord SILVIUS SAVELLI, at the Court of the moſt Serene King of the *Romans*.

Noble LORD,

WE have been inform'd by Letters from our Friends, that ſome time ago, by the Perfidiouſneſs and Wickedneſs of the Pope, and no Crime of your own, your Effects have been plunder'd, and your whole Eſtate expoſed to publick Sale; and that by flying from Rome *you had eſcaped the Fury and Rage of thoſe Robbers: We, as Duty required, lamented and regretted your Misfortunes; however, amongſt ſo many Evils, it rejoiced us to hear that you had got ſafe into* Germany, *and was kindly received there by the Emperor. But when we underſtood that you had procured recommendatory Letters, and Friends to intercede with the Pope, that your Eſtate might be entirely reſtored to you; this gave us Occaſion to be extremely ſurprized that your Diſcretion ſhould give Way to your Credulity in this Affair, or indeed, if you will allow us to ſpeak plainly, to your Weakneſs, in hoping that he who is a Traitor to*

[1] *Vid.* Appendix in Articulo Epiſtola Magnifico Domino Silvio de Sabellis.

Mankind,

Mankind, and has ſpent a Life contaminated with Whoredom and Rapine, in deceiving the World, will, or can, do any juſt Action, unleſs compell'd by Fear and Force. No, you are wrong, my dear Friend, and will find yourſelf extremely deceived, if ever you expect Peace from ſuch a monſtrous Head of the Church; and ſince you have been betray'd, ſent into Exile, and deliver'd up to Deſtruction, for no other Cauſe but his Covetouſneſs and Treachery, you cannot bring this eternal War betwixt you to a Concluſion, but by Hoſtilities eternally maintain'd againſt him. You muſt, therefore, attempt other Methods, and expoſe this publick Plague to the Emperor, and the reſt of the Princes of the Empire, with all the Havock committed by ſo infamous and ſavage a Monſter, to the Deſtruction of the Chriſtian Commonwealth: Let them know his deteſtable Crimes, perpetrated in Contempt of God, and to the Subverſion of Religion, ſo atrocious, ſo outragious, that it puzzles the Wit of Man to deſcribe them.

Theſe Things ought to be related at publick the Diet, and Aſſemblies of the Princes; and printed, and Numbers of Copies put into every Bodies Hands, and diſpers'd thro' the World. It is a Folly to complain of Mahomet, *the old Enemy of the Chriſtian Religion, for ſeducing vaſt Multitudes, and making them deviate from the Faith, ſince this new* Mahomet, *by a Complication of all Kinds of Iniquity, has infinitely out-done the former, and by his flagrant Vices conſumed the ſmall Remains of Chriſtianity: Let them know that Anti-Chriſt, ſo often foretold by the Prophets, is now come into the World; for never was there Man born, or imagin'd, that could be a more manifeſt Enemy to Chriſt, or a greater Subverter of our Faith and Religion. Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, which by the antient Decrees of our Holy Fathers, were to be conferred upon eminent Men, for the Good of Souls, are now diſpoſed of by open Sale, and only beſtow'd upon thoſe who publickly purchaſe them for the moſt Money; ſo that any one may now go to the Pope's Palace, and buy the Chriſtian Myſteries with Gold. There ſtands the Cardinal of* Modena, *his Miniſter of Iniquity, that Seller of Benefices, conſtituted his Holineſs's Commiſſioner for raiſing Money to ſatiate the Pope's Avarice; there he ſtands, like* Cerberus *at the Gate of Hell, barking at Paſſengers, and moſt impudently examining every one as he arrives, how much he brings with him? If he proves Rich and Wealthy, Ad-*

miſſion is immediately granted; but the Door is ſhut againſt the Poor with bitter Reproaches. Every Thing is now vendible with his Holineſs, as Dignities, Honours, Matrimony, diſſolving Marriages, Divorces, breaking Marriage Contracts, and many other Particulars, neither known to our Anceſtors, nor conſiſtent with Chriſtianity; new Doctrines, new Principles, to the great affronting of our Saviour, are allow'd to be ſpread barefacedly among the People. Nor is there any Kind of Wickedneſs which does not now reign at Rome, *and within the Pope's own Apartments; where the* Tartars *are out-done in Thieving, the* Carthaginians *in Treachery and Deceit,* Nero *and* Caligula *in Riot and Cruelty. To enumerate all the Slaughters, Rapines, Whoredoms, and Inceſts there committed, would be a difficult and never-ending Task. That noble Youth* Alphonſus *of* Arragon, *how barbarouſly was he butchered, and in a Manner twice murdered, and* —— Perotus *ſlain in his Arms? How was the once reverend Sanctity of the* Vatican *thereby polluted with Blood, while the very Courtiers themſelves were under ſuch a Dread and Conſternation, that they fled and abandon'd the Palace? It would take a long time to particularize the others who have been wounded, murdered, thrown alive into the* Tyber, *or ſent out of the World by Poiſon, and tho' the Number of which is in a manner infinite, yet the Evil ſtill encreaſes; and, in fine, he has not even ſpared thoſe, who by their Authority and Merit, excelled others: there is not now a private Perſon in* Rome *without his Fears for himſelf and Family. Who can, without trembling, deſcribe that monſtrous Lewdneſs, which, in Contempt of the Reverence due to God and Man, is openly exerciſed within the Pope's own Palace? What Whoredoms? what Inceſts? what Filthineſs of his Sons and Daughters? what Troops and Concourſe of Strumpets and Panders ſwarm this Time in St.* Peter's *Palace? How many Stews? how many Brothels?*

On the firſt of November, *a Day dedicated for celebrating the Solemn Feſtival of all the Saints, no leſs than* 50 *City Whores were invited to an Entertainment within the* Vatican; *a moſt ſhocking and abominable Spectacle!* [1] Et ut ad irritandum Exempla non deeſſent, actitata eſt ſequentibus Diebus in publicum Spectaculum Equa, quæ ſpectante cum Filiis Pontifice intromiſſos

[1] This Paſſage, as it will not bear the modeſt Eye nor Ear of the fair Sex, I hope the Reader will excuſe me for not rendering it into Engliſh.

admiſſarios

admiſſarios nimio Veneris Ardore concitatos in Furorem & Rabiem converteret.

What Sums of Gold have not been extorted with the utmoſt Rapacity from all Chriſtendom, *to ſupport the Luxury of the Pope's Children? For the better effecting this, a War is proclaimed againſt the* Turks, *ſolemn Prayers appointed in all the Churches of* Rome, *Indulgences and Pardons for Sin ſold in every Foreign City; and all this, only a Contrivance how he might raiſe the vaſt Sums neceſſary for loading his Daughter with Gold and Jewels, that ſhe might carry off with her the Pomp and Tribute of the Church to her Husband, by an unheard-of and unprecedented Piece of Luxury, whence he might be in a Capacity to make War upon antient Free Cities, and Rightful Princes. The old Inhabitants he has forced from their Poſſeſſions; the greateſt Part of the* Roman *Nobility he has driven into Exile; the antient Lords of* Latium *he has deprived of their Properties and Eſtates, that on their Ruins his inceſtuous Brood of Children and Grand-Children, ſome of whom are yet Infants in their Cradles, might be raiſed to Wealth and Kingdoms. Who is a Stranger to the Deſtruction of the Province of* Romagna? *Who is ignorant of the Calamities of* Imola *and* Forli? Faenza *has been taken by Storm,* Rimini *and* Peſaro *ſubdued, and their Biſhops expelled and driven out: To theſe has he join'd* Ceſena, Fano, *and* Bertinoro, *all Cities belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Patrimony, and ſever'd from it by the Pope, to erect a new Dominion, wherein his Son, the very Likeneſs of his Father, may have a Field wide enough for Plunder and Deſtruction: And who, in the mean time, having greater Matters in View, was forming a War againſt the States of* Camerino *and* Urbin, *ſo that by conquering theſe Places he might the better, with the Pope's Concurrence, poſſeſs himſelf of the whole* Marca d'Ancona; *and at laſt, when every Body was undone, ſeize upon all the Rights of the Church and Empire: for we are told the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate are already in his Hands, as* Spoleto, Civita-Vecchia, Iſola, Nepi, Terracina; *and the Caſtle of St.* Angelo *garriſon'd by his Forces. In fine, Matters are come to ſuch a paſs, that every Thing is govern'd by his Pleaſure, who does not act in his Dominions like a Prince and Protector, but like an open Enemy, waſting and turning every Thing upſide-down: in this only acknowledg'd and belov'd by his Father, for being like himſelf in committing*

mitting Cruelty and Villainy upon every Body, ſo that it is difficult to judge which of the two is the moſt deteſtable Production of Nature. Laſt Year marching with an Army into Romagna, *he deſtroy'd and ravag'd the Cities belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical State, as if it had been in an Enemy's Country; at length, having plunder'd and robb'd a great Number of Towns there, he came to* Faenza. *In this Expedition,* Umbria, *Part of the* Marca d'Ancona, *and all* Romagna, *were laid waſte; and that his Return might be of the ſame Piece, he firſt led his Army againſt* Piombino, *and then to the City of* Florence, *where all Things being in Tranquillity, and the* Florentines *under no Apprehenſions from his Approach, he gave his Soldiers leave to plunder for ſeveral Days, and a full Liberty to rob, ſteal, and ſpoil as much as they pleaſed; ſo that they, following the Example of their good Commander, filled every Place with Rapines, Rapes, Bloodſhed, Murder, Fire, and Sword. This Miſchief, like a contagious Diſtemper, ſpred itſelf among the People he had conquered, ſo that* Todi, Viterbo, Rieti, *and* Tivoli, *all Places of Note, finding no Opportunity of making War upon their Neighbours, or rather a Pretence for plundering, turned their own Arms upon themſelves, where the Factions inflamed and prompted by this Duke, and encouraged by the Licentiouſneſs of the Times, ſlaughter'd their Adverſaries, and filled all Places with Death and Deſolation, a vaſt Number of their Fellow-Citizens being thus cut off. In the mean time the good Pontiff, being entirely abandon'd to the Proſecution of his Luſts, was procuring Gems and Jewels every where for putting off his Daughter to a Husband loaded with unheard-of Riches, and by which her Father had ſo far gain'd her Affections as to make her conſent in a Crime not to be mention'd: and ſo much was he from diſcountenancing and puniſhing any Kind of Wickedneſs, that he openly prompted and encouraged People in the Practice of it, that by their Means he might diſtreſs and exterminate thoſe he had baniſh'd as his Adverſaries, and who were attach'd to the Intereſt of the Emperor; and having moſt injuriouſly confiſcated and ſold their Eſtates, might, upon the Ruins of their Fortunes, eſtabliſh Principalities for his inceſtuous Offspring. The Cardinals are ſilent, if there are any among them of better Principles, for the moſt powerful being partly driven away, and partly oppreſs'd, none remain who dare ſo much as whiſper againſt theſe Things; and others, who have raiſed themſelves infamouſly by their Crimes, and their Gold, &c. keep Poſſeſſion of that high Dignity by Flattery:*

They

They favour and fawn upon the Pope; they praiſe and admire him, yet are all afraid, and terribly dread that Fratricide his Son, who from a Cardinal is become an Aſſaſſin: By his Will and Nod every Thing is tranſacted, while, like the Turk *loſt in a Herd of Harlots, he is guarded by armed Men: By his Command and Decree, whoever he wills are killed, wounded, and thrown into the* Tyber, *or made away with by Poiſon,* &c. *their Goods and Effects at Home and Abroad ſeized and confiſcated: the Hunger after them is ſatiated only with Rapine, their Thirſt for them with human Blood: For fear of theſe cruel Outrages, the nobleſt Families of* Rome *have been obliged to leave that City, the beſt of the Inhabitants to abſcond, and, unleſs ſo many Evils are remedied as ſoon as poſſible by the Emperor, every Mortal will think of abandoning* Rome, *and of making their Eſcape in the beſt Manner they can. O horrid Poſture of Affairs! O deteſtable Times! how much degenerated from that antient Sanctity of the Popes! how much gone aſide from Juſtice! Scarcely will Poſterity believe that this Torch has thrown out ſuch Flames for conſuming Mankind. While the Chriſtian Princes are deliberating in what Manner the State of Religion may be enlarged, how can they pretend to make War on the* Turks *and* Arabians, *if this Domeſtick Fire is not firſt extinguiſh'd, which, in the Time of* Charles VIII. *and during his Variance with* Alphonſus, *inflamed the Pope himſelf to ſollicit, by many Promiſes, theſe Infidels to land* 6000 *Horſe in* Apulia? *Was it then for this End that Vows were made by ſo many famous Princes of old, for defending and propagating the Chriſtian Religion, and recovering* Jeruſalem, *which coſt the Champions of the Chriſtian Republick ſo great an Effuſion of Blood, ſo much Labour and Toil? Was it for this End, I ſay, that* Roderick Borgia, *the moſt deteſtable and deepeſt Sink of Iniquity that ever liv'd, having purchaſed the Pontificate by his Crimes, ſhould turn all Divine and Human Laws upſide-down? Let then the Princes lend a helping Hand for ſupporting their falling Religion, and bring the Bark of St.* Peter, *toſt now amidſt a Tempeſt, within a ſafe Harbour: Let them reſtore Juſtice and Tranquillity to* Rome, *and remove out of the Way this common Peſt, born for the Deſtruction of the Chriſtian Republick; by doing which they may eſtabliſh a great Example, that good Men may for the future live quietly, and ſecurely enjoy their Fortunes. All theſe Things,* Silvius, *which are too true, being reduced into the Form of an Oration, you muſt boldly recite with an*

andible Voice, in ſome publick Diet of the Princes; or, if that cannot be well effected, at ſome great Eccleſiaſtical Solemnity; then muſt the Whole be committed to Writing, and given them to read, and alſo tranſmitted to the abſent Kings. Farewel then, and remember you are a Roman *and our Friend; again we bid you Farewel.*

Dated at *Tarento*, from the Royal Camp, the 15th of *November*.

Altho' the Pope and *Valentine* had this keen Satire read to them, and tho' it pierced their hardned and obdurate Hearts with Anguiſh and Rage, and enflamed them to a Kind of Madneſs, finding they were the Abhorrence of Mankind, yet theſe publick and heavy Accuſations made, however, no [1] profitable Impreſſion on their Minds, being, in ſpight of all Kinds of Admonitions, incorrigably intent on Miſchief, diſregarding and trampling under Foot all Manner of Fear of the Divine Juſtice, or Regard to their own Characters among Mankind, deſpiſing even common Decency in their Actions, ſordid Intereſt and ſenſual Pleaſures being their ſole Views, in order to eſtabliſh to themſelves a Power which ſhould be formidable to every one.

The Pope alſo, the better to proſecute an Offenſive War againſt all thoſe he thought fit to account his Enemies, made a Propoſal to King *Frederick*, to purchaſe of him the Arms and Artillery he had carried along with him to *Iſchia*; and which he acccordingly bought for [2] 14,000 Crowns, tho' they were judg'd worth 50,000; ſo that thoſe Arms were likewiſe brought to *Rome*, and diſpoſed of as the Pontiff and *Valentine* thought proper: And having, moreover, got Intelligence that the Family *Colonna*, before they had abandon'd their Eſtates, had hid the beſt Part of their Artillery and Arms under Ground ſomewhere in their own Territory, that thereby they might not come into their Enemies Hands, and in Hopes that in Time they might recover them for their own Uſe: Hereupon the Pope determin'd to go thither in Perſon, accompanied by the Cardinals *Eſte*, *Coſenza*, and *Borgia*; where,

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 213.

[2] Ibid. p. 214.

by

by Force of [1] Impriſonments, Tortures, and threatned Death, he extorted from the Peaſants a Confeſſion where the Artillery had been hid; after which he cauſed them to be dug up, and carried to *Rome*, with which Spoil he enter'd that City in a triumphant Manner.

Being thus provided with Arms, *Alexander* and his Son *Borgia* reſolv'd to make a Voyage to *Piombino*, and viſit the other Towns they had uſurp'd from *Appiano* the rightful Sovereign there; and this to be by Way of taking regular Poſſeſſion of their new Dominion, and to provide the Towns there with Arms, that they might be at Hand for their Service, when a proper Opportunity offer'd for invading *Tuſcany*: Accordingly they prepared for this Voyage, and ſet out with all the Pomp and Solemnity they thought becoming the Occaſion.

When every Thing was in a Readineſs, they accordingly embarked within the Harbour of *Corneto*, where ſix Gallies were attending his Holineſs's coming; in whoſe Retinue were the following Cardinals, namely, *Palavicino*, *Orſino*, *Coſenza*, *Sanſeverino*, *Eſte*, *Borgia*, and with them *Valentine*, a Number of Prelates, a Multitude of other Perſons of Note, Servants and Attendants. The firſt Night they arrived at *Piombino*, at which Place they tarried ſeveral Days: The People of the Country having been ſummon'd to come thither, to ſwear Allegiance, and do Homage to *Valentine* as their lawful Sovereign: Part of their Time was ſpent in viſiting the other Villages of that Territory: Then they went to the Iſland of *Elba*, where they tarried one Night; afterwards came back and reviewed the Fortifications, and order'd Matters about them. Another Part of their Time was ſpent in Eccleſiaſtical Functions, the chief of which was a Chapel held (as they term'd it) on the third *Sunday* of *Lent*, where Cardinal *Coſenza* celebrated Maſs, at which the Pope aſſiſted Pontifically; when this was over they abandon'd themſelves to their Pleaſures, and all Manner of Diverſions, for which End they convened a Number of the handſomeſt [2] young

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 215.

[2] This Circumſtance Burchardus, Diar. p. 88. relates thus——Intellexi veridica Relatione, quod in Piumbino Papa facit fieri publicè in Platea ante Palatium ſuum Choream per omnes pulchras Mulieres & Puellas quæ in Caſtro erant ad plures horas, & quod major pars eorum qui cum Papa ibidem fuerunt *comederunt Carnes*, ſimiliter eundo & redeundo in omnibus locis.

Women of the Place, who danc'd before his Holineſs, and perform'd other Kinds of Merriment, after the Faſhion of that Country; and where, tho' it was *Lent* Time, the Pope and all his Company were obſerv'd to make no manner of Scruple to eat Fleſh; and the better to gain over the Inhabitants to their Intereſts, and that a Report of their great Liberality might be ſpread about, there were ſuch Feaſtings and Prodigality uſed as almoſt ſurpaſſes Belief. Here *Valentine* held ſeveral Conferences about getting the Dominion of *Piſa* into his own Hands; however, it happen'd, that thoſe who were employ'd to effect this, were the very Inſtruments of ruining the Project, and threw ſuch Rubs in the Way, as that, to the great Mortification of the *Borgians*, the Affair was render'd abortive.

After this, the Pope embark'd and ſet out on his Return to *Rome*, but the Wind turning contrary, he could not proceed in his Voyage, ſo was forced to lie five whole Nights aboard the Gallies at Sea, where Proviſions began to be very ſcarce; more than that, there aroſe ſuch a furious Tempeſt, that tho' they were a conſiderable Diſtance from the Shore, they durſt not make in for Land, but were toſſed about in a very terrible Manner, not without the utmoſt Danger of being ſhipwreck'd; beſides moſt of the Pope's Retinue aboard were ſadly diſtreſſed with Sickneſs and Fear, every Thing being in the utmoſt Confuſion and Danger; tho' it was obſerved, that none of the Paſſengers kept up their Spirits ſo well as *Alexander* himſelf, who, in the Middle of the Storm, was ſtill above Deck, tho' unable to do any Thing, but ſit in his Arm-Chair, and every now and then to caſt the Sign of the Croſs, and invoke the Name of [1] *Jeſus*. At length, with much ado, they made the Harbour of *Port-Hercule*, and got on Shore, where Horſes were ſent from *Corneto*, to carry them homewards by Land, at which Place *Valentine*, in another Galley, was juſt arrived. From thence, by ſhort Journies, they all got to *Civita-Vechia* and *Paolo*, then to *Rome*, after near a Month's Abſence.

About the ſame Time the Prince *d'Alberet* of *Navar* arrived at *Rome*, with his two Brothers, who, as they were *Valentine*'s Brothers-in-Law, met with a very diſtinguiſhing Reception.

Before this, ſuch Revolutions happen'd within the Kingdom of *Naples*, as had produced very remarkable Effects, occaſion'd

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 218.

by

by a Diſcord which aroſe between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Generals, about the Diviſion of that Kingdom; wherein the one, as has already been related, had the Provinces of *Lavoro* and *Abruzzo* allotted him, the other *Puglia* and *Calabria*; but in making the ſaid Diviſion, the Limits of theſe Provinces had not been well ſettled or underſtood by the different Parties, ſo it happen'd both laid Claim to a particular [1] Diſtrict called *il-Capitanato*: The Reaſon of their mutual Pretenſions on that Country, was, becauſe *Alphonſus*, the firſt *Arragoneſe* King of *Naples*, for the better raiſing the Revenues of the Provinces, had changed their old Names, dividing the Whole into theſe ſix, namely, *Terra-di-Lavoro*, *Principato*, *Baſilicata*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and *Abruzzo*. *Puglia* was ſubdivided into three Parts, *viz.* *Terra-d'Otranto*, *Terra-di-Bari*, and *Capitanato*; which laſt being contiguous to *Abruzzo*, and ſeparated from the reſt of *Puglia*, by the River *Lofanto*; the *French* having no Regard to the modern Names, pretended that *Capitanato* was not included in the four Provinces, or if it was, that it rather belong'd to *Abruzzo* than *Puglia*. This they alledged, not ſo much on Account of the Value they had for that Country, as becauſe, if they had it not, they would loſe a conſiderable Revenue ariſing from the Tax on Cattle: Beſides, in Years of Scarcity of Grain, if *Abruzzo* and *Terra-di-Lavoro* ſhould want Corn, and they ſhould not have it in their Power to ſupply them from thence, it would be a vaſt Diſadvantage to thoſe Provinces, and reduce them to great Extremities; eſpecially if ever the *Spaniards* ſhould hinder them from being ſupplied from *Puglia* and *Sicily*.

The *Spaniards*, on the other Hand, denied that *Capitanato* by any Means belong'd to the *French*, becauſe the Extent of *Abruzzo* terminating with the Mountains, did not therefore include the low Grounds beyond it: Beſides that, in the Diviſion of Places, the modern Names are more to be regarded than the antient: On Account of this Difference, for the firſt Year both Parties condeſcended to ſhare mutually the Revenues of the aforeſaid Diſtrict; but the Year following, new Animoſities on that Account ariſing between the reſpective Generals, eſpe-

[1] For what regards this Difference between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Generals, about the Diviſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Reader is referred to Guicciardin, Lib. V. p. 140, 141.

cially on the Part of *Conſalvo* the *Spaniſh* Commander, he not only claimed a Right for his Maſter to all the *Capitanato*, but likewiſe to *Baſilicato*, ſaying the latter Diſtrict was included in *Calabria*, which was ſubdivided into *Citra & Ultra*; nay, more than that, pretended that all *Val-di-Benevento*, in the *French* Dominion, was alſo a Part of *Puglia*, and accordingly ſent his Subſtitutes to hold Courts of Juſtice in *Tripalda*, a Village two Miles from *Avellino*, where the *French* Officers reſided.

Theſe Contentions were very troubleſome to moſt of the Barons of the Kingdom, who were forced every now-and-then to be Mediators between the ſaid *Conſalvo* for *Spain*, and the *French* Vice-Roy, *Lewis d'Ormignacca*, Duke of *Nemors*; where, by Means of the Mediators, *Lewis* at *Melfi*, and *Conſalvo* at *Atella*, Treaties for ſome Months were held, for adjuſting this knotty Affair with one another, and where the two diſcordant Generals had Perſonal Interviews; but at no rate could the Matter be made up, ſo that they reſolv'd, however, to wait for the Determination of their reſpective Kings, and until they receiv'd their mutual Inſtructions from the Courts of their Sovereigns, no Alteration was to be made in Affairs.

But in the mean time the *French* Vice-Roy, being puffed up on Account of his Superiority in Number of Troops, thought it adviſeable not to regard what he had ſo lately agreed upon with *Conſalvo*; and accordingly declared War againſt the *Spaniards*, in caſe they would not immediately reſign their Pretenſions to all *Capitanato*. On this, he order'd his Troops to make an Incurſion on the *Spaniards* Ground, as far as *Tripalda*, from which Time, namely the 19th of *June*, the War actually begun [1] between theſe two Powers, and which was vigorouſly proſecuted by the *French*, who, without any Heſitation, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Towns within the *Capitanato*, and many others held by the *Spaniards*; which Proceeding of the Vice-Roy was highly approved by the King of *France*, who, altho' he hear'd the *Spaniards* were willing to yield up the *Capitanato*; yet that would not ſatisfy *Lewis*, whoſe Mind was entirely bent on proſecuting the War, and accordingly ſent [2] 2000 *Swiſs* thither by Sea. At the ſame time he took the Princes of

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 141. [2] Ibid.

Salerno

1

Salerno and *Biſignano* into his Service, and under his Pay, together with ſundry other conſiderable Barons of that Kingdom: And for the better carrying on his Deſigns this Way, *Lewis* came to *Lions*, which, as being the moſt contiguous Town in *France* to *Italy*, there he deſigned to make the neceſſary Proviſions for carrying on the War of *Naples*, propoſing to himſelf to be in a ſhort Time in Poſſeſſion of that whole Kingdom, not being, as we have ſaid, contented with having reſigned up to him the Places in Diſpute: For he determin'd, if Need was, to come to *Italy* in Perſon, which he was very ſoon obliged to, on Account of new Troubles and Revolutions in *Tuſcany*, occaſion'd by *Vitellozzo*, *Gian-Pagolo Baglione*, and the *Orſini*, who all of them had contrived, with the particular Aſſiſtance of *Pandolpho Petrucci*, to get *Pietro de Medicis* reinſtated in his former Dignity within *Florence*; the original Cauſe of which was thus:

Gulielmo de Pazzi, the *Florentine* Commiſſary in *Arezzo*, having got private Intelligence, that ſome of the Citizens there held a fraudulent Correſpondence with *Vitellozzo*, in Prejudice of the Republick, and by whom they were excited to revolt from their Government, was reſolved to put a Stop to this, and cruſh it in its Infancy: However, as he judg'd the Diſaffection was not univerſal, ſo he imagin'd the Authority of the Republick was of itſelf ſufficient to quell the Sedition: Accordingly he [1] impriſon'd two of the chief Ringleaders of the deſign'd Conſpiracy; but this had the Effect to make the Rebellion break ſooner out than otherwiſe it would; for the Inhabitants finding the above-mention'd Perſons were ſeiz'd, they roſe up in a tumultuous Manner, and publickly [2] renounc'd their Allegiance to the *Florentine* Government, recover'd the two Priſoners out of the Commiſſary's Hands, and threw, not only him, but the other Magiſtrates of the City, into Gaol; after which the Rebels run promiſcuouſly to and fro thro' the Streets, crying out, *Liberty*, *Liberty*; ſo that no Part of the City remain'd in the Poſſeſſion of the *Florentines*, except the Citadel, in which, at the Beginning of the Tumult, [3] *Coſmus*, Biſhop of that Place, the Governor's Son, had taken Shelter.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 141. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

After

After this, the *Aretines* ſent for *Vitellozzo* to their Aſſiſtance; but he, inſtead of being rejoiced at the News of their Rebellion, ſeem'd very much concern'd that they had manag'd their Affairs ſo ill, as to revolt before the preciſe Time concerted between them, finding Matters were not ripe for making Head againſt the *Florentines*: However, he judg'd it neceſſary not to refuſe their Demand, and accordingly march'd thither with his own Company of Men at Arms, and a good Number of Foot brought from *Citta-di-Caſtello.* On his Arrival *Gian Pagolo Baglione* from *Perugia*, and *Pandolpho Petrucci* from *Siena*, ſent the *Aretines* [1] Money to enable them the better to proceed in their Enterprize. A few Days after *Vitellozzo* went from *Arezzo*, and came back to *Citta-di-Caſtello*, but his Troops he left in the former Place, with a ſtrict Charge to the Inhabitants and Soldiers to block up the Citadel, whereby the Enemy might have no Opportunity to get a Correſpondence and Communication with the Town; and on his Departure, he promis'd to return to *Arezzo* furniſh'd with conſiderable Reinforcements.

On the other Hand, the *Florentines* not conſidering of how great Importance it was to ſuppreſs this Rebellion in the Beginning, appear'd but ſlow in ſending their Forces for recovering the Place, having imagin'd the Town ſo very inconſiderable, that the few Troops in its Neighbourhood were ſufficient to quell the Sedition: which Negligence and Tardineſs being obſerv'd by *Vitellozzo*, he took freſh Courage; and having been well recruited, and his Number of Troops augmented, returned to *Arezzo.* After him came *Gian-Pagolo Baglione*, *Fabio*, *Pagolo-Orſini*'s Son, the Cardinal, and *Pietro de Medicis*, and with them their whole Forces; where, having got Artillery from *Siena*, they accordingly began to batter the Citadel, which at that Time was very deſtitute of Proviſions, and of every other Thing neceſſary for a Defence.

The Beſiegers had alſo taken Care to ſurround the Citadel with Ramparts and Trenches, on Purpoſe that the Beſieged might not have any Manner of Succour brought in to them: Whereupon thoſe within the Fort, notwithſtanding they

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 141.

knew

knew that the *Florentine* Troops, commanded by *Hercole Bentivoglio*, had come to their Aſſiſtance as far as *Quarata*, a Village near *Arezzo*, being ſenſible that they durſt not make Head againſt the Enemy, and deſpairing of having any other Aſſiſtance or Succour; they were, therefore, obliged to [1] ſurrender on Conditions; about 14 Days after the Rebellion had begun: However, the Beſiegers inſiſted that *Coſmus* the Biſhop, and eight others, ſhould remain their Priſoners, until they were exchanged with ſome other Citizens of *Arezzo*, who were then detain'd in the Hands of the *Florentines*. After this the *Aretines* themſelves demoliſh'd the Citadel.

In the mean time the *Florentine* Troops, knowing that *Vitellozzo* and *Gian Pagolo* were ſuperior to them in Force, and being afraid to attack them, retir'd to *Montevarchi*, which gave the Enemy an Opportunity to poſſeſs [2] themſelves of all the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

'Tis however probable, that this Enterprize on *Arezzo* had not been undertaken in concert with the Pope, and *Cæſar Borgia* his Son, becauſe, as we have ſaid already, the latter had judg'd the reſtoring the *Medici* Family was not for their Intereſt, having always imagin'd to themſelves, that by the Confuſion which generally enſues from Popular Governments, a Door might be the better open'd for them to ſeize upon the Territory of *Florence*, and to get it into their own Hands; which Thing they judg'd could not be ſo well effected if the ſaid Territory was govern'd by a ſingle Prince. On this Account the *Borgians* did not at all reliſh the Affair of *Arezzo*'s revolting then, nor indeed the Encreaſe of the Power of the *Orſini*, the *Baglioni*, and *Vitelli*, which they thought might always be an Obſtacle to their Deſigns; for they did not know but in Time the *Orſini*, and the others already nam'd, might uſurp the *Florentine* Government for themſelves; for which Reaſon *Alexander* and *Valentine* determin'd to pull down their Power, and ruin them as ſoon as a fit Opportunity preſented: However, the better to diſſemble the Matter, they did not ſeem to take very great Notice of the Affair of *Arezzo*, being afraid to irritate thoſe famous Generals, and diſguſt them at that critical Conjuncture: Beſides, they hop'd ſuch Kinds of Revolutions and Changes

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142. [2] Ibid.

among the *Florentines*, were not eaſy to be adjuſted and terminated, ſo that ſome time or other an Opportunity might be offered for the better ſubduing that State to themſelves. However, that they might not loſe the preſent Opportunity of proſecuting their own Schemes and Views, *Valentine*, in concert with the Pope, determin'd, amidſt ſo many Revolutions and Changes, not to ſtand by as idle Spectators of other Peoples Actions, but, in the greateſt Heat of them, undertake a certain Enterprize, which ſcarcely would have ſucceeded, if *Baglione* and *Vitelli* had not at that Time been very buſy in other Matters.

This new Undertaking of the *Borgians* was no leſs than to get the whole State of [1] *Urbin* into their Hands, to effect which openly, they knew very well they could never bring it to bear, unleſs the fore-mention'd Commanders concurred in their Aſſiſtance. The Method, therefore, which *Valentine* choſe for bringing this about, was by Stratagem and Guile: However, the inviolable Love and Affection which the People of *Urbin* had for the Family of *Montefeltri*, by whom, for ſo many Ages, they had been happily govern'd, and the particular Eſteem and Value they had for their preſent Sovereign *Guidobaldo*, by whoſe *Mæcenatic* Genius and Magnanimity *Urbin* was become the School and Pride of all *Italy*, for Politeneſs and Erudition: beſides, his Protection from the King of *France*, the Aid given by that Nation to him, and the Family *della Rovere*, with whom *Guidobaldo* was ſo nearly related; the particular Attachment of the *Venetians* to the Family of *Urbin*, for the ſingular good Services done their Republick by *Guidobaldo*'s Illuſtrious Predeceſſors, above all the inexpreſſible Jealouſies which the Princes of *Italy* would of Courſe have, if ever *Valentine* ſhould unite ſuch a flouriſhing State to his other uſurp'd Dominions: All theſe, I ſay, were forcible Motives to make *Borgia* believe that, if he ſhould attempt ſuch an Enterprize openly, he muſt needs encounter inſuperable Difficulties and Oppoſitions in ſo bold an Undertaking; ſo that, as we have ſaid, Guile and Fraud were the only Means he had recourſe to, for rendering his Machinations againſt *Urbin* ſucceſsful.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 220.

For

For this End he executed the whole Affair in ſo occult and ſubtle a Manner, that no Mortal could poſſibly be able to penetrate into, or even ſo much as ſuſpect his Scheme, having no other Accomplice in the Affair but the Pope alone: and if the Attempt ſhould prove ſucceſsful, he had projected in his Mind two Means by which he might keep Poſſeſſion; namely, his Father's Authority and Power as Pope, and his own Force and Induſtry.

The firſt Way they went to work, was, to lull the Duke of *Urbin* aſleep, amidſt the Noiſe of Arms in the neighbouring Territories, and the Lamentings of ſo many diſtreſſed and ruin'd People around him: The Soporifick which, for this End, they gave him, was Lyes, and Flatteries, profeſſing ſo warm a Zeal for his Illuſtrious Family, that 'twas impoſſible for an honeſt and ſincere Heart, like *Guidobaldo*'s, not to be allur'd. The better to colour over this fawning Treachery, as there was ſome Difference between the Duke of *Urbin* and the Apoſtolick Chamber about their Fiefs, *Alexander* made [1] up the Matter entirely to the Satisfaction of the former: And as a greater Mark of his pretended particular Attachment to the Duke's Family, he made his Nephew *Franciſco Maria*, Prefect of *Rome*; and, the better to carry on the Deceit, propoſed a [2] Marriage between the ſaid Prefect and his own Niece Donna *Angela Borgia*. In fine, that the Duke might not have the leaſt Umbrage of any want of Friendſhip in his Holineſs, he gave him ſuch ſeeming Marks of Kindneſs and Affection, both by his own Letters [3], and by Expreſſions of Zeal for his Intereſt to his Reſident at *Rome*, that they were enough to deceive any Mortal.

However, the Train being laid and ready to be kindled for effecting the Ruin of that poor deluded Prince, *Valentine* made a Shew of ſending the Duke of [4] *Gravino*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, with a few of his Troops for beſieging at large the City of *Camerino*, to which Siege he gave out he was to come very ſoon in Perſon. But he took Care, in the mean time, to march

[1] Tomaſo Tomaſi, Part II. p. 222. Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142.

[2] Ibid. Tom. Tomaſ.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

with

with his Troops from *Rome* towards *Perugia*, at which Place the Biſhop of *Elva*, the Commiſſary General of his Army, arrived alſo. On this, *Valentine* diſpatch'd two *Spaniards* to the Duke of *Urbin*, as Meſſengers, with whom they carried a Letter from the Pope, by Way of Brief, which had been brought thither by the Biſhop, and in which his Holineſs [1] declared, *That as he very well knew the Regard and Attachment which the Duke of* Urbin *always had for the Church, and the Holy See, he therefore hoped that, as Duke* Valentine *was engaged in acting with his Arms in the Service of the Church, his Highneſs would countenance him therein, and lend him what Aſſiſtance he could on that Occaſion, eſpecially in the Affair which the Biſhop of* Elba *had in Commiſſion to tell him; and who, for that End, intended very ſoon to wait on him.*

At the ſame Time *Valentine*, in his Inſtructions to theſe two *Spaniards*, deſired, at any rate, they would procure the Duke to ſend him the [2] Artillery he had promis'd, for the better carrying on his Siege of *Camerino*; and that they might be brought to him with the more Eaſe, he deſired the Duke would cauſe the Road to be mended, over which they were to be convey'd: Laſt of all, that he would provide him with Proviſions and Forage for his Army, for which End he would ſend 1500 Men to eſcort the Stores thro' his Territory, and to beg that the Duke would accordingly grant them a free Paſs.

On the Arrival of theſe two Meſſengers, the Duke received them very graciouſly, and promis'd to [3] comply with every Thing they had demanded; and accordingly order'd one of his principal Gentlemen to carry an Anſwer to the Letter brought by the Biſhop of *Elba*: at the ſame Time to wait on Duke *Valentine*, and in his Name to ſalute him, and make him an Offer of his Service, and of whatever Aſſiſtance his Territory could afford. Accordingly the ſaid Gentleman met *Borgia* at *Spoleto*, to whom he deliver'd the Commiſſion he had from his Maſter, whom *Valentine* kindly thanked, and expreſs'd how [4] grateful he reſolved to be for the many Favours he had received from the Duke of *Urbin*. At the ſame Time he appeared to be all Goodneſs and Complaiſance, nay, very facetious

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 223.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Tom. Tom. p. 224.

with

with the Duke's Gentleman, telling him he purpoſed to have no other [1] Brother in *Italy* but the Duke of *Urbin*. The Gentleman, on Departure, ask'd, If he had any other Thing to deſire from his Maſter? *Valentine* reply'd, No, but only that he begg'd the Duke would not fail to ſend the 1000 Foot which he had promiſed for *Vitellozzo*'s Aſſiſtance in *Tuſcany*.

With ſuch exquiſite Iniquity was *Borgia* blindfolding this deluded Prince, under the Veil of Friendſhip: for no ſooner did the Meſſenger arrive at *Urbin*, to give his Maſter an Account of the gracious Reception he had met with, than *Borgia* gave Orders to 2000 of his Soldiers to march with all imaginable Speed into the [2] State of *Urbin*, under Colour of convoying the Forage and Artillery he had demanded. At the ſame Time commanded his other Troops on the Side towards *Romagna* and *Fano*, to approach with Haſte to the Confines of the State of *Urbin*, and to ſecure the High Roads and Paſſes there, that ſo when he attack'd that Dominion, the Duke himſelf might not eſcape, and to be ready to ruſh in to the ſaid Territory on a Call. Accordingly *Borgia*, with a good Number of Cavalry, flew to [3] *Nocera*, which was alſo the Road to *Camerino*: hence making his Troops file about towards *Sigillo* and *Schieggia*, he enter'd the Dominion of *Urbin* in ſo furious a Manner, that no Place did he ſpare from [4] Plunder, and Ruin, declaring, that the next Day he would force his Way to the Town of *Urbin*.

As ſoon as *Guidobaldo* the Duke, who was little expecting ſuch a Shock, heard, by an Expreſs from his Commiſſary at *Cagli*, of this Hoſtile Invaſion; alſo from *Foſſombrune*, that ſome of *Valentine*'s Troops, partly come from *Romagna*, and partly liſted at *Fano*, had, under the Command of the Counts *Montevechio* and St. *Lorenzo*, taken Poſſeſſion of the Paſſes between the States of *Urbin*, *Prefetto*, and *Montefeltro*; and that there were many Troops from *Romagna*, behind with their Commanders on the Confines, placed to block up the Paſſages, and had actually ſurrounded *Monte Leo*, on Purpoſe to hinder retiring thither, he was quite Thunderſtruck with Amazement;

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 224.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142. Platina in Alex. VI. p. 476. Etiam Paulus Jovius Lib. VIII. p. 204.
[4] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 225.

but finding himſelf unprepared for a Defence, reſolved to ſave his own Life, and his Brother's the Prefect, by Flight. Accordingly, recommending his Affairs to his Subjects, and beſeeching them not to expoſe their Lives and Fortunes to the Cruelty of the Tyrant, he left *Urbin*, and fled to [1] St. *Agata*, a Village near *Montefeltro*, at which Place he and his Brother diſguiſed themſelves in the Habit of [2] Peaſants; and parting with each other, attended but by one ſingle Servant, they took different Roads, one towards *Mantua*, the other towards *Savona*; where, after eſcaping a thouſand Snares laid by *Valentine* to entrap them, by the good Providence of God they arrived ſafe at theſe reſpective Places [3].

As ſoon as *Borgia* got to *Urbin*, he took Poſſeſſion thereof without Oppoſition, and of the [4] reſt of that State: However, he did not think every Thing was to his Wiſhes, ſince the Hope of his Guile had not fully ſucceeded with Regard to the Duke of *Urbin* and his Brother's Perſons, which he wanted in his Hands, and by whoſe [5] Deaths, and the total Ruin of the *Montefeltrio* Family, he propoſed to eſtabliſh a Poſſeſſion of what he had uſurp'd, becauſe he foreſaw his own Downfal, if ever that Illuſtrious Houſe ſhould once more raiſe up its Head. For

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 226.

[2] Ibid.

[3] This Circumſtance of *Borgia*'s treacherous ſeizing on the State of *Urbin*, under the Colour of Friendſhip, is not only related by the Authors already quoted for this End, but is confirmed by Bembo, Lib. VI. p. 211. Edit. Venet. M.DCC.XVIII. *His Words are theſe* — Interea Cæſarem Alexandri Filium augendi Regni Cupiditas magnum in Scelus & Proditionem impulit. Nam cum Guidi Ubaldi Metaurentium Ducis Regnum, quod unum ei deerat ad omnem Flaminiam obtinendam, propter mirificum Populorum in illum Amorem aggredi aperto Bello non auderet, neque Venetos ſibi permiſſuros ut illum expelleret, arbitraretur, neque ullum haberet Luſcipiendi Belli Cauſam, Guido Ubaldo omnibus in Patrem ſuum Obſequiis, in ſe Officiis benevolentiſſimi conjunctiſſimique Hominis plane functo: Velle ſe Bellum Camertibus inferre ſimulavit, ut ad Fines Urbinatium, qua Iter erat ei faciendum, ſine Guidi Ubaldi ſuſpicione, tanquam alio tendens cum Exercitu accederet. Atque, ut bono ſe in illum eſſe Animo Fidem ei majorem faceret, & ſuis eum Opibus exueret, ne tueri ſeſe poſſet communitior à Guido Ubaldo, ut Auxiliares ad id Bellum copias cum tormentis muralibus ad ſe mitteret, pro Amicitiæ jure per legatos poſtulavit. Iis impetratis, atque miſſis, cum ad Fines Regni veniſſet, repente in illos hoſtiliter irrupit, & magna celeritate adhibita, quod neminem obvium habebat, Urbinum contendit, parumque abfuit, quin Guidum ipſum Ubaldum caperet. Sed is paucarum horarum beneficio, in jumentis Agricolarum, & veſte Ruſtica, itineribus deviis quod omnia Nota Loca per Cæſaris Milites obſeſſa tenebantur fugiens, Ravennam ſe recepit, atque inde Mantuam eſt profectus. See likewiſe Burchard. Diar. p. 88, 89. Alſo the Appendix de Scelere Borgiæ contra Ducem Guidum Ubaldum.

[4] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142.

[5] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 226.

this

this End, knowing Cardinal *della Rovere* was the chief Support of this Family, and at that Time in *Savona*, the Pope and he therefore laid their Heads together, how they might, by Fraud, get this Cardinal into their Hands: to effect which they propoſed to ſend Cardinal *d'Alberet*, and one *Troccies* the Pope's faithful Servant in Iniquity, with the [1] Gallies from *Rome*, under Pretence of going to Compliment the King of *France* in the Pope's Name, that Monarch being daily expected in *Italy*, and on his March thither: However, *Troccies*'s Inſtructions were, to land the Gallies near *Savona*, and there to ſend Meſſengers to Cardinal *della Rovere* in that City, whom they thought, hearing of *Alberet*'s Arrival, and their Deſign in going to meet the *French* King, would doubtleſs make no Scruple to come from *Savona*, and viſit him aboard the Gallies; and when he was on board, then had *Troccies* private Orders to ſeize, and bring him with the ſaid Gallies back to *Rome*: Accordingly the Gallies left *Rome*, and arrived where they had been order'd; on which they ſent to *Savona*, to acquaint *della Rovere* of their having come there, and of their intended Voyage to meet the King of *France*, and the like: At the ſame Time, with an Air of vaſt Courteſy and Reſpect, invited the Cardinal aboard. But altho' the Sincerity of his Heart could not make him dream of ſuch a Piece of Treachery as was contriv'd, yet he held it as a conſtant Maxim never to truſt himſelf into the Power of the *Borgians* at any rate; accordingly he ſent his [2] Excuſes in a genteel Manner, for not coming to wait on Cardinal *d'Alberet* at that Time, by which Means Providence protected and deliver'd him out of their Hands; tho' 'tis the general Belief, that *Alberet* was not let into the Secret, but made a Tool of for giving a Colour to the perfidious Deſigns of the *Borgians* [3].

Valentine could not be contained within himſelf for Rage and Fury, when he was inform'd that his Scheme had proved abortive, and that he could not, ſo well as he wiſhed, eſtabliſh himſelf in his new uſurp'd Dominion, at the Expence of the Princes Lives whom he had robb'd.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 227.
[2] Ibid. p. 228.
[3] The Reader is referred to Burchardus's Account of this deſign'd Piece of Treachery, Diar. p. 88, 89.

In

In the mean time he tarried at *Urbin*, at which Place he had two [1] Views in his Head, nor was he reſolv'd which of them he ſhould firſt execute, whether to make an End of the Siege he had begun at *Camerino*, or march with his Troops and join *Vitellozzo*, whoſe Army, bearing the Name of Eccleſiaſtick, was, after having taken the Citadel of *Arezzo*, making conſiderable Progreſs in *Tuſcany*. *Borgia* was greatly prompted to this by the Hopes of getting the Whole into his Hands, but dreaded the Protection the King of *France* gave them, and the Commands he had had from that Monarch not to moleſt the Territories of *Tuſcany*; alſo the Troops which *Lewis* order'd from *Milan* to their Aſſiſtance, and the ſpeedy Arrival of that King into *Italy*: All theſe Conſiderations were powerful Diſcouragements to *Valentine* in the Attempt, being afraid to raiſe the Indignation of the King of *France*, at a Time he ſtood ſo much in Need of his Protection and Countenance, for carrying on his own Schemes: ſo that after he had held ſeveral Treaties with Monſ. *Volterra*, the *Florentine* Deputy, at laſt he thought it adviſeable not to meddle then with Affairs in that Dominion: However, having changed the Opinion he firſt had about *Vitellozzo*'s Progreſs there, and ſeeming at preſent to favour his Deſigns, he ſent him privately all the Succour and Reinforcements he could, and ſo turn'd his Mind and Forces againſt *Camerino*: However, before his Departure out of *Urbin*, he thought it was beſt for him not to loſe the preſent Opportunity of ſtripping the Ducal Palace there of all its [2] Riches and ſumptuous Furniture, which had been brought together by ſo many Princes, and famous Generals, *Guidobaldo*'s Predeceſſors; and which Palace had been a Depoſitory for the rich Spoils of ſo many great Victories obtain'd by them. Among the other Particulars, the ineſtimable [3] Library, which had been ſo carefully collected and augmented by the magnanimous and learned Duke *Frederick*; that, with the other Things of Value, *Valentine* ſent to the Caſtle of *Forli*, to be kept there, that Fort being, he thought, the ſecureſt Place of any within his new Dominions.

The *Florentines*, in the mean time, to let the World know their Sentiments about *Valentine*'s Behaviour and Progreſs, and that he had been the chief Aider and Abettor of the War carried

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142. [2] Tom. Tom. p. 231. [3] Ibid.

on againſt them by *Vitellozzo*; accordingly made heavy Complaints to the King of *France*, and how, in Contempt of his Majeſty's expreſs Commands, he had ſtirred up thoſe Commotions which had been carried on in their Prejudice, telling his Majeſty plainly, that *Borgia* being grown ſo very inſolent and preſumptuous, on Account of his proſperous Fortune, there could be now no Bounds ſet to his daring Ambition, ſince from one Uſurpation he was going on to another, in ſuch a Manner, that there were ſufficient Evidences to believe he had even Machinations on Foot againſt his [1] Majeſty's own Crown, and, under the Shadow of his Wings, was aſpiring to the ſole Dominion of all *Italy*. For corroborating the Truth of theſe Accuſations, *Charles Ambuoſa*, Lord of *Chiamont*, the King's Lieutenant in *Milan*, declar'd to his Majeſty, That he alſo believed what the *Florentines* repreſented to him, and every Thing of which they had accuſed *Valentine*, aſſuring his Majeſty that he could never ſafely rely on the Faith of the *Borgians*: by all which the Indignation of *Lewis* began to be ſo much kindled againſt *Borgia*, and now ſo jealous of his Procedure, that, beſides the Succours of 3000 *Swiſs* Cavalry, and a great Quantity of Artillery, he ſent other conſiderable Forces to the Aſſiſtance of the *Florentines*; nay, more than that, now publickly declared, that *Valentine* was become ſo odious in his Eyes, that he was reſolved to go in Perſon, and ſtrip that new Duke of *Romagna* of all the Dominions he had ſo villainouſly uſurp'd; and furthermore declar'd plainly, that at laſt he was convinc'd that to do this, was an Undertaking in itſelf more Holy, and of greater Benefit to Chriſtianity, than to carry on a War againſt the [2] *Turks*: So well do Princes know how to make uſe of a Pretence to Piety, whenever that Sacred Word ſerves to gratify their own Paſſions and Intereſt: ſince either his Majeſty neglected the Means for ſo doing, or did not find that the putting them in Execution, tally'd with his own Views and Schemes; ſo that, in fine, for all his Pretences of reducing the Tyrant, by his Actions the World had Room to conjecture that he intended no ſuch Thing.

Valentine, in the mean time, having laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Camerino*, ſeem'd (after a Truce of a few Days) to liſten

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 231. [2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 142.

to Propoſals of Agreement, made by *Julius Cæſar da Varano*, Lord of that Place, for ſurrendring. But, according to his Maxims and Politicks, never thinking any State ſecurely his own, until the Sovereigns of them were ſent out of the World, he therefore thought it better for his Purpoſe to make uſe of Guile, and take that City rather by Surprize than Treaty, being certain, he thought, by the former, *Varano* could not eſcape out of his Hands: Accordingly, while this poor Lord was buſy in drawing up the Articles of Capitulation, and deeming himſelf ſecure from Hoſtilities, by Virtue of the few Days Truce made with the Enemy; *Valentine*, in the mean time, cauſed his whole Army to attack the Town with all imaginable Fury, and with little Oppoſition got [1] Poſſeſſion thereof, whereby the ſaid *Julius Cæſar da Varano*, and two of his Sons, one called *Venantio*, the other *Hannibal*, fell into his Hands; both of which were, according to *Borgia*'s wonted Barbarity, afterwards order'd to be [2] ſtrangled, as we ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to relate: but, as Providence directed, it happen'd that *Giovanni Maria*, *Varano*'s eldeſt Son, had ſome Time before been ſent to *Venice*, and was ſafe there [3].

The Princes of *Italy* were quite ſtunned with the Noiſe of the Fall of theſe two States, and of the flagrant, perfidious, and violent Manner by which they had been uſurp'd; ſo that the ſame Fire which was conſuming the Territories of their Neighbours, unleſs quench'd before 'twas too late, would ſpread to their own Dominions: This, therefore, put them in earneſt, upon taking Meaſures againſt the Danger with which every individual Prince was threatned. Accordingly, as the Tumults and Diſorders in *Tuſcany*, even when they were at their greateſt heighth, were quell'd by Virtue of the powerful Protection and Succours they had obtain'd from the King of *France*, they determin'd to join their Forces together for their own Defence, and to have recourſe to the *French* Aſſiſtance for their Preſervation

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 234.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 143. Tom. ibid. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 204. Etiam Platina in Alex. VI. p. 476.

[3] On the Affair of the taking *Camerino*, Burchard. Diar. p. 89. ſays thus: —Sabbato vigeſima tertia Julii, nunciatum fuit Papæ, Ducem Valentinenſem per Concoridam habuiſſe Camerinum: propterea fuerunt tractæ multæ Bombardæ in Caſtro Sancti Angeli, & facti Ignes. Victoria autem nec fuit, quòd inita per Ducem Valentinenſem cum Domino Camerini tregua & concordia fuit ad certum tempus, quo ſtante Dominum Camerini, & omnes Filios ſuos legitimos & baſtardos captos tenuit.

againſt

againſt the tyrannical Power of the faithleſs and barbarous *Borgians*.

What contributed the more to the ſtrengthning this projected Alliance, was, the Behaviour of *Valentine* to *Vitellozzo*, who being obliged by the *French* to deſiſt from his Enterprize againſt the *Florentines*; *Borgia*, hereupon, tho' he had but a few Days before been an Aider and Abettor of *Vitellozzo*'s Proceedings, on ſeeing him obliged by *Lewis* to abandon his Enterprizes in *Tuſcany*, thought fit alſo to change his Note, and pretending to be as much averſe to the Oppreſſion of the *Florentines*, as the *French* themſelves, he had the Aſſurance to ſend Word to *Vitellozzo*, that in Caſe he would not retire out of *Arezzo*, and the other Places of which he had taken Poſſeſſion in *Tuſcany*, he would march [1] againſt him with his Army.

On this, as it was not ſurprizing from *Valentine*, becauſe they knew the Man, *Vitellozzo* and his Confederates determin'd to be reveng'd of him for his Impudence, as well as Perfidiouſneſs; and as the ſame *Vitellozzo*, together with the *Orſini*, *Baglioni*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, had, before *Borgia*'s confident Threatnings, reſolved not to oppoſe the *French* King's Orders, but to deſiſt from all Manner of future Hoſtilities in *Tuſcany*; ſo finding plainly that *Borgia* was ſo outragious a Monſter, that their own Eſtates were not ſafe from becoming his Prey alſo, notwithſtanding the Friendſhip they had with him before this Time, they therefore determin'd, without Loſs of Time, to join with all the other Powers, who were forming an Alliance for ſtopping the Career of the *Borgian* Uſurpation: Accordingly they drew off their Forces from *Tuſcany*, in order to have them in a Readineſs for protecting their own Eſtates, and ſo unanimouſly came into the Meaſures propoſed to the King of *France*, by the other Sovereigns in *Italy*, for reducing the *Borgians*: accordingly they pitch'd upon Cardinal *Baptiſto Orſino* to wait on *Lewis*, and make an Apology in their Behalf to his Majeſty, about the Affair of *Arezzo*; and at the ſame Time to carry the Accuſations againſt the Pope and *Valentine*.

This Cardinal was then at *Rome*, but having learn'd privately the Affair, he went to the Pope, and demanded an Audience

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 141.

of

of Leave, under Pretence of going from thence about ſome private Affair of his own; which the Pope flatly [1] denied him, ſaying, *He had Buſineſs for him himſelf.* Hereupon the Cardinal, without more ado, or Loſs of Time, made the beſt of his Way out of *Rome*, without leave, which the Pope reſented in ſuch a Manner, as in the End coſt all the *Orſini* their Lives, and the Loſs of their Eſtates, as in the Sequel will be related.

Among the other Powers which at that Time combined againſt the *Borgians*, there were the following Princes, namely, the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbin*, the Marquiſs of [2] *Mantua*, Cardinal *della Rovere*, the *Bentivogli*, the *Venetians* and *Florentines*; all which, by Means of their Ambaſſadors, unanimouſly repreſented to the King of *France*, how great the [3] Violence and Uſurpation of the *Borgians* were: Other Lords came into their Meaſures, and met with them to concert in what Manner they were to provide for their reſpective Safeties, and of the Means by which they were to put their Deſigns in Execution; and all of them, with one Conſent, exclaimed againſt the Perfidiouſneſs and Villainy of *Cæſar Borgia*, who, they ſaid, being ſupported by the Power and Authority of the Pope, had abuſed his Majeſty's Protection, without the leaſt Regard to Religion, Law, or Humanity, making all Kinds of Uſurpation, Infidelity, and Barbarity, appear as lawful; So that they, *viva Voce*, implored his Majeſty to revenge ſo many Oppreſſions; ſo many Princes unjuſtly diveſted of their Properties, and the Blood of ſo many Innocents inhumanely ſhed; the Honour of ſo many Women violated by the inſatiable Luſt of that Monſter and his Followers: and that by freeing the Church and the World from ſo ſcandalous and inſupportable a Tyrant, it would be a Work worthy of his Piety and glorious Name, as a moſt Chriſtian King: To all which *Lewis* ſeem'd to lend a favourable Ear, becauſe it plainly made him the Umpire of Affairs in *Italy*.

However, as one of the King's Ears was open to the Complaints and Accuſations of theſe Princes againſt the *Borgians*,

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 336.

[2] Guicciardin ſays, Lib. V. p. 144. that Prince was ſuſpected, and little Truſt put in him by the other Allies.

[3] Guicciard. ibid. Tom. Tomaſ. ibid.

the

the other was not ſhut to the inceſſant Repreſentations made by the Pope and *Valentine*, in their own Favour and Defence, which were agented by *Alexander*'s Miniſters reſiding with the King, eſpecially by [1] *Troccies* the Pope's greateſt Confident, his ableſt Miniſter of Iniquity, and the moſt ſagacious Villain of any in the Management of his Maſter's Affairs. The two greateſt Baits laid by the *Borgians* for hooking the King of *France* into their Intereſt, was, firſt, the replicated Promiſes of giving him their unfeign d Aſſiſtance in the War of *Naples*; for by this Time *France* and *Spain*, as is already ſaid, had begun open Hoſtilities with one another: The other Allurement was, *Alexander*'s Promiſes to prolong the [2] Legation of *France* for other eighteen Months, in Favour of Cardinal *Rouen*, and by which they had gain'd the ſaid Cardinal over to their Intereſts. All this, in fine, prevail'd more with the King than any Thing the Confederate Princes could ſay or do in the *Borgians* Prejudice; more eſpecially ſince *Lewis* at that Time had broke off Friendſhip with the four Cantons of *Switzerland*, on Account of the Affair of *Belinzona*, the Valley of *Valtolina*, and *Schaffhauſen*, to which the King pretended a Right: Beſides, *Lewis* was at that Time more than ever jealous of the Emperor, who was arming and ſhewing a great Deſire to come into *Italy*, by the Favour and Concurrence of the Pope; and furthermore, the King was not without Suſpicion of the *Venetians* being Enemies to his Meaſures, whom he knew did not very well brook his having in his Poſſeſſion the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. For theſe Reaſons he judg'd, that the beſt Way for him to preſerve and ſecure his Dominions in *Italy*, was not to diſoblige the Pope, but to cultivate a ſtrict Friendſhip with him and his Family: So that inſtead of adhering to thoſe noble Principles of relieving the Oppreſſed, and chaſtizing Tyrants; and who for this End had ſaid he reckon'd the reducing the *Borgians* a more pious Work, than to make War againſt the *Turks*; yet within a little Time he ſhew'd the World how much his own Intereſt was dearer to him, than putting theſe good Deſigns in Practice, for he iſſued out a Kind of publick [3] Declaration to all the Princes of *Italy*, telling them, That his Confederacy with the Pope was anterior to any other Alliance he had made with the Powers there, and that what

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 237. Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 145.

[2] Guicciard. p. 144.

[3] Tom. Tom. p. 239.

Protection he had given ſome of their Dominions, was not with a View to prejudice the Rights of the Church. In fine, he ſignified in ſo many Words, that he could not, and would not, hinder the Pope from diſpoſing of the Church Lands in whatever Manner he thought fit: By which Declaration the King ſhew'd plainly, that he had been all this while very ungenerouſly deluding, with empty Promiſes only, ſo many Sovereigns who had applied to him for Protection, and who had the ſtrongeſt Reaſons to expect better Things from him.

Valentine, in the mean time, having taken Poſſeſſion of *Camerino*, (for which Succeſs publick Rejoicings were made at *Rome*) the Pope ſet out to meet him in that City, with a Deſign to concert Meaſures together about the further Progreſs of their Arms, and to provide againſt the Machinations of the Malecontents in their Prejudice; and were not a little pleas'd with the News ſent them by their Agent *Troccies*, of the favourable Diſpoſition of the King of *France*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they doubted not to be able to bring about their ambitious Deſigns, being alſo well furniſh'd with Money; nor was their Stock this Way a little augmented by the Wealth of the Biſhop of *Modena*, which they had violently ſeized on, after having for that Purpoſe ſent him out of the World, by the ſame Doſe which they ſo cuſtomarily gave to Numbers of Perſons who ſtood in their Way; and by this Means made him pay dear for all his Rapine and Simony.

In order to corroborate the *Borgians* Intereſt with the *French*, *Valentine* now reſolv'd to go to *Milan*, and wait on the King in Perſon, who lately had arrived there, and thereby queſtion'd not to baffle all the Oppoſition he encounter'd from his Enemies, and more than ever to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Wickedneſs.

For this End, and for his own greater Security, he took [1] Poſt, and rode in the Habit of a Knight of St. *John*, having no other Attendants but Cardinal *Borgia*, *Troccies*, and one Servant: He halted at *Ferrara*, and took Prince *Alphonſus* of *Eſte*, his Brother-in-Law, along with him to *Milan*, where he arrived ſafe, not a little to the Surprize of the Malecontents; and ſo much the more, as *Lewis*'s Declaration, already mention'd, had

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 145. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 240.

not

not as yet been publiſh'd; and who therefore relying on the King of *France*'s ſmooth Speeches to them, had been all along of Opinion, that *Borgia* was quite out of his Majeſty's Favour; nor did they think *Valentine* would have dared to truſt himſelf into the King's Hands: But when they perceived that his Arrival, on the contrary, was moſt [1] acceptable to *Lewis*, and that he gave him a very gracious Reception, accompanied with all imaginable Marks of Eſteem and Affection, they too ſoon found themſelves deceiv'd, and depriv'd of the Hopes in which they had indulged themſelves, that *Lewis* would have done Juſtice to the Oppreſſed, and freed the Princes of the Apprehenſions of ſuffering by him in the future.

Valentine, in the mean time, with Cunning and Guile worthy his Genius, turn'd the Chace on *Vitellozzo*, and the other Malecontents, and told the King They were prompting and exciting Novelty in [2] *Italy*, on Purpoſe to undermine his Majeſty's Power and Government there, being, he ſaid, all of them Enemies to *France*, and ſingularly attach'd to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt: In fine, by the moſt artful Flattery, he inſinuated himſelf more than ever into the *French* King's good Graces, making him Promiſes, in his own and the Pope's Name, to concur with all their Might in Caſe of Need, in the War his Majeſty was carrying on with the *Spaniards* in *Naples*: And as this was the chief Allurement, the King promis'd *Borgia*, if he might rely on that, that he would [3] defend the Pope and him againſt whoever ſhould act in his Prejudice; and more than that, allow him 300 Lances in his Service at the King's own Charge, for helping him to recover [4] *Bologna* to the Church, and afford him, beſides, other Aſſiſtance for ſubduing both *Vitellozzo* and *Baglioni*.

However, *Lewis* did not care ſuch an Agreement between him and *Borgia* ſhould be publickly known at that Time; on the contrary, his Majeſty knew ſo well how to diſſemble the Matter, that, *Janus* like, he ſhew'd one Face to *Valentine*, and another to the Malecontents, giving the latter to underſtand that he deſign'd to [5] ſecure *Borgia*'s Perſon, and ſend him Priſoner into *France*, thereby to preſerve the Peace of all *Italy*; moreover, that he would ſpeedily procure the Duke of *Urbin* to be

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 145. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 240.
[2] Ibid. Tom. p. 242.
[3] Ibid. T. T.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

reinſtated

reinſtated in his Dutchy and Grandeur. But in a little Time he plainly ſhew'd the World, as is already ſaid, that all this was State-Trick, and Artifice, and that he really never had ſeriouſly intended any ſuch Thing, but flatter'd the other Princes of *Italy* into ſuch a Belief, that ſo he might the better gain Time for proſecuting his own Deſigns; in all which Double-dealing Cardinal *Rouen* concurred with the King, the better to hinder Cardinal *della Rovere*'s ſucceeding in the Papacy on *Alexander*'s Deceaſe, being determin'd to put in for the [1] Pontificate himſelf, and *della Rovere* being the only Perſon he fear'd might obtain that Dignity: yet Providence was pleaſed to baffle all *Rouen*'s Endeavours this Way, for this very Enmity, or rather Emulation, between him and *della Rovere*, was the very Cauſe that the latter was afterwards exalted to the Papal Chair, and the other of Conſequence excluded, as will appear in the Sequel. In fine, nothing was done for aſſiſting the Duke of *Urbin* in recovering his Dominion, nor in Favour of the Malecontents; ſo that *Lewis* left *Italy*, and returned to *France*, leaving the *Borgians* ſecure in his Protection and Aſſiſtance; and the others in the utmoſt Confuſion and Terror; and which was very much augmented, becauſe at the Time that *Valentine* was gone for *Imola*, in order to bring his Army together, a certain Meſſenger was ſent from the King to *Bologna*, with Orders to acquaint *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, that ſince that City was under the Juriſdiction of the Church, his Majeſty could not help aſſiſting the Pope in recovering it to the Holy See; however, that at his Interceſſion he had procured Liberty to him and his Son to live in *Bologna*, and enjoy their private Fortunes.

How ſhocking this News was to the *Bentivogli*, one may naturally judge, as alſo the Dread and Terror it every where occaſion'd, none of the Princes of *Italy* thinking themſelves ſafe from being involved in that general Ruin, which had ſwallow'd up already ſo many Illuſtrious Families and States, before their Eyes.

On this Occaſion, the *Venetians* wrote a Letter, or rather a Remonſtrance, to the King of *France*, and caus'd it to be deliver'd by their Ambaſſador; the Tenor of which was, *That his Majeſty ought to conſider of what dangerous Conſequence it was*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 144.

for

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for him to favour Valentine *ſo very much, and how very diſparaging it was to the Honour of the Family of* France, *and unbecoming the glorious Name of a moſt Chriſtian King, to aid and aſſiſt ſuch a Tyrant, the Deſtroyer of Mankind, and of Countries; one who thirſts ſo immoderately after Human Blood, and who is an Example of horrible Outrageouſneſs and Treachery to the whole World; by whom ſo many Noble Lords have perfidiouſly, as by a common Robber, been cruelly murder'd; and one who has not even abſtained from imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Brothers, and neareſt Relations, making away with them either by a Dagger or Poiſon; whoſe Cruelties are ſuch as not to ſpare the moſt tender Age, a Thing not to be parallel'd with the Barbarities of the* Turks [1].

The King's Anſwer to this Letter was, however, not very different from the publick Declaration he had already made, being in Subſtance, that he could not, nor would [2] not, break off Friendſhip with the *Borgians*, nor hinder them in their Enterprizes, which he thought might prejudice his own; for before his Departure out of *Italy*, his Mind was ſolely bent upon proſecuting the War begun againſt the *Spaniards*: Accordingly, as we mention'd already, having ſent 2000 *Swiſs* by Sea thither, and with them upwards of 2000 *Gaſcoins*, who all of them join'd the *French* Army, the Vice-Roy by their Means had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Towns of the *Capitanato*, except *Manfredonia* and St. *Agnolo*, and had encamped at *Canoſa*, which Place having a Garriſon of 600 *Spaniards*, was kept by *Pietro Navarra*, who for ſeveral Days had made a gallant Defence, but was at laſt adviſed by *Conſalvo*, not to let the Enemy bring Things to an Extremity, and perhaps thereby be in Danger of loſing all the *Spaniſh* Troops; on which he [3] ſurrender'd the Town on Conditions; namely, that his Peoples Lives and

[1] For the Reader's greater Satisfaction I give you here this Remonſtrance of the *Venetians* to the *French* King in Guicciardin's own Words, Lib. V. p. 146. Edit. Venet. M. D. LXXX. — Che conſideraſſe di quanto carico gli foſſe il dare tanto favore al Valentino, & quanto poco conveniſſe allo ſplendore della caſa di Francia, & cognome tanto glorioſo di Re Chriſtianiſſimo, Favorire un Tiranno Tale, diſtruttore de Popoli, & delle Provincie, ſitibondo ſi immoderatamente del ſangue humano, & eſſempio à tutto il mondo d'orribile immanità & perfidia, dal quale, come da publico ladrone, erano ſtati ammazzati ſi crudelmente ſotto la fede tanti Nobili & Signori, & che non aſtenendo ancora dal ſangue de fratelli & de congiunti, hora con ferro, hora con veleno; haveſſe incrudelito nel età miſerabili etiandio alle barbarie de Turchi.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 146.

[3] Ibid. p. 145.

Effects might be ſafe, which accordingly was granted; but the *Spaniards* having loſt all the other Towns which they had poſſeſſed within [1] *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Capitanato*, except *Barletta*, *Andria*, *Galipoli*, *Tarento*, *Coſenza*, *Ghirace*, *Seminara*, and a few more near the Sea-Side, finding themſelves much inferior to the *French* in Force, and deſtitute of Money, Proviſions, and Ammunition, had retired with their Army into *Barletta*.

The *French* in the mean time, after they had taken *Canoſa*, judging their Army could not conveniently lie before *Barletta* for want of Water, determin'd, that Part of their Army, which in all conſiſted of about 11 or 12,000 Men, ſhould ſurround *Barletta* by a Siege at large, and the reſt of their Troops to be employ'd in that Interim for recovering the Reſidue of the Kingdom: But this Determination was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Obigni* the *Scotiſh* General; and indeed their not following his Counſel proved in the End very prejudicial to the *French* Affairs: However, the *French* Vice-Roy, after this Determination, made himſelf very ſoon Maſter of all *Puglia*, except *Tarento*, *Otranto*, and *Galipoli*, after which Succeſs he returned with all his Forces to beſiege [2] *Barletta*: And *Obigni* having, in the mean time, with another Part of the Army enter'd *Calabria*, he took and plunder'd the City of [3] *Coſenza*; but the Caſtle ſtill ſtood out for the *Spaniards*, who having brought together all their Forces in that Province, and join'd them with others which came to their Aſſiſtance out of *Sicily*, they had a new Conflict with the Enemy, in which they were likewiſe defeated.

This Succeſs happening about the Time that the King of *France* was either going from, or on the Point of leaving *Italy*, Affairs were thereby executed with more Negligence than before; nor were they ſo careful as they ought to have been in continuing to make the neceſſary Proviſion for carrying on the War, in which, had they been aſſiduous, they unqueſtionably would very ſoon have been Maſters of all the Kingdom of *Naples*: But *Lewis* finding every Thing happen ſo proſperouſly, thought there was no more Occaſion for his ſtaying in *Italy* any longer, more eſpecially having concluded a long

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 145. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Truce
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Truce [1] with the King of the *Romans*, ſo that he loſt no Time in his Return to *France*.

On the *French* King's Departure out of *Italy*, the Male-contents there finding they had been ſo flagrantly traduced, and their Intereſts abandon'd by that Monarch, determin'd notwithſtanding to provide for their own Safety, in the beſt manner they could: Accordingly, tho' the *Orſini*, *Vitellezzo*, *Baglioni*, and *Liverotto-da-Fermo*, were all at that Time in the Quality of *Valentine*'s Soldiers, and had but lately received Pay from him, and Money for raiſing freſh Recruits, and Troops to be ſent for taking *Bologna*; yet they began now to ſee plainly how neceſſary it was for them to bring all their own Forces together, and to lodge them within Places of Safety, in order to act with them for their Defence and mutual Security. At which Time it happen'd that the Caſtle of [2] St. *Leo*, within the State of *Urbin*, was ſurprized, and re-taken from *Valentine*, by Means of one *Lodovico Paltroni*, who for this Purpoſe had held a private Intelligence with the People there, by Means of which, and the great Loyalty and Affection of the Inhabitants, the whole State of *Urbin* was regain'd to *Guidobaldo* their lawful Sovereign.

Hereupon *Guidobaldo*, who had fled to *Venice*, came by Sea from thence to *Sinigaglia*, and, except one ſingle Fort, recover'd his whole Dutchy; on which all the Confederates met together at a Place called [3] *Magione*, near *Perugia*; the Heads of whom were as follow; *viz.* Cardinal *Orſino*, (who, after the Departure of *Lewis* from *Italy*, having been afraid to return to *Rome*, had halted at *Monte-Rotundo*) *Pagolo Orſino*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian-Pagolo Baglione*, and *Liverotto-da-Fermo*, *Hermes*, Son of *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, as his Father's Deputy; and *Antonio-da-Venafro*, as Subſtitute for *Pandolfo Petrucci*: All theſe being met together, began to conſult Matters for their own Safeties, and how they might act againſt *Valentine*, eſpecially ſince the Revolt of the Dutchy of *Urbin* gave them ſo fair an Opportunity; finding alſo that by their deſerting *Valentine*, he conſequently had no very conſiderable Number of Troops remaining in his Service: Upon all theſe Conſiderations, they unanimouſly came to a Reſolution to defend the Duke of *Urbin*, and to form a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 145. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 146. alſo T. T. p. 245.

Camp,

Camp, conſiſting of [1] 700 Men at Arms, and 9000 Foot, on Condition that *Bentivoglio* ſhould begin the War in the Territory of *Imola*; and the others, with all imaginable Vigour, endeavour to recover *Rimini* and *Peſaro*: But that this their Confederacy might not provoke the King of *France*, who at the Bottom, they flatter'd themſelves, would not be diſpleaſed to ſee *Valentine* reduced by the Arms of others, they unanimouſly declared, that his Majeſty might command their Perſons and Forces, and that they were ready to aſſiſt him in his great Deſigns, and willing to venture their Lives and Fortunes for him, if ever he thought fit to do them the Honour to employ them in his Service. And in order to appear the more in Earneſt in theſe Declarations of their Attachment to *Lewis*, they excluded the *Colonneſe* from this Confederacy, (tho' that Family were implacable Enemies to the *Borgians*) becauſe they were not in the *French* Intereſt.

Thoſe Princes who remain'd neutral had various Reflections on this new Confederacy, and tho', in general, they approved of the Reſolution, becauſe it would, at leaſt for ſome Time, put a Stop to the rapid Torrent of the *Borgian* Violence; yet ſome judg'd it more [2] precipitant than well concerted, fearing that within a little while it might probably redound to the Prejudice, if not the Ruin, of thoſe who had been the chief Promoters thereof. Thoſe whoſe Prudence was moſt called in Queſtion in the Affair, were the *Orſini*, who, on Account of their Suſpicions, bid fair for loſing in one Moment, what they had gained in ſeveral Years; in which, amidſt the many Changes and Revolutions, they had inviolably till now been ſundry Years in ſtrict Friendſhip with the Pope and *Valentine*, by which Means they had not only preſerv'd the Intereſt of their own Family, but rais'd it conſiderably in Dignity and Honour.

Others again, who pretended to penetrate as far as any into theſe Political Matters, thought in a different Way from the laſt, and judg'd that the Confederacy was not only of Uſe, but a very [3] well concerted Affair, becauſe 'twas plain that the Ruin of the *Vitelli*, *Baglioni*, and *Orſini*, was fix'd and determin'd by *Valentine*: Beſides, they thought it a hard Caſe that the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 147. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 246.

[2] Ibid. Tom. p. 247.

[3] Ibid. p. 248.

Orſini,

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Orſini, by keeping Friendſhip with the *Borgians*, ſhould be obliged to join in the War againſt the *Bentivogli*, their near Relations; nor ever, by adhering to ſuch an Intereſt, ſee their other Relations of the *Medici* Family reſtor'd in their wonted Dominion in *Florence*. *Valentine* being a thorow Enemy of that Family; ſo that they were of Opinion, that as the Malecontents had, before this Time, been the Nerves of *Borgia*'s Army, by this Alienation he could not miſs being very deſtitute of Commanders and Forces, ſo that now they had it in their Power to act as ſucceſsfully againſt him, as he had hitherto againſt other People; and certain it is, if theſe Confederates had continu'd to puſh on their Matters with as much Unanimity and Magnanimity as they did at the Beginning, they would have effectually provided themſelves with Remedies for all their Evils: but, alas! the Diſagreement and Jangling among themſelves, on Account of their ſeparate Intereſts, gave their Enemy too great a Handle for effecting that general Ruin, in which, had it been otherwiſe, he could never have ſucceeded.

The [1] *Venetians* indeed, and alſo the *Florentines*, were invited into their Meaſures and Alliance, which was calculated for the common Good; but both the one and the other of theſe Powers were willing firſt to ſuſpend their Reſolutions this Way, until they found in what Manner this new Confederacy would be reliſh'd by *France*; tho' 'tis certain the *Venetians* were as jealous as was poſſible of the *Borgian* Procedure, whoſe Uſurpations were deteſtable and intolerable to them, as well as to the *Florentines*; beſides, the Confederates were their particular Friends, and partial Adherents to both their Intereſt.

On the firſt News of this Alliance, *Valentine*, who had never dream'd of any ſuch Thing, was quite confounded, more particularly becauſe, for all his ſharp-ſightedneſs, he had not been able to penetrate into the Thing, till now he ſaw it brought to ſuch a Head in his Prejudice: However, by Degrees he begun to pluck up his Spirits, and to be a little more couragious, in Hopes that it would afford him an excellent Opportunity for ſhewing the World his Dexrerity in ſurmounting the greateſt Difficulties, not doubting but that when he had removed the preſent Rubs, he ſhould be able to ſubdue all his Enemies, and

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 147. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 249.

I

by their Ruin and Extirpation, have a wider Field open'd for his arriving at that Pitch of Grandeur, which he had long had in View.

For this End, and without Loſs of Time, he apply'd himſelf vigorouſly to provide every Thing neceſſary for a War, and at the ſame Time to treat of Peace, thinking either by the one or the other, he ſhould get the better of his Enemies. In the firſt Place, he diſpatch'd Couriers to the King of [1] *France*, deſiring ſpeedy and powerful Succours might be ſent him; repreſenting to *Lewis*, that the whole Scope of the Confederacy, was only an under-hand Dealing, the better to [2] injure his Majeſty, and fruſtrate his Views and Intentions, inſinuating, that the Power of *France* in *Italy* was odious to theſe new Allies, and that they were enraged to find ſo good a Harmony ſubſiſted between the Pope and his Majeſty. By theſe, and other more artful Suggeſtions, did *Borgia* repreſent that Affair to the King. He next applied his utmoſt Diligence to raiſe as many Troops as he poſſibly could, of which, indeed, he had been left very ill provided: And laſtly, the better to ward off the threatned Blow, in concert with his Father the Pope, he artfully ſet on Foot Treaties of Accommodation with the new Confederates, with a Deſign, either to cloſe up an Agreement with all of them, or at leaſt to ſeparate them from each others Intereſts, thereby to keep them from moleſting him, until he could be furniſh'd with ſufficient Force for making Head againſt them.

The better to effect this, the Pope made uſe of all the Artifices which the moſt conſummate Diſſimulation and Deceit could ſuggeſt, applying himſelf firſt to [3] *Julius Orſino*, the Cardinal's Brother, as a Perſon he thought the moſt eaſy to be deceived; and made him all imaginable Proteſtations of Sincerity and Friendſhip, and the ſtrongeſt Promiſes of raiſing him to the higheſt Honours and Dignities; and at the ſame Time carrying on ſeparate Treaties with the other Confederates, the better to make them diffident of one another, and to ſeparate their Intereſts: Accordingly he threw before each of them thoſe particular Baits, by which he judg'd he could moſt effectually hook them; and by this Means of keeping up Conferences and Pro-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 147. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 251.

[2] Ibid. Guicciard. Tom. p. 252.

[3] Ibid. p. 252.

poſals

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poſals of Agreement, did he, by Degrees, lull them into a Kind of Indolence, by which they became ſomewhat more remiſs in their Proceedings againſt him, and ſomething cooler in that Affair, which, had they proſecuted vigorouſly, would have reduced the new Duke of *Romagna* to a very low Paſs.

However, while this was tranſacting, *Bentivoglio*'s Troops having paſſed by *Caſtel St. Pietro a Coccia*, a Place near *Imola*, he took and plunder'd it: Moreover, the Duke of *Gravina* and *Pagolo Orſini*, with their Forces, and 600 more Foot belonging to *Vitellezzo*, had enter'd the State of *Urbin*, where they encounter'd Don *Michelotto*, and *Hugo di Cardona*, *Valentine*'s Generals, near *Cagli*; and who had, with the Connivance of the Governour, recover'd *la Pergola* to *Valentine*, in which Place the ſaid *Michelotto*, who was a much better Cut-Throat than a General, had, with his own Hands, murder'd [1] *Julius Cæſar Varano* of *Camerino*, who, poor Gentleman, was there Priſoner. He had likewiſe taken and plunder'd *Foſſembrune*; but, as I have juſt now ſaid, having been encounter'd by *Gravina*, and the other Confederates, after a ſharp Engagement, he was [2] routed in ſuch a Manner, that all his People were either taken or cut in Pieces; among whom *Bartolomeo Capranica* was ſlain, and *Cardona* made Priſoner; but as Miſchance would have it, the Ruffian *Michelotto* [3] eſcaped, and got to *Fano*, from whence, by *Borgia*'s Order, he came to *Peſaro*, the better to keep that City in awe, who ſhew'd themſelves very averſe to *Valentine*'s Government; and in which was *Venantio* and *Hannibal Varano*, who, having eſcaped out of *Valentine*'s Hands, were both re-taken, and, as ſome ſay, cruelly put to Death [4]: For before that Time, *Camerino* having lately rebelled, they had called *Giovanni Maria*, the eldeſt Son of their late Sovereign, from *Venice*, to inveſt him with the Government.

As this Beginning of the Confederates Succeſs, gave an univerſal Joy and Revival to almoſt every Body, had they but gone on, and made a right Uſe of this favourable Opportunity, *Valentine* would have been ſoon [5] ſtript of all the ill-gotten

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 253.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 147. Tom. Tom. ibid.
[3] Guicciard. ibid. Tom. ibid.
[4] Tom. ibid.
[5] Guicciard. ibid.

Dominions

Dominions he had uſurp'd : But in fine, by ſuffering themſelves to be allured by the inſidious Offers of an Agreement, their Enemies were ſaved, and themſelves loſt.

Borgia, however, by this time had brought together a good Number of Recruits and Soldiers, and liſted others in different Parts : beſides, *Chiamont* the *French* Vice-Roy, received Orders from the King his Maſter, to ſend him 400 Lances, and to ſuccour [1] him as Need ſhould require ; alſo to encourage and countenance him in all his Undertakings, as much as poſſible : On which News the Confederates began to be both confounded and terrified, inſomuch that at once they plainly ſaw that they were under a Neceſſity to procure the beſt Terms of Agreement they could from *Valentine* ; ſo that from henceforth they willingly liſten'd to the [2] Accommodation propoſed then by the Tyrant ; for certain it was, that *Borgia* had Reaſon to think a fraudulent Agreement with the Confederates was at that Time the ſureſt Way to ruin them, and that he had ſuch a Proſpect of ſubduing them by his own Forces, eſpecially with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe ſent him by the King of *France*, that he had no Occaſion to make a Peace with them to gain his Point. However, according to his own and Father's Practice in theſe Matters, he judg'd the Arts of Diſſimulation the moſt eligible, and determin'd to have recourſe thereto ; for which End the Pope continued to carry on Treaties with the *Orſini*, and had begun others with the *Bentivogli*, by Means of [3] *Carlo de gl' Ingrati*, *Giovanni*'s Ambaſſador at *Rome* ; and not only with them, but *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who for this End had ſent *Antonio da Venafro* to *Imola*. Above all, *Alexander* applied, with the greateſt Aſſiduity, to *Paolo Orſini*, who, on Account of his Valour and Party, was greatly in Eſteem. This *Paolo* was invited by *Valentine* to *Imola*, and Cardinal *Borgia* ſent into the *Orſini* Eſtate, by Way of [4] Hoſtage, or rather Security of *Paolo*'s Perſon ; on whoſe Arrival at *Imola*, *Borgia*, whom Nature had furniſh'd with excellent Talents for ſuch Purpoſes, made uſe of all the Allurements and diſſembling Arts imaginable, telling him, *That the* [5] *Alienation of the* Orſini *Family from his Friendſhip, had pierced his very Heart with Grief* ; *not ſo much*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 147. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 254.
[2] Tom. ibid.
[3] Guicciard. ibid. Tom. p. 255.
[4] Guicciard. ibid. Tom. p. 256.
[5] Guicciard. ibid.

for

for the Misfortune of loſing ſo many brave Commanders, who had always been the Nerves and Sinews of all his Enterprizes, as becauſe it had given the World occaſion to think he had not ſufficiently rewarded their Merit: Indeed, as to that, he ſaid, he could not deny but that for his own Part, inſtead of making their Friendſhip indiſſoluable, with ſuch Rewards as their great Merit required, he had, to his Regret, done otherwiſe, and never come up to his Duty this Way, by which a Coldneſs and Indifferency between them had enſued: But as it was his Pride, he ſaid, to be a true Friend of his Friends, the beſt Remedy, therefore, which he knew for this, and for removing ſuch Miſunderſtandings, was to re-eſtabliſh Peace and good Harmony between them, of which he himſelf was very deſirous, not out of any Neceſſity his Affairs were in for ſo doing, ſince the World plainly ſaw he had what Aſſiſtance he pleaſed from the King of France, *which alone, without the Help of his own Arms, was ſufficient to ſupport his Fortune. But that he was willing, he ſaid, to acknowledge the Faults he had committed againſt the* Orſini, *and give them adequate Satisfaction; nor was he averſe, he ſaid, to make up Matters with the* Bentivogli, *in what Manner they ſhould judge meet, without prejudicing his Honour; adding, that as to what concerned* Paolo *himſelf, he had the greateſt Kindneſs and Affection for him that could be, the Effects of which he would ſee very ſoon.*

Theſe Flatteries and fair Promiſes were ſo enchanting, as to allure *Paolo* into a Belief that they were all genuine, inſomuch that by them *Valentine* [1] gain'd him over, and began to be truſted by him; nay, more than that, he promis'd to do his Endeavours to get the reſt of his Family reconciled with him alſo. Accordingly, by propoſing an Accommodation, he was the unfortunate Inſtrument of drawing that Family into ſuch a Snare, as was diſmally fatal to them all: and indeed it is more than amazing, that the moſt expert and ſagacious Commanders of *Italy*, ſhould have ever ſuffer'd themſelves to have been ſo fooliſhly intrap'd by this Man, whom they knew had already made ſuch publick Havock, and by his Treachery led ſo many to the [2] Slaughter-Houſe.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 148. [2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 257.

Thoſe indeed, who with the greateſt Repugnancy came into an Accommodation, were *Baglioni* and *Vitellozzo* : they could ſcarcely, by any Means, be prevailed upon to rely on the Faith of the *Borgians*, eſpecially *Valentine*, whom they knew was more enraged than the others imagin'd, on Account of their late Actions ; ſo that, the better to perſuade the other Confederates to proſecute the War they had begun, *Vitellezzo* had marched ſome Time before with his Troops, in order to recover the Caſtle of *Foſſembrune*, and aſſiſt the Duke of *Urbin* in recovering his whole Dominion ; which laſt-mention'd Prince uſed all his Endeavours to diſſuade the Confederates from making any Manner of Agreement with *Valentine*, ſince he well foreſaw that he himſelf ſhould be among the firſt who would ſuffer thereby, and who, if ever he ſhould be abandon'd by his Friends, could not be in a Condition to reſiſt the *Borgians* ; tho' his Subjects, with the higheſt Marks of Loyalty and Affection, offer'd every one to venture their Lives and their All for him their true Sovereign.

But, in fine, it was impoſſible to avert the [2] Fatality which attended the Confederates, more eſpecially ſince *Paolo Orſino*, and the others, by *Valentine*'s Allurements and Promiſes, were gain'd over ; ſo that a formal Agreement was actually concluded, and in the following Manner ; [2] That all former Diſguſts and Heart-burnings ſhould be laid aſide, and cancell'd out of Memory, and that the Friendſhip which formerly uſed to ſubſiſt between them ſhould be reſtor'd ; alſo, That thoſe Generals who had been employ'd in *Valentine*'s Service, ſhould again re-aſſume their Command there, and aſſiſt with their Troops in the recovering the States of *Urbin* and *Camerino*, but not to be obliged to act in Perſon in that Enterprize, except it was by Turns, one at a Time ; and that the Difference with the *Bentivogli* ſhould be left to the Arbitration of *Valentine* himſelf, Cardinal *Orſino*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci* ; but this particular Stipulation was to no Effect.

For *Giovanni Bentivoglio* judging it neither for his Honour or Safety to leave his All in other Peoples Hands, having ſent the Prothonotary his Son to *Imola*, for the Security of whoſe

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 259. [2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 148. Tom. ibid.

Perſon

Perſon *Valentine* ſent Hoſtages, he agreed with *Borgia* in this Manner: [1] That the City of *Bologna* ſhould furniſh *Valentine* with 100 Men at Arms, for the Space of eight Years, the Charge of which would amount to 12,000 Ducats *per Annum*: Moreover, that for the Space of one Year they ſhould be obliged to provide *Borgia* with another 100 Men at Arms, and 100 Archers on Horſeback: and, in order to bind this Agreement with an indiſſoluable Bond of Friendſhip, a Marriage ſhould be made between *Hannibal*'s Son, and a Siſter of the Biſhop of *Enna*, the Pope's Niece; and that the King of *France* and the *Florentines* ſhould be Guarantees for the Performance of this Agreement.

Valentine was the eaſier perſuaded to make this Peace with the *Bologneſe*, not ſo much with Regard to the Confederates, as becauſe he had got Notice that the King of *France*, having alter'd his Mind with Regard to the *Bentivogli*, had anew reſolved to [2] take them again under his Protection; but much more on Account of ſome Peoples freſh Jealouſy of his Grandeur and Succeſs, particularly *Chiamont*, who by no Means was a Friend to *Valentine*: Hence it was, that after the Peace was concluded and ratified by all the Parties, particularly the Pope and Cardinal *Orſino*, *Borgia* went to *Imola*, and paſſed by *Ceſena*, in order to bring his Forces together.

The *French* Troops returned to *Milan*, being recalled by *Chiamont*, ſome ſay with *Borgia*'s own Conſent, who, being with his own Arms ſufficiently provided for proceeding in his deſign'd Undertakings, was unwilling to caſt a Gloom over the Minds of the Confederates, in appearing to have a ſuperabundant Force: and having now gain'd the firſt Point, namely, of obtaining a Peace, the Pope and he were ſtudying, as much as in them lay, with all the Art and Cunning they could, to arrive at the ſecond, which was, That the Confederates ſhould put real Confidence in them; by which laſt Means they reſolved with the more Security to ruin them.

Accordingly both the Father and the Son endeavour'd, with Letters and [4] Meſſages, to aſſure the Confederates, particularly

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 148. Tom. Tom. p. 260.
[2] Guicciard. ibid.
[3] Tom. Tom. p. 262.
[4] Ibid.

the

the *Orſini*, of their ſincere Affection, and firm Reſolution, to continue in an indiſſoluable Bond of Friendſhip and good Underſtanding with them: Nay, the artful Diſſimulation of the Pope came to ſuch a pitch, as to declare to ſome People, who he knew would report the ſame, that he was perſuaded the Family of *Borgia* could not maintain its Ground in *Rome*, without the powerful Support of the *Orſini*; and as Duke *Valentine*, he ſaid, had not obtained his Dominions, but by the particular Favour of that Family, ſo could he not keep Poſſeſſion thereof without their Friendſhip: For which Reaſon he declared, that for his own Part he was even willing to renounce the [1] Papacy in Favour of Cardinal *Orſino*, provided he could cement ſuch an indiſſoluable Union between their Families, that that of *Borgia* might always be ſecure under the Protection of the *Orſini*.

The Poets feign *Circes* and Magical Spells for transforming Men into Beaſts; but as for me, ſays my [2] Author, without Fiction, I am of Opinion that ſuch Kind of Allurements are the real Enchantments which bereave even prudent Men of their Judgment and Senſes: For the *Orſini* being ſo powerfully bewitched by the Force of theſe inſiduous Flatteries, ſuffer'd themſelves to be led blindfolded to their Perdition, without being kept back therefrom by the many friendly Advices given them to the contrary. 'Tis reported that Cardinal *Orſino*, ſome Time after the aforeſaid Agreement, on his Return to *Rome*, was fore-warned, by a great many People, of the Danger he was about to encounter; and even the very Children, in the Towns as he paſſed thro' in that Journey, cried out aloud [3] not to truſt the *Borgians*, nor to put his Life into their Hands: But the Cardinal's Infatuation was ſuch, that he lent a deaf Ear to theſe Admonitions, and was heard often to reply, That he did not know what People meant by ſuch Cautions, ſince he was conſcious never to have had any Quarrel with the Pope, having always had a good Underſtanding with him: However, in fine, it was ſoon ſeen what was the Event of his fatal Credulity.

By this Time *Valentine* had [4] recover'd the Dutchy of *Urbin*, and poſſeſſed himſelf thereof, and of the State of *Camerino* alſo: For the Sovereigns of theſe two Territories, finding they

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 262.
[2] Idem.
[3] Ibid. T. T. 262.
[4] Ibid. p. 263.

could

could not make Head againſt *Borgia*'s Army, had once more left their Dominions, and taken themſelves to Flight; more-eſpecially finding that the Confederates who lately had fought for them, had, for their own mercenary and private Views, not only deſerted their Cauſe, but were now fighting againſt them, and aſſiſting the Tyrant in his Oppreſſions and Devaſtations; ſo that not being ſecure within their helpleſs Dominions, they thought it beſt, at leaſt, to ſave their Lives by [1] Flight.

In the mean time *Valentine*, not to loſe Time in proſecuting his other Robberies, turn'd his Forces againſt *Sinigaglia*, which Town was govern'd at that Time by [2] *Giovanna da Monteſeltro*, by Way of Regency for *Franciſco Maria della Rovere* her Son, who had been ſent into *France*, by the great Care of the Cardinal St. *Pietro in Vincola*.

Borgia, however, gave Orders to *Paolo Orſino*, the Duke of *Gravina*, *Vitellezzo*, and *Livorotto da Fermo*, that they ſhould march with their Troops to beſiege *Sinigaglia*, which accordingly was done, and [3] taken without much Reſiſtance: For the Prefecteſs, ſeeing herſelf abandon'd by every Body, was forced to make her Eſcape in Man's Apparel, and ſo travelled over very rugged and unfrequented Paths, till ſhe arrived at her own Eſtate within the Kingdom of *Naples*, leaving the Caſtle of *Sinigaglia*, which yet held out, to the Care of *Andrea Doria*.

As ſoon as *Valentine* was inform'd of the taking of *Sinigaglia*, he went with great Haſte to *Fano*, where, having been called by the Governor of the Caſtle of the firſt of theſe Places to come in Perſon and take Poſſeſſion thereof, he thought this the beſt Opportunity imaginable to diſguiſe the Perfidiouſneſs of his Heart, thereby to act the moſt villainous Piece of Treachery that perhaps ever was or will be heard of in the World; to effect which, '[4] * with all imaginable Cunning, he perſuaded

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 148. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 264. Bemb. Lib. VI. p. 216.

[2] Guicciard. ibid. p. 149. [3] Ibid.

[4] The Reader is deſired to obſerve that what follows from this Mark * above, is tranſcribed from *Machiavel*, with as much Exactneſs as the *Engliſh* Idiom will admit of, and for which 'tis hoped ſome Allowances will be made, if it is not quite literal. See *Machiavel*'s Account of the Whole, in the Tract intitled, *Deſcrittione del modo tenuto, dall Duca Valentino nello ammazzare, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il Signor Pagolo, & il Duca di Gravina Orſini*, Part II. from p. 137 to 141. the Hague Edition, printed Anno M. DCC. XXV. See alſo Guicciardin's Account of this moſt tragical Affair, Lib. V. p. 149. Edit. Venet. M. D. LXXX. Alſo Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. from p. 265 to 267.

'*Vitelli* and the *Orſini* to wait for him at *Sinigaglia*, telling, 'That if they had conceived any harſh Notions of him, ſuch 'a Suſpicion would not only prove injurious to themſelves, but 'render their late Agreement with him leſs durable and pre-'carious: That with Regard to himſelf he was a Perſon willing, 'he ſaid, to confide as much in the Counſel of his Friends, as 'in their Arms.

'But *Vitellozzo*, notwithſtanding he had all along ſhewn 'himſelf averſe to truſt *Valentine*, his Brother's Death being too 'fatal a Leſſon to him, not to confide in a Prince he had for-'merly injur'd; yet by the Perſuaſions of *Pagolo Orſino*, whom '*Cæſar* had allured with Promiſes and Gifts, he agreed with 'the others to wait for the Duke there.

'Hence, *Borgia* being to leave *Fano*, on the 30th of *De-'cember* 1502. communicated his Deſign to eight of his 'chief Confidents, among whom was Don *Michele* or *Miche-'lotto*, and Monſigneur *d'Enna*, who afterwards was made a 'Cardinal: To them he committed the Execution of the Affair, 'namely, That as ſoon as *Vitellozzo*, *Pagolo Orſino*, the Duke 'of *Gravina*, and *Oliverotto da Fermo*, ſhould arrive at the 'Place where they were to meet him, that then every two of 'them ſhould put themſelves in the Middle between the Perſons 'already mention'd, ſo each of them by this Means ſecure his 'Man; and in this Manner contrive to amuſe them in ſuch 'Ways, as that none ſhould be able to make their Eſcape, 'but bring them as far as the Duke's own Lodgings in *Sini-'gaglia*, and there to ſeize them.

'After this, *Borgia* order'd his whole Cavalry and Foot, the 'Number of which was about 11,000 Horſe, and 10,000 Foot, 'to be ready by Break of Day, to draw up on the Banks of 'the *Matauro*, a River about five Miles Diſtance from *Fano*, 'to be there waiting for his Arrival: Accordingly, on the laſt 'Day of *December*, the Troops and the Duke being come to 'the Place juſt now mention'd, he order'd about 200 Horſe to 'move forward; after them the Foot; next follow'd the Duke 'himſelf, with the reſt of the Men at Arms.

'*Fano* and *Sinigaglia* are two Cities in *la Marca*, ſituated 'on the Shore of the *Adriatic* Sea, and diſtant from each other

'about

'about 15 Miles; ſo that whoever goes to *Sinigaglia* has 'Mountains on the Right Hand, the Roots of which in ſome 'Places reach near the Sea, inſomuch that between them and 'the Water there is but a ſmall Space; nor is the greateſt 'Diſtance of any of them from the Sea above two Miles: The 'City of *Sinigaglia* is not more than the Length of a Bow-'ſhot from the Roots of thoſe Mountains, nor from the Sea 'above a ſhort Mile. Near this Place runs a ſmall River, 'which waſhes that Part of the City Walls oppoſite to *Fano*, 'facing the High Road thither, which, near *Sinigaglia*, runs 'for a conſiderable Way along by theſe Mountains; ſo that 'going about a Bow-ſhot further, you arrive at a Bridge laid 'over the River, almoſt fronting the Gate or Entry to the 'Town, not by a ſtrait Line, but Traverſe-ways: Before you 'come to this Gate, is a Suburb of Houſes, and within it an 'open Place, near which the Banks of the River flank one of 'its Sides.

'In the mean time *Vitelli* and the *Orſini* being to meet the 'Duke, and to pay their Reſpects to him in Perſon, had order'd 'their People to retire to certain Villages about ſix Miles diſtant 'from *Sinigaglia*, that thereby they might give Place, and not 'incommode his Troops; and ſo had left *Oliverotto*, with his 'Brigade, within *Sinigaglia*, the whole Number of which 'was but 1000 Foot, and 150 Horſe, and lodg'd in the above-'mention'd Suburbs. Matters being thus order'd, Duke *Va-'lentine* himſelf came towards *Sinigaglia*; and when the firſt 'Front of the Cavalry arrived at the Bridge, they went no 'further; but halting, Part of them turn'd their Cruppers 'towards the River, the others to the Fields, by which an 'Opening was made for the Foot to paſs thro', and who, 'without ſtopping, march'd directly within the Town.

'*Vitellozzo*, *Pagolo*, and the Duke of *Gravina*, being 'mounted on little Mules, and accompanied but by a ſmall 'Number of Horſe, came forward to meet the Duke. *Vitel-'lozzo* was without any Manner of Armour, having on his 'Head a Cap lined with Green, appearing very melancholy and 'dejected, as if he had been expecting his approaching Death; 'at which Behaviour many there ſeem'd to wonder: But well 'did he know the Nature of the Man he had to deal with, 'and all the Steps of his Fortune; nay, 'tis reported that be-

'fore he ſet out for *Sinigaglia*, when he took leave of his own 'People, he parted with them as if he never had been to 'return, and accordingly recommended the Concerns of his 'Family to the Heads of it, admoniſhing his Nephews, that 'they ſhould not think ſo much about the Affairs of their preſent 'Fortunes, but remember the Valour of their Anceſtors.

'In the mean time, theſe three having come up to the Duke, 'and courteouſly ſaluted him, he received them in Appearance 'with a benign Countenance. Thoſe who had got Orders to 'take Care of them, immediately put themſelves in the Middle 'between them; but the Duke obſerving that *Oliverotto* was 'not there, who, having been left with his People at *Sinigaglia*, 'was rallying them on the open Place above the River there, 'near his own Quarters; on this, *Oliverotto* having been parti-'cularly intruſted to the Cuſtody of Don *Michelotto*, *Borgia* 'made him a Signal with his Eye, tacitly ſignifying that he 'ſhould take Care not to let *Oliverotto* eſcape: on which Hint 'the former rode off, and coming up with the ſaid *Oliverotto*, 'told him, it was not a fit Time for him to keep his Men out 'of their Lodgments, becauſe *Valentine*'s People would, if ſo, 'probably poſſeſs themſelves of their Quarters; for which 'Reaſon he deſired him to lodge them there, and come along 'with him to meet the Duke.

'*Oliverotto* having complied with theſe Directions, the Duke 'in the mean time came up, and ſpying him there, called him 'to him; on which the former, having ſaluted him, join'd the 'others who were accompanying *Borgia*, and ſo all of them 'in a Body march'd into *Sinigaglia*, where, having diſmounted 'at the Duke's Lodgings, and gone with him into one of his 'private Chambers, he immediately cauſed them to be ſeized, 'and made Priſoners; after which he mounted again on 'Horſeback, and commanded that *Oliverotto*'s People, and thoſe 'of the *Orſini*, ſhould forthwith be plunder'd. Accordingly 'thoſe belonging to the former, as they were the neareſt, were 'all of them ſack'd and plunder'd; but the others belonging to 'the *Orſini* and *Vitelli*, being at a greater Diſtance, and having by 'this Time got Intelligence of the Ruin of their Maſters, had juſt 'Time to rally, and join one another; ſo that calling to Mind the 'Valour and Diſcipline of the *Orſini* and *Vitelli* Families, in ſpight 'of the People of the Country, and the Enemy, they got off

'and

‘ and made their Eſcape. But the Duke’s Soldiers, not being ‘ contented with the plundering *Oliverotto*’s People, began to ‘ ranſack *Sinigaglia* itſelf; and had it not been that the Duke ‘ check’d their Inſolence, by cauſing a Number of them to be ‘ ſlain on the Spot, the whole City of *Sinigaglia* would have ‘ been plunder’d alſo.

‘ But the Night coming on, and the Tumult being appeaſed, ‘ the Duke thought it now a fit Time for ſending *Vittellozzo* and ‘ *Oliverotto* out of the World; accordingly having cauſed them ‘ to be brought into a certain Place together, there, they were ‘ ſtrangled; but the Behaviour of theſe unfortunate Men, was ‘ not of a Piece with their former Bravery, for *Vitellozzo* begg’d ‘ that they would prevail with the Pope to grant him Indul- ‘ gence and Remiſſion of all his Sins; *Oliverotto*, at the ſame ‘ Time weeping, laid the whole Blame of the Injuries done ‘ the Duke on *Vitellozzo*.

‘ *Pagolo* and the Duke of *Gravina* were left alive, until ‘ ſuch Time as *Borgia* ſhould have Intelligence from *Rome*, ‘ that the Pope had ſeized on Cardinal *Orſino*, the Archbiſhop ‘ of *Florence*, and *Meſſer Jacopo da Sancta Croce*; which when ‘ he heard had been done, on the 18th Day of *January*, *Pagola* ‘ and the Duke of *Gravina* were alſo ſtrangled within the ‘ Caſtle *della Pieve*.’

To this Tragical Narration [1] *Tomaſo Tomaſi* adds, That after the above-mention’d unfortunate Men had been ſeized, *Borgia* order’d his People, when they went to plunder their Troops, not to fail ſeizing *Fabio*, *Pagolo Orſini*’s Son alſo: But he having got Notice how his Father had been made Priſoner, left the Troops and fled: Moreover, a good Number of *Olivorotto*’s Men having ſtay’d behind, and ſhelter’d themſelves within the Town, *Borgia* with his Soldiers rode thither, and put them all to the Sword; in which Action meeting with a certain Meſſenger, ſent thither by the *Florentines*, he told him, *This is the Revenge which, in* Urbin, *I told Monſigneur* di Voltera *I would take on the Enemies of your Maſters, tho’ I did not care to truſt him with the Secret; behold now how well I have nick’d my Opportunity for putting it in Execution, and how I have got your Maſters rid of them.*

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 267.

As ſoon as the Pope heard the bloody Scheme had been put in Execution, it fill'd his impious Heart with inexpreſſible Joy, and, as if he had been [1] emulating his Son in Villainy, he was no leſs aſſiduous in acting his Part of the Tragedy in *Rome*: Accordingly, the ſame Night that he received the News of the Murders, about eleven o'Clock, he ſent for Cardinal *Orſino*, and gave him to underſtand by the ſame Meſſenger, That Duke *Valentine*, with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe of his Family, had taken Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Sinigaglia*, and at the ſame Time deſired his Eminence would come and ſpeak with him. The Cardinal, on this, imagining himſelf not only ſafe, but that he was become the Pope's Confident, came accordingly to the *Vatican* early next Morning, to congratulate his Holineſs on the good News; but on his ſetting out from his own Houſe on Horſeback, he was encounter'd by the Governor of *Rome*, with a Troop of Horſe, who pretended to meet him by Chance. When they all had diſmounted at the *Vatican*, and the Cardinal began to aſcend the Stairs, his Horſes and Mules which came along with him, were immediately ſeized, and put up within the Pope's Stables; and as ſoon as the Cardinal came to the Chamber *del Papagallo*, he found himſelf and Retinue ſurrounded with armed Men: at which unexpected Sight he was ſeized with no ſmall Surprize and Fear; but the Soldiers deſired him to be of good Chear, and to walk with them forward to the Vicar's Chamber, within the new Tower, over the Garden, accompanied by the Abbot *Alviano*, the Prothonotary *Orſino*, and *Jacomo Santa-Croce*, who were all likewiſe [2] ſeized and made Priſoners; after which Monſigneur *Rinaldo Orſino*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, was ſent for, who was made Priſoner alſo, and kept under a ſtrong Guard. After all this was done, the Governor was commanded to go with a Party of Soldiers, and take Poſſeſſion of the Palace *Monte Giordano*, belonging to the *Orſini*, which he accordingly did, and ſtript it from Top to Bottom, of all its valuable Furniture: After that he was ſent to plunder the Houſe of the Cardinal's Mother, who out of Fear had by this Time fled and abſconded. Next he was order'd to ſeize the Auditor of the Chamber, and alſo Monſigneur *delli Spiriti*, the faſt Friend of the *Orſini* Family. When all this Plunder and Riches were brought together, they were accordingly diſtributed among the *Borgians*, each had their Proportion of the Spoil, of

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 267.

[2] Ibid. p. 268.

which

which *Valentine*'s was not the leaſt; all which was done before the Proprietors of them were put to Death.

The Governor of *Rome*, on the Seizure of theſe fore-mentioned Perſonages, ſent them all Priſoners to the [1] Caſtle of St. *Angelo*: However, the Prothonotary, and *Jacomo Sancta Croce*, found Means to be releaſed out of Gaol, namely, by having given Security for their Perſonal Appearance within a limited Time; in which Interim they obliged themſelves to deliver up *Paolo*'s Eſtate, and alſo the Eſtates of the others impriſon'd within the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to the Pope's ſecond Son, the Prince of *Squillace*; and with them the Abbacy of *Farſa*. But no ſooner had theſe Things been complied with, and done according to Agreement, than the Pope, without the leaſt new Offence or Provocation, order'd the ſaid Prothonotary and *Jacomo* to be [2] remanded to Gaol; which was accordingly done, tho' it was flatly contrary to Promiſe and Agreement.

It happen'd, moreover, that, much about the Time of the Feſtival of the *Epiphany*, the College of Cardinals, being ſtruck with the harſh Uſage of their Collegue Cardinal *Orſini*, went in a Body to intercede with the Pope in his Behalf; but all this was to no Purpoſe, for *Alexander* was ſo far from being in the leaſt ſoftned at their Intreaties and Prayers for him, that he reproved the Cardinals for meddling in the Affair, and exclaimed vehemently againſt the *Orſini*, telling, as they had conſpired againſt the Duke of *Romagna*, it was no leſs than an Injury done the Holy See; ſo that as that Duke had been juſtly provoked, what Revenge he had taken was [3] juſt and warrantable, and as they had formerly broken their Words with him, the Duke was right, and acted well in breaking his Words with them alſo: In this Manner did he make a Jeſt of the Sollicitations of the Cardinals.

But *Valentine*, who, after Succeſs, was never ſupine or negligent in proſecuting any Thing, or improving the leaſt Opportunity which preſented to his View for attaining his vile Ends, having finiſh'd the Affair of *Sinigaglia*, march'd with the beſt Part of his Troops towards *Citta-di-Caſtello*, the *Orſini* having been all the Way led behind him, chain'd as Priſoners; but

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 270. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

on

on his Approach thither, found the *Vitelli* had abandon'd that Place, having, as ſoon as they heard the Accounts of *Vitellezzo*'s Death, fled away out of Fear. *Valentine*, on this, having no more to do there, put a [1] Garriſon therein, in the Name of the Church, and with the ſame Speed marched to *Perugia*, where, in like manner, he found *Giovanni Paulo Baglione* had abandon'd that City: for he having been more cautious than the others, held it as a Maxim never to truſt his Life in the *Borgians* Hands, or to expoſe himſelf to the Fraud and Violence of thoſe implacable Enemies. His Brother alſo, who had bought the Archbiſhoprick of that Place for 5000 Ducats, as he had been of the ſame Opinion, ſo ſaved himſelf alſo by Flight, and gave up his new acquired Dignity. Here *Borgia* having likewiſe placed a [2] Garriſon, went towards *Sienna*, that ſo, after this favourable Run of Fortune, he might revenge himſelf on *Pandolfo Petrucci*, and at the ſame Time poſſeſs himſelf of that Dominion, being encourag'd to this by ſome Out-Laws of the Place.

On arriving at the Confines of the *Sienneſe* Territory, *Valentine* ſent the Inhabitants Word that he was come there, not with any Deſign of moleſting them, but only to deſire, that ſince *Pandolfo* was his Enemy, and a Diſturber of the publick Peace, they therefore would ſend him out of that [3] City: The Pope in like manner with his Briefs required the ſame, and that the ſaid *Pandolfo* might be deliver'd into his Hands: But all their treacherous Sollicitations were in vain, the Inhabitants of *Sienna* refuſing peremptorily to comply with ſuch Demands. On this, *Valentine* finding them inflexible, and that they would not acquieſce to his Will, was determin'd to uſe Force; accordingly he marched his Army into their Territory, and in an hoſtile Manner burn'd, plunder'd, and deſtroy'd every Thing that came in his Way, in ſo cruel and barbarous a Manner, that the moſt ſavage Nations on Earth would have been aſham'd to commit the like; inſomuch that People being terrified with the Report of their horrid Cruelties, abandon'd their Poſſeſſions, carrying along with them, or hiding, the beſt Part of their Effects and Goods: on which Account, the Soldiers, who were permitted by the Duke to commit whatever Violence they pleas'd,

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 271. [2] Ibid. p. 272. [3] Guic. Lib. V. p. 150. T. T. p. 278.

finding

finding none but old decrepit Men and Women in the Towns and Places as they came along, they had the Cruelty and Inhumanity to hang thoſe miſerable Wretches up by Ropes, and put [1] Fire under their Feet, that ſo by ſuch exquiſite Torments they might extort a Confeſſion where Peoples Goods and Effects were hid; but whether they diſcover'd them or not, 'twas the ſame Thing, for by the ſame Sort of Torments were they tortur'd, and in this ſhocking Manner left to periſh. With this Kind of Fury and Exceſs did *Valentine* poſſeſs himſelf of *Pienza*, *Chuſi*, and other neighbouring Villages, by the Report of which the People of *Sienna* began to be under vaſt Dread and Apprehenſions, thinking it, at any Rate, hard that, for the Sake of one Perſon, ſo many were to be ruin'd: Moreover, learning that *Valentine*'s Army was conſiderably augmented with the Troops ſent him by the *Bentivogli*, according to their Agreement, and finding no other Remedy, they determin'd at laſt to comply with the Tyrant's Demands, and to ſend away *Pandolfo* out of *Sienna*, provided *Borgia* would give Security that he had no other Deſign in View againſt them; which he accordingly did, finding it impracticable to take *Sienna* by Force, becauſe, not only was it a ſtrong and populous City, well garriſon'd, and in which *Giovanni Paolo*, one of the moſt experienc'd Generals of thoſe Times, reſided, and *Borgia*'s implacable Enemy, but he likewiſe knew that the *French* protected them in a very particular Manner; ſo that an Agreement having been made between *Valentine* and the People of *Sienna*, *Pandolfo* was obliged to leave that [2] Place, where, having been accompanied by *Borgia*'s own Chancellor, *Giovanni Paolo Baglione*, together with a Number of the *Sienneſe* Troops, and a Convoy from the *Florentines*, he came to *Lucca*, which Place, as *Valentine* was anxious to be Maſter of, ſo he had not been ſlow in ſetting his Machinations for this End on Foot; but it happen'd that the People employ'd to bring this about were arreſted by the *Florentine* Commiſſaries at [3] *Caſcina*, and for more Security ſent to *Piſa*.

The Duke, in the mean time, with his People, march'd towards *Rome*, plundering and deſtroying every where as he paſt along, both in *Tuſcany*, and even within the Territory of the

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 274. [2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 150. T. ibid. [3] T. T. p. 276.

Church; on whoſe Arrival, he got Intelligence that thoſe of the *Orſini* Family, who ſtill remain'd alive, were united with the *Savelli*, and had been making Inroads and Devaſtations there: on which *Borgia* immediately drove them before him, and obliged them to retire, and take to their ſtrong Holds, in which, within a little time, he reduced them to a very low Paſs. After this he attack'd the Eſtate of *Giovanni Giordano Orſino*, Part of which he took Poſſeſſion of, as alſo of *Vicovaro*, that Place having been the very firſt Origin of all the Revolutions which had lately happen'd in *Italy*.

From thence *Valentine* went to beſiege *Bracciano*, belonging to the ſaid *Giovanni Giordano*; but was forced to deſiſt from that Enterprize, by the expreſs Command of the [1] King of *France*, for *Giovanni* was then actually ſerving in the *French* Army, and in the Wars of *Naples*: So that all the Pope and *Borgia* could do, their Pretenſions to Right, and the Offer they made of giving the Principality of *Squillace* as an Equivalent, could not perſuade *Lewis* from defending and protecting both *Giovanni Giordano* himſelf, and his Territory: For by this Time *Lewis* began to ſee in good Earneſt, that he had Reaſon to be uneaſy himſelf at the *Borgian* Grandeur, and terrified at their Violence. On this Account, he not only began to think it convenient to ſuppreſs their further Uſurpations, but, by Means of one *Franciſco Narni*, actually excited the *Florentines*, *Bologneſe*, *Sienneſe*, and thoſe of *Lucca*, to enter into a [2] Confederacy againſt the *Borgians*, for the Defence of their reſpective Territories, and the common Welfare.

In the mean time, *Valentine* having been obliged to deſiſt from his Attempts on *Bracciano*, marched to beſiege *Ceri*, a very ſtrong Place belonging to the *Orſini*, in which was *Giovanni* the Sovereign, as alſo his Son *Renzo*, *Julius* the Cardinal's Brother, and *Frangiotto*, together with a good Number of choſen Soldiers, who all, after a long and gallant Defence, being reduced to the greateſt Extremities, were forced to ſurrender by [3] Capitulation, which was punctually obſerv'd by *Borgia*, to the Wonder and Aſtoniſhment of every Body, and

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 276.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 151. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 277.
[3] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 278. Guicciard. ibid.

contrary

contrary to his uſual Practice; ſo that theſe Lords had Liberty given them to retire with Safety to *Petigliano*, which Place had, amidſt all the Calamities already related, ſtill maintain'd its Freedom and Immunities, on Account of the powerful and particular Protection of the *Venetians*, becauſe the Lord of that Place, *viz.* the Count *Petigliano*, had a conſiderable Command in the Army of that Republick.

At the ſame Time that *Valentine* was poſſeſſing himſelf of the above-mention'd Places, the Pope his Father had another Army on Foot, and had taken *Palombaro*, *Lenzano*, and other Villages, which having formerly been wreſted out of the Hands of the *Savelli*, were given up to the *Orſini*: But while the latter had been acting againſt *Valentine*, the ſaid Family of *Savelli* had recover'd them; at which Time *Mutius Colonna* came Poſt from *Naples* to ſuccour the latter: However, all of them were obliged to yield to the ſuperior Force of the *Borgians*, who at the ſame Time had alſo taken *Cervetri*, where was *Organtino Orſino*, and *Fabio* the Son of *Paolo*, with a good Number of Horſe; ſo that in Effect not one Place belonging to the *Orſini* remain'd unſubdued, but only the Eſtate of *Giovanni Giordano*, who, having come privately from *Naples*, had arrived at his own Town of *Bracciano*, having judged that the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs afforded him a very good Opportunity for ſecuring his own Dominion.

In the mean time the Pope, in a Conſiſtory, declared the *Orſini* legally forfeited of their Eſtates; nay, more than that, without any Shadow of Reaſon, or a new pretended Provocation, order'd Cardinal *Orſino*, Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to be privately poiſon'd; which was accordingly done in the following [1] Manner: When that Cardinal was firſt ſeized, and made Priſoner, *Alexander* had proceeded againſt him with a Kind of Circumſpection, having firſt laid hold on him under the Notion of an Hoſtage, therefore confin'd him only within the Vicar's Chamber; and from thence in the other Rooms of the *Vatican*, above the Pontifical Chapel; afterwards he ſent him to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and, without being a cloſe Priſoner, allow'd him to lodge in the Governor's Apartment, and, for a while, permitted his Mother to ſend him daily whatever was needful

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 280.

for

for his Table: However, being determin'd at any Rate to put him to Death, by their ordinary Means of Poiſon, the better to effect this, they countermanded what formerly they had allow'd, and now forbid Proviſions ſhould be ſent him from his Mother's: However, learning that one of the *Orſini* had ſold a certain Vineyard for 2000 Crowns, which Money had been depoſited in the Cardinal's Hands; alſo a Pearl of an uncommon Size and Beauty, purchaſed from *Virginius*, *Orſino*'s Heir, for the Sum of other 2000 Crowns; and finding that, on plundering the Cardinal's Houſe, neither that Money nor the Pearl was to be found, the Pope, as if both the one and the other had by Right belong'd to himſelf, demanded them with Threatnings, but was refuſed: On this, he commanded that the Cardinal's Viands ſhould, as we have ſaid, be ſtopt from being ſent from his Mother's. But Maternal Affection being more prevalent with the good Lady than any other Conſideration, ſhe came privately one Time, dreſſed in [1] Man's Apparel, to the Pope, and paid him the 2000 Crowns; beſides, ſhe deliver'd him up the Pearl, which laſt had been made her a Preſent by her Son the Cardinal. But all this availed nothing, for before they allow'd him the Food as was uſual from his Family, they had taken Care to [2] diſpatch him out of the World, by the fore-mention'd barbarous Means.

However, a little before his Death, *Alexander* had held a Conſiſtory, in which he gave out, That the *Orſini* Family and their Adherents being grown more contumacious and daring than ever, were perſiſting to oppoſe the Authority of the Holy See, and had, in a treacherous Manner, formed, they ſaid, a Plot [3] againſt the City of *Rome*, which they deſign'd to enter and plunder, without the leaſt Regard to the Majeſty of the Pontificate, or the Sacred College: For which Reaſon he adviſ'd the Cardinals to be on their Guard, and provide for their own Safeties, by furniſhing themſelves with Arms and Men for defending their Palaces, and ſecuring their Properties and Effects. To this he added, That Duke *Valentine* was much to be blam'd for having too great a Regard to the *French* King's Orders, for which, tho' he was General of the Church, he had not taken Care to ſubdue *Bracciano*, and poſſeſs himſelf thereof, ſince that Place had now become a Sanctuary for theſe Rebels: ſo

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 280. [2] Idem. [3] Ibid. p. 283.

that

that he had commanded him not to regard the King of *France* in the Matter, but, in ſpight of all Oppoſition, to reduce the Rebels, and take that Town from them; adding, That as Cardinal *Orſino* had made him an Offer of 25,000 Crowns, to be ſet at Liberty, he had ſent him for Anſwer, that his Perſon was in no Danger, and that he ſhould be uſed with much Tenderneſs and Indulgence; for which End, ſeeing he was at preſent indiſpoſed, he had order'd his own Phyſicians to attend him, until cured and recovered. This happen'd on the *Monday*, and on [1] *Wedneſday* the Cardinal died of the Poiſon, with which they had treacherouſly and barbarouſly ſent him out of the World.

After this, the Pope ſent *Valentine* with a great Quantity of Artillery taken from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to *Bracciano*, with expreſs Orders to ſubdue and take that Place; for by this Time the *Borgians* were ſhewing a good deal of [2] Contempt for the *French* King's Orders, on Account of that Monarch's bad Succeſs in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Decay of his Power within *Italy*; appearing now to be very much diſpleaſed at *Lewis*'s Treatment of them, particularly with Regard to the Rubs they had met with from him in their Enterprizes againſt *Bologna* and *Tuſcany*; above all, the Countenance he had lately given thoſe who were forming a League againſt them, and by which *Pandolfo Petrucci* had been replaced in his Dominion within *Sienna*: So that the Pope and *Valentine* finding they were no more to depend on *Lewis*'s ſucceſsful Fortune, for the better eſtabliſhing that Grandeur they had cut out for themſelves within *Italy*: For theſe Reaſons they turn'd very careleſs about the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, inſomuch that, in flat Oppoſition to his Commands, *Valentine* marched with his whole Force to ſubdue the Eſtates of *Giovanni Giordano*, and take *Bracciano* from him by Force. However, the better to make the Matter eaſy, the Pope, in his written Briefs which he cauſed to be ſent to the King of *France*, pretended, that, among Cardinal *Orſino*'s Papers, he had diſcover'd a Conſpiracy form'd by the ſaid *Giovanni Giordano*, and the reſt of the *Orſini* Family, againſt *Rome*; therefore was not, he ſaid, ſafe, while the Enemy had Dominions ſo near him. However, becauſe his Majeſty had

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 284. [2] Ibid. p. 285.

given them hitherto his Protection, he was willing, on this Account, he ſaid, to make the *Orſini* the ſame Offer he had done before, and give *Giovanni Giordano* ſome Equivalent for his Territory, if he would deliver it up to him voluntarily.

While Matters were thus tranſacting, the *Florentines* having, with the *French* King's Countenance and Approbation, march'd with their Forces againſt *Piſa*, had accordingly ſent one *Bagli d'Occan*, with ſome *French* Lances, thither: on which *Valentine* not only, in ſpight of the King, aſſiſted the *Piſans*, but reſolv'd to embrace the Offer they made him of taking on him the [1] Government and Dominion of that Place, which formerly he had been obliged to reject, becauſe of the Command of the King of *France* to the contrary, notwithſtanding he had an ardent Deſire to be Maſter of that City, becauſe, if poſſeſſed thereof, he thought he would very ſoon be likewiſe of the reſt of *Tuſcany*; for which End the Deputies of the People of *Piſa*, who were ſent to conclude this Affair, were moſt courteouſly received at *Rome*.

But, in the mean time, the Peace between the King of *France* and *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, by Means of *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria*, being concluded at *Bleſs*, it was of Force to reſtrain the *Borgians* from that Undertaking, and alſo their Hoſtilities againſt *Giovanni Giordano*, the King being by both Parties choſen to decide that Affair, and an Equivalent now to be given for the State of *Bracciano*.

Hence *Borgia* having no more Occaſion to employ his Forces, return'd with his Army to *Rome*; where, no ſooner had he arrived, than Cardinal *d'Eſte* left that Place, becauſe, according to the Uſage of thoſe laſcivious and vicious Times, he had thrown on *Valentine* a conſiderable Affront, in rivaling him in his Amours with Donna *Sancia*, Wife to *Giuffery*, whom the latter uſed to [2] enjoy with as much Freedom as her Husband his Brother: So that the Cardinal knowing that *Borgia* never let ſuch Injuries go unreveng'd, judg'd it moſt adviſeable not to expoſe himſelf to his Treachery, accordingly retir'd to *Ferrara*. But Cardinal *Michiele*, Pope *Paul* II's Nephew, had not been ſo prudent, as to ward off the deplorable Fate which attended

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 286. [2] Ibid. p. 288.

him,

him, having, by the Villainy of the *Borgians*, been ſent out of the World by [1] Poiſon, treacherouſly infuſed into his Viands by the Hands of his own Butler, and his Goods and Effects ſeized and confiſcated by them, notwithſtanding that Cardinal had been one of the chief Inſtruments of getting *Alexander* elected to the Papacy; and, as we took Notice in another Place, neither he, nor any of the principal Promoters of that Election, eſcap'd being cut off, and made a Sacrifice by the ſame Monſter of Ingratitude they had promoted.

In the mean time, the Affairs of the *French* within the Kingdom of *Naples* were beginning to take an unfortunate Turn; for the Count *Mileto*, with the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*'s People, having encamped at *Terranuova*, Don *Hugo di Cardona* came over about the ſame Time from *Meſſina* to *Calabria*, which 800 *Spaniſh* Foot, who having before been in *Valentine*'s Pay, had come to *Rome*, and there engaged themſelves in the Service of the King of *Spain*. Beſides theſe, there were 100 Horſe, and 800 Foot, made up of *Sicilians* and *Calabreſe*; all which arriving at *Seminara*, had march'd to *Terranuova*, with Deſign to ſuccour that Place. On this, the Count *Mileto* decamp'd from before the ſaid Town, and went to oppoſe the March of the Enemies Troops thither. The *Spaniards* advanc d in a narrow Plain, between the Mountains and a ſmall River, which, tho' it contain'd little Water, its Banks, however, for the moſt Part join'd with the High Road.

The *French*, who were ſuperior in Number, came up on the other Side of the River, being deſirous to engage the Enemy

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 288. Alſo Bemb. Lib. VI. p. 217. His Words, relating to the Pope's having treacherouſly caus'd Cardinal *Michiele* to be poiſon'd, are thus:—Neque multo poſt Johannes Michael Civis Venetus Cardinalis, qui Pauli ſecundi Pontificis maximi Sororis Filius fuerat, Romæ Veneno interiit, quod ei Alexander à Præfecto Michaelis Epularum dari juſſit. Cauſa interficiendi hominem fuit aurum atque argentum, quod is habere exiſtimabatur: quarum omnino rerum inexplebilis Alexandri animum cupiditas ad omnem iniquitatem incendebat, uti filio pecuniam exercitibus Alendis ſuppeditaret quo is Italorum principum regna occupare celerius poſſet ſe jam ſene. The Cardinal adds to this what is very remarkable, that for this horrid Crime of poiſoning his Maſter, the ſame villainous Butler was arraign'd and condemn'd to die, by Pope *Julius* II. who ſucceeded within a little while to *Alexander*: *Bembo*'s *Words are thus*—Miniſter Veneni haud multo poſt, Julio Pontifice maximo, re per judicium enunciata, in vincula conjectus, quæſtione habita ſui ſceleris pœnas perſolvit. See this alſo confirm'd by Tom. Tomaſ. p. 289.

on

on the plain Ground; but perceiving they ſtill continued their March in the narrow Paths, and that their Ranks were kept in very good Order, they judg'd that, if by ſome Means they did not intercept them, they might themſelves meet with Difficulty in getting back to *Terranuova*. Accordingly they paſs'd over to the other Side of the River to attack them, which they did, however, by the Bravery of the *Spaniſh* Horſe, who were enured to War, after a ſmart Engagement, the *French* themſelves were routed. But indeed the Narrowneſs of the Banks of the River, had all along been of great Diſadvantage to them, and one of the chief Reaſons that they were defeated.

After this, 200 Men at Arms, 200 Giannetiers, with 2000 Foot, arrived at *Meſſina*, from *Spain*, under the Command of *Manuele Benauida*; and with him came *Antonio da Leva* into *Italy*, who, from a private Centinel, had raiſed himſelf to the Rank of a Captain General, in which Country he had gain'd many Victories: He having arrived likewiſe at *Meſſina*, came over from thence to *Reggio*, which laſt City had, ſome time before, been taken from the *French*.

Obigni, in the mean time, having been in another Part of *Calabria*, the moſt of which Province was in his Poſſeſſion, gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of advancing within that Country as far as *Loſarno*, five Miles from *Calimera*, where *Ambricort* two Days before had arrived with 300 Lances, and the Count *Mileto* with 2000 Foot; after which the *Spaniards*, by Break of Day, advanc'd up to the Walls, beſieged the Place, and, on the ſecond Attack, [1] took it, notwithſtanding thoſe within the Town had made a very gallant Defence. At this Siege one of the *French* Generals, called *Spirito*, was ſlain; *Ambricort* made Priſoner; and the Count *Mileto* forced to take Refuge within the Caſtle: after which the Conquerors immediately came back to *Terranuova*. Being, however, under no ſmall Apprehenſions about *Obigni*, who, with 300 Lances, 3000 Foreign Troops, and 2000 Natives of *Naples*, was advancing, and had halted at *Polliſtrine*, a neighbouring Village.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 151. [2] Ibid.

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The *Spaniards*, in this Interim, wanting Forage, went off in the Night-time, and march'd towards *Ghirace*; but being follow'd cloſe by *Obigni*'s Troops, to the Aſcent of a very ſteep Mountain, when attack'd, they loſt 60 Men at Arms, and a good Number of their Foot. Of the *French* Side, one *Grugni*, a celebrated Captain, was kill'd, having puſh'd too boldly in among the Enemies Ranks. This Officer had had the Command of Count *Gaiazzo*'s Company given him, the latter having, after the Siege of *Capua*, died a Natural Death.

About the ſame Time, another Army of *Spaniards* arrived in *Sicily*, conſiſting of 200 Men at Arms, 200 Light Horſe, and 2000 Foot, commanded by *Portocarera*, who, after he had tranſported theſe Troops to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, died there; after whom Don *Ferdinando d'Andrada* ſucceeded in the Command. On the Arrival of theſe Troops, the *Spaniards*, who lay at *Ghirace*, took freſh Courage, and returned to *Terranuova*, where they intrench'd themſelves on the Ground near the Caſtle, which ſtill was in their own Poſſeſſion, ſituated at the Head of a Vale, to which the reſt of the Town was join'd. Notwithſtanding all this, they were under no ſmall Terror, when they heard of *Obigni*'s Approach; and indeed they had Reaſon, for that General having arrived from *Polleſtrine*, had encamped on a Ground not far from them.

However, *Obigni* having Intelligence that the other Troops of *Spain* had arrived at *Reggio*, and were approaching, in order to join with the reſt, he retir'd to *Loſarno*; and the Enemy, on Account of the Advantage of Forage and Proviſions, had all united together at *Seminara*.

While Things were in this Manner tranſacting within *Calabria*, the *French* Vice-Roy, having return'd to *Barletta*, had halted at *Matera*, and quarter'd his Troops in that Neighbourhood, with a Deſign to hinder the Enemy's being ſupplied with Forage and Proviſions, hoping that, on Account of the Peſtilence and Scarcity of Proviſions within *Barletta*, they would be obliged to quit that Place; nor, for the ſame Reaſon, did he think they could lodge in *Trani*. But the [1] Magnanimity and

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 152.

Reſolution of the *Spaniards* was prodigious, amidſt ſo many Trials and Misfortunes, being greatly animated by the Counſel and Example of *Conſalvo*, who ſtill endeavour'd to encourage and keep up their Spirits, aſſuring them, that they very ſoon would be join'd by a Body of 2000 *German* Horſe, who were to come to their Aſſiſtance: beſides that, they were to have other Succours; nay, that if they could not poſſibly hold out, he determin'd, he ſaid, to lead them to *Tarento* by Sea. With ſuch Hopes, and his own Example in ſuffering very great Hardſhips, for want of Proviſions and Neceſſaries, did he perſuade them to Stedfaſtneſs, and to bear their Misfortunes with a chearful Reſolution.

In this Manner was the War carrying on; but the Haughtineſs and Negligence of the *French* were ſuch, that that Party began within a little to be [1] ſuperior, which till now had been very much inferior to the other. For the Inhabitants of *Caſtellanetta*, a Village near *Barletta*, being become in a manner deſperate, on Account of the Injuries they had received from the 500 *French* Lances quarter'd there, and having for this Reaſon made an Inſurrection, and betaken themſelves to Arms [2], they fell upon the *French*, plunder'd, and ſtript them of every Thing.

Moreover, *Conſalvo* having got Intelligence that Monſieur *della Paliſſa*, with 100 Lances, and 300 Foot, was quarter'd at the Village *Rubos*, twelve Miles from *Barletta*, and that they were very negligent in keeping Guard, one Night he privately marched out of the latter, and went with all imaginable Speed to *Rubos*; where; having planted his Artillery againſt the Town, which, on Account of the Plainneſs of the Road, he had tranſported thither with very much Eaſe, he accordingly attack'd it with ſo much Aſſiduity and Reſolution, that, in fine, the *French*, who had been little dreaming of the Enemy, after a very weak Reſiſtance, were totally [3] routed, and *Paliſſa* himſelf was, together with the others, taken Priſoner. That very ſame Day *Conſalvo* return'd victorious to *Barletta*, without being intercepted in his March by *Nemors*, who ſome Days before had come with his Troops to *Canoſa*; and the other Forces before *Barletta*, having been diſperſed to and fro in the neighbouring Villages, none of them had yet join'd one another.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 152. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Beſides

Beſides this, 100 *French* Lances were ſent to eſcort ſome Sums of Money from *Trani* towards *Barletta*, of which *Conſalvo* having had Intelligence, he ſent Part of his Troops to intercept them, who accordingly attack'd the Lances, defeated them, and carried off the Money.

About this ſame Time another Incident happen'd, which caſt a very great Damp on the *French* Affairs, occaſion'd in the following Manner:

A Trumpet having been ſent by the *French* to *Barletta*, in order to treat about returning certain Soldiers taken at *Rubos*, it happen'd that ſome *Italians*, belonging to the *Spaniſh Gens d'Armes*, dropt diſparaging and ſatirical Expreſſions about the *French*, which having been reported by the ſaid Trumpet on his Return to the Camp, the latter thought their Honour was engaged to ſend the *Italians* back an Anſwer, which they did in very warm and ſmart Terms: This Thing kindled within both ſuch a Deſire for ſupporting the Honour of their reſpective Countries, that, in fine, the Matter came to this Concluſion, namely, [1] * That Thirteen of the *French*, choſen out of their Army, ſhould combat the like Number of *Italians*, pick'd out from among the Enemy; and that the Place where they were to engage each other, ſhould be at an equal Diſtance from both Camps, *viz.* on a Spot of Ground between *Barletta*, *Andria*, and *Quadrato*; and that each Party ſhould be eſcorted to the Field by an equal Number of the Troops of both Sides: And, the better to take off Suſpicion of any ſiniſter Deſign, the Captain Generals of the reſpective Armies, made the greateſt Part of their Troops conduct the Combitants half-way to the Place where they were to fight, encouraging and exciting them to behave with Honour and Reſolution, in as forceable a Manner as they could, urging, that as they had been choſen from among both Armies, as the moſt valiant of any, ſo they hoped they would anſwer the great Expectations which People had of them, and that from their Courage and Valour, the Honour of two powerful Nations was, by publick Conſent, to be reſcued and exalted.

[1] The Reader is directed to peruſe Guicciardin's Account of this Combat, the whole Narrative, from the above Mark *, being taken from that Author. *Vid.* Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 152, 153.

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The *French* Vice-Roy told his Champions, that thoſe were the ſame *Italians*, who, either by not having the Boldneſs ever to withſtand the *French*, had always yielded to them, without coming to Blows: Beſides, he made them remember how many Times the ſame *French* had come from beyond the *Alps*, over-run all *Italy*, and penetrated to its extreme Boundaries, without Oppoſition. Nor was there any new Bravery, he ſaid, to be found among them; but, as they were Hirelings to the *Spaniards*, and Slaves to their Commands, they durſt not, therefore, diſobey them in undertaking the preſent Combat, notwithſtanding it was their ordinary Cuſtom to fight more by Fraud than true Courage, and their cowardly Practice rather to lie by as idle Spectators of other Peoples Dangers, than to take a Share in them themſelves. And indeed it happen'd that at this Time, when the *Italians* arrived at the Field where the Combat was to enſue, being in Front of their Adverſaries, as ſoon as they ſaw the Arms and undaunted Aſpect of thoſe by whom they had uſed to be ſo often beat, they were in a Moment ſeized with ſo much Dread and Confuſion, that they either would not have fought at all, or if they had, 'twould have been in a very cold and cowardly Manner, and ſo become a Prey to their exulting Enemies, had it not been for *Conſalvo*, who rouzed and animated them by no trivial or ſlight Motives and Arguments, bringing to their Memory the antient Honour of that Nation, and the Glory of their Arms, who had conquer'd the World; and that it was in the Power of theſe few at preſent, whom he hop'd would not prove inferior in Valour to their Anceſtors, to manifeſt to the World, that if *Italy*, the moſt victorious of all Nations, had ever ſuffer'd her ſelf to be over-run by the Arms of Foreigners, the Imprudence and Ambition of their own Princes were the ſole Occaſion thereof, who, by diſagreeing among themſelves, had called in Strangers to their Aſſiſtance; and that the *French* had not, on Account of their Valour, gain'd one ſingle Victory in *Italy*, nor been prevalent, but in-ſo-far as they had been aſſiſted by the Counſel and Arms of the *Italians*: Beſides, that now they had an Opportunity to fight in Perſon, with their own Weapons; nay, that the chief Nobility, and Gentlemen of the greateſt Diſtinction of each Party were now met, and, with the greateſt Anxiety imaginable, were to be Spectators of their Magnanimity and Courage, and to decide on whoſe Side Victory was to fall. Moreover, that they ought to remember how they had been

been brought up and diſciplin'd under the Inſtruction of the beſt Commanders in *Italy*, enur'd to Arms, and in other Places had not been wanting to give Proofs of their Bravery; and ſo were they deſign'd on this Occaſion, he ſaid, to receive the Palm of Victory, and retrieve the Glory of the *Italian* Name: But if ſuch Honour ſhould not be acquired and regained at preſent by their Hands, they might never hope to ſee *Italy*, but in a State of perpetual Servitude; and if they were vanquiſh'd at preſent, it would be to her and their everlaſting Ignominy and Shame.

There were not wanting People to excite each of them to behave with that Valour and undaunted Reſolution, which they knew would produce Effects of no ſmall Conſequence, with Regard to the *Spaniſh* and *French* Intereſt in general. After theſe pathetick Speeches of the Commanders of the reſpective Armies, had, with ſo much Energy and Zeal, been deliver'd to their Combatants, the Minds of both were fill'd with Ardour and Reſolution of an uncommon Nature, being determin'd that either their Right Hands ſhould conquer, or themſelves die on the Spot: Glory, everlaſting Renown, or eternal Infamy, being now at the Stake.

Accordingly, the Combatants being ranked in Front of each other, and the Signal for beginning the Fight now given, both Parties flew on one another with their Lances; in which firſt Encounter no viſible Advantage appear'd on either Side; ſo that each of them, with inexpreſſible Courage, throwing down the Weapons they firſt made uſe of, began to put their Hands to their Swords, with which they gave ſuch viſible Marks of their reſpective Bravery and Valour, that the By-ſtanders tacitly confeſs'd more brave and couragious Men could not poſſibly have been choſen out of either Army, nor any fitter to decide ſo glorious a Conteſt.

Having in this Manner with their Swords fought a conſiderable Time, and the Ground around them being now cover'd with Blood and broken Armour, the Event of the Combat was ſtill in Suſpence: Mean while the By-ſtanders were gazing upon them with a profound and eager Silence, and with an Anxiety of Mind, which may well be imagin'd, tho' the Palpitation of their Breaſts cannot be expreſſed in Words. While thus it was

going on, one of the *French* Champions happen'd to throw *Gulielmo Albimonte*, an *Italian*, from his Horſe; on which finding he had gain'd ſo viſible an Advantage, he puſh'd on violently, in order to diſpatch his Antagoniſt, now proſtrated on the Ground. This being obſerv'd by another of the *Italians*, called *Franciſco Salamone*, he ran to his Countryman's Aſſiſtance, where, while the *Frenchman* was eager on deſtroying his Adverſary, *Salamone* ſtole behind him, and gave him ſuch a violent Stroke with his Sword, that he inſtantly died on the Spot; at which Time *Albimonte* recover'd himſelf, as did alſo another of the *Italians*, called *Miale*, who likewiſe had been thrown on the Ground. This Advantage gave the *Italians* freſh Courage, ſo that having brought with them long-pointed Irons, like Spits, they kill'd ſeveral of the *French* Horſes, by which the latter were ſo diſabled, that it now appear'd viſible they had the worſt in the Combat, inſomuch that the *French* one after another, to the great Horror of their Party, were taken Priſoners by their Adverſaries, ſo that the *Italians* plainly gain'd the Fight.

When the whole was over, and Victory declared on the Side of the *Italians*, the conquering Heroes were received by their own People with Joy inexpreſſible, *Conſalvo* having come in Perſon about half-way on the Road from the Camp, to conduct them back, careſſing them with great Tenderneſs and Affection, and thank'd them for retrieving the antient Glory of their Country, and for being, he ſaid, the Pride of his Arms. On their Arrival at *Barletta*, they enter'd that City in a triumphant Manner, leading their Priſoners along with them, and exulting greatly for ſo memorable and conſpicuous a Victory. As they paſs'd along, the Air rung with the Sound of Trumpets, Drums, Artillery, Acclamations, and Applauſe of the People, and Shouts of the Soldiers. The Names of the Victors were as follow, *viz.* *Hettore Fieramoſca* of *Capua*; *Giovanni Copoccio*, *Giovanni Barcalone*, and *Hettore Giovenale*, *Romans*; *Marco Carellario* of *Naples*; *Mariano* of *Sarni*, *Romanello* of *Forli*, *Lodovico Aminale* from *Terni*, *Franciſco Salamone*, and *Gulielmo Albimonte*, *Sicilians*; *Miale da Troia*, *Riccio*, and *Tanfulla*, of *Parma*; all which had been bred in the Service of the King of *Arragon*, or under the *Colonneſe*.

It is incredible how great a Damp this Affair threw on the *French*, and the freſh Courage which, on the other Hand, it gave the *Spaniards*; ſo that by this Deciſion of a few, People began now to conjecture in what Manner the Conteſt about the whole Kingdom would probably be decided.

But while theſe Things were tranſacting in the Kingdom of *Naples*, News was brought, that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had concluded a Peace at *Bles*, by the Mediation of *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Prince of *Flanders*, in the Manner following: [1] *Philip* deſigning to return from *Spain* to his own Country, reſolv'd to go thither by Land: And altho' this Reſolution was very much againſt his Father-in-Law's Conſent, *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, yet for all that, the ſaid Monarch had inveſted him with a Plenipotentiary Power to make Peace with the King of *France*, a Thing which the Archduke ſeem'd very deſirous to bring about while in *Spain*: However, he was unwilling to accept the Commiſſion, unleſs he had ſome Miniſters, he ſaid, appointed to act in Conjunction with him. Accordingly two Deputies from *Spain* were order'd to act in that Matter, and to accompany *Philip* in his Journey to *France*.

It is ſcarcely credible with what Magnificence and Honour he was, by the King's Command, received within the *French* Dominions, not only on Account of *Lewis*'s Deſire of having his Favour and Good-will in the preſent Juncture of Affairs about a Peace, but he was above meaſure willing to ſecure to himſelf that Prince's future Friendſhip, who was Heir and next Succeſſor to both the Empire and the Crown of *Spain*: nor was *Philip* wanting on his Part to remunerate the Honours and Favours ſhewn him by *Lewis*, with a Magnanimity and Generoſity, adequate to his princely and auguſt Station.

But leſt any Suſpicion ſhould be raiſed, of Danger that might accrue to *Philip* in paſſing thro' the Dominions of *France*, *Lewis* pledg'd his Honour that he might paſs ſecurely

[1] The Reader is refer'd to Guicciard. from whom this Account of the Peace concluded between *Lewis* and the Archduke of *Auſtria* is likewiſe taken. *Vid.* Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 154, 155.

in

in his Way Home; nay, more than that, ſent ſeveral of the chief Perſons of his Kingdom into *Flanders*, to remain there by Way of Hoſtages or Pledges, all the Time that *Philip* ſhould be in *France*. But as ſoon as the Archduke came within the *French* Dominions, he ſent Orders to *Flanders*, that theſe above-mention'd Lords might not give themſelves the Trouble of tarrying in his Country as Hoſtages, ſaying, the King's Honour was as great a Pledge for his Security, as any Thing he could have or deſire. Accordingly his Majeſty and *Philip* having met at *Bles*, they concluded the Peace between *France* and *Spain* in the following Manner, namely, [1] *Firſt, That the Monarchs of both theſe Countries now mention'd, ſhould keep their Poſſeſſions in the Kingdom of* Naples, *according to the Agreement formerly made between them, and the Diviſion which had been allow'd about each of the Provinces: Secondly, That the Diſtricts or Country about which the Conteſt between them had happen'd, and which had been the Occaſion of their Hoſtilities, ſhould be depoſited in the Archduke's own Hands: Thirdly, That the Marriage which was on Foot between his Son* Charles *and* Claudia, *the* French *King's Daughter, ſhould be concluded, and that this* Charles *ſhould be called King of* Naples, *and Duke of* Puglia *and* Calabria: *Moreover, that the Part belonging to the ſaid King of* Naples *his Son, ſhould, for the future, be govern'd by the Archduke the Father, till the former was of Age; and the other Part of the Kingdom, appertaining to the* French, *by whomever* Lewis *or his Succeſſors pleaſed; but both to be kept in the Name of the Children; and that when they were of Age, the Marriage ſhould be conſummated: ſo that the King of* France *was to give up his Part of* Naples *as his Daughter's Dowry.*

This Peace was ſolemnly publiſh'd in the Great Church at *Bles*, and confirmed by the mutual Oaths of the King and the Archduke, the laſt, as has been ſaid, being chief Deputy or Plenipotentiary for his Father-in-Law *Ferdinand*. No ſooner were Affairs ſettled in this Manner, than *Lewis* and *Philip* ſent an Account of the Whole to *Naples*, ordering the reſpective Commanders of both Nations there, to deſiſt from Hoſtilities, until the ſaid Peace ſhould come confirm'd from the King of *Spain*; and that, in the mean time, each Party within the *Neapolitan*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 154.

politan Dominion, ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of the Places and Countries they had in their Hands at that Time.

The *French* Vice-Roy ſhew'd himſelf obedient to his Maſter's Commands: But *Conſalvo* the *Spaniard*, either becauſe he hop'd for more Succeſs in the War than his Adverſaries, or that the Order ſent him by *Philip*, he thought, was not a ſufficient Warrant for him, in an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, ſent the Archduke for Anſwer, That until he had ſuch Orders from his King [1], he could not deſiſt from carrying on the War.

On the other Hand, the *French* Monarch having hoped much would reſult from the Proſpect of Peace, had, on that Account, become more neglient and remiſs in ſending the neceſſary Succours to *Naples*, than before; ſo that altho' he had 3000 Foot, and 300 Lances, commanded by *M. Perſi*, ready in *Genoa* to embark for that Kingdom, and to be tranſported to *Barletta*, yet he [2] had countermanded their Departure. On the other Hand, 2000 *German* Foot arrived at *Barletta*, having been ſent to the *Spaniards* Aſſiſtance from *Trieſte*, and, very much to *Lewis*'s Diſpleaſure, had paſſed thither thro' the Gulph of *Venice*.

On this, the Duke of *Nemors*, finding he could not depend on the Suſpenſion of Arms, and his Troops, becauſe of their former Misfortunes, being very much weaken'd, he ſent to bring all the *French* Forces together, thro'out every Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, except thoſe in *Calabria*, which *Obigni* commanded: At the ſame Time demanded Aſſiſtance from the *Neapolitan* Barons in the *French* Intereſt; but in effecting this, he encounter'd ſundry Diſappointments and Misfortunes: For it happen'd that the Duke of *Atri* and *Lewis d'Ars*, a *French* Commander, having their Forces diſperſed up and down in the Country of *Otranto*, had determin'd to bring together, and join them with thoſe of the Vice-Roy: beſides, they knew that if they were kept diſperſed, *Pietro Navarra*, with a conſiderable Body of *Spaniſh* Troops, was lying ready to attack them. However, *Lewis d'Ars* having found a favourable Opportunity of marching to the Place where the Vice-Roy was, went away with his Men, and ſo left the Duke of *Atri*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 154. [2] Ibid.

to ſhift for himſelf: However, the latter had got Intelligence that *Navarra* was gone off towards *Matera*, to join with *Conſalvo*: on which, with what Troops were under his Command, *Atri* began his March, where formerly he had deſign'd: But the People of *Rutiliano* having, about the ſame Time, revolted from the *French*, they had ſent for *Navarra* to come to their Aſſiſtance; on which the latter, being reſolved to march thither, by Chance, met the Duke of *Atri* on the Road, not a little to their mutual Surprize. *Atri* ſtood for a while in Suſpenſe, not knowing how to act, and whether he ſhould attack the Enemy or not: At laſt, fearing he could neither make a ſafe or honourable Retreat, and knowing, that tho' inferior in Foot, his Cavalry was ſuperior to the *Spaniards*; moreover, judging the Enemy was not a little fatigued with the long March they had made; on theſe Accounts he reſolv'd to give them Battle, which accordingly was done with great Reſolution and Bravery on both Sides; but Fortune, after a ſharp Struggle, turn'd the Scale in Favour of the *Spaniards*, ſo that not only were the *French* routed, but *Atri*'s Uncle ſlain on the Spot, and himſelf taken [1] Priſoner.

But as commonly Misfortunes are obſerv'd to follow upon the Back of one another; four *French* Gallies, commanded by one *Preggianni*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, came towards the Harbour of *Otranto*, near which, under the Town of *Villamarina*, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was cruiſing, and which made up to the aforeſaid Harbour. On this the *French* Admiral, finding he could not eſcape having his Veſſels ſeized, order'd their Rudders to be taken off, and the Gallies [2] ſunk there, which was done, but himſelf and People getting off by Land, eſcaped being made Priſoners.

The King of *France*, in the mean time, had given Charge to his Army to act on the Defenſive, and to ſhun, as much as was poſſible, coming to a Battle with the Enemy, becauſe he imagin'd he either would ſoon have the Peace ratified by the King of *Spain*, or if not, be able to ſend his People ſpeedy and powerful Succours. But both Armies being ſtrong, and near to each other, it was ſcarcely poſſible to reſtrain the Heat of

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 155. [2] Ibid.

the

the *French*, and make them for any conſiderable Time ſtand by idle; and even it ſeem'd decreed by Providence, that the whole Conteſt one Way or another ſhould come to a ſpeedy Concluſion; for the *Spaniards* in *Calabria* muſter'd up all their Forces, and brought them together at *Seminara*. *Obigni*, on the other Side, with his Troops, and the reſt who follow'd the *French* Intereſt, were quarter'd in the Country of *Gioia*, three Miles from the aforeſaid Town, having left their Cavalry at *Laſarno*, a Place about the ſame Diſtance from *Gioia*. *Obigni* had fortified his Camp with four Pieces of Artillery, upon the Banks of the River on which the Town of *Gioia* ſtands: And in this Manner were they prepared to oppoſe the Enemy, if they ſhould endeavour to paſs the ſaid River. But the *Spaniards*, on the Day they had deſign'd to get to the other Side, having determin'd their Matters in a Way different from what *Obigni* had imagin'd, ſent their Van-Guard, commanded by *Manuele Benauida*, forward on the Road which leads ſtrait to the River, where, arriving on its Banks, they began to confer with *Obigni*, who by this Time had drawn up his Army on the oppoſite Side; in which Interval the *Spaniſh* Rear-Guard, in another Place, began to paſs the River, about a Mile and a half from the Town of *Gioia*.

Obigni being apprized of this, march'd with full Speed, but without his Artillery, to attack them before they could have Time to get to the other Side: But, as Fortune would have it, he came too late, for by this Time they had all paſs'd the River, form'd their Ranks, and put themſelves in Order of Battle; on which *Obigni*, not thinking fit to loſe the leaſt Time, began to attack them: However, as his Troops had march'd with too great Precipitation, and being inferior to the *Spaniards* in Number, as alſo having no Artillery with them: on theſe Accounts his Troops, after they had been for a while engaged, were put into Diſorder, and ſo were [1] routed, even before the *Spaniſh* Van-Guard had paſs'd over the River; in which Action *Ambricort*, together with ſeveral other *French* Commanders, were taken Priſoners; and with them a Number of *Neapolitan* Barons. *Obigni* himſelf fled to the Caſtle of *Angitola*, where, being ſhut up and ſurrounded on all Hands by the Enemy, he was forced at laſt to [2] ſurrender, having

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 155. [2] Idem.

been

been worſted and taken Priſoner near the very ſame Place where, a few Years before, with great Glory and Renown, he had diſcomfited both King *Ferdinand* and *Conſalvo*. So very inconſtant is Fortune, that this Man, among the braveſt and moſt experienc'd Generals of any *Charles* had brought with him into *Italy*, endow'd with a noble and extenſive Mind, ſhould now, out of too great Eagerneſs and Heat in thinking to obtain Victory, fall at laſt a Victim to Fortune, and a Prey to his Eenemies.

This Diſaſter was very prejudicial to the Affairs of the *French* Vice-Roy in *Puglia*, who, having got Notice thereof, it made him act with more Warmth and Precipitation there, than perhaps otherwiſe he would have done. For *Conſalvo* not having got Intelligence of his Countrymens Succeſs, had, for want of Proviſions, and on Account of the Plague within *Barletta*, march'd privately from thence with his Troops to [1] *Carignuola*, about ten Miles from *Barletta*, and equi-diſtant from it and *Canoſa*, where the *French* Vice-Roy was lying with his Forces. It was diſputed among the latter, whether or not they ſhould come to a Battle with the *Spaniards*; many of the *French* Commanders were againſt fighting, becauſe the Enemies Forces were conſiderably augmented, and their own diminiſh'd: And indeed they were not a little diſheartned for this, and their bad Succeſs both at *Rubos*, *Caſtellaneto*, *Otranto*, and laſt of all, for *Obigni*'s Defeat in *Calabria*; ſo that they judg'd it not adviſeable now to venture their [2] All on the Event of a precarious Battle, but rather to retire to *Melfi*, or ſome other convenient Place, where Proviſions were plenty, and there to wait, either until freſh Succour ſhould be ſent out of *France*, or a Peace one Way or other be concluded; at leaſt to tarry there for new Orders from the King.

But this Council was [3] rejected by others, who deem'd it dangerous to tarry, and lie by idle, by which the victorious Army of the Enemy, in *Calabria*, might, they thought, have Time to join *Conſalvo*, or perhaps undertake ſome other Enterprize in their Prejudice, in which Caſe there would be none to reſiſt or make Head againſt them, calling to Mind the bad Succeſs *Monpenſier* had formerly met with, in having choſen to retire with his People into Villages, rather than to fight: Beſides,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 155. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

that

that the Succours they propoſed to have from *France* were uncertain, and would require much Time before they could arrive: Likewiſe, that the Affair of Peace being a precarious Matter, ſince *Conſalvo* had not deſiſted, nor would abſtain from Hoſtilities: All theſe Things, they thought, were Motives ſufficient for them not to neglect the preſent Opportunity, eſpecially when they had ſo fair a Proſpect of Succeſs, the Enemy being inferior to them both in Number and Valour, conſequently, they ſaid, they ought not to argue that the ſame Kind of Misfortunes, which had happen'd by mere Negligence, were always to enſue in the open Field, for there they would have Occaſion to fight with Arms and Courage, and not with Stratagem and Guile: And ſince they were in every Reſpect on a Par with the Enemy, ſo was it more honourable for them to make an equal Trial of Fortune; which, if they ſhun'd, and ſuffer'd it to dwindle out of their Hands, it would only be giving the Enemy a Victory without Blood-ſhed; and that the Orders of his Majeſty not to fight if they could avoid it, was to be underſtood more as a Caution than a Command: prudent indeed, they ſaid, if *Obigni* had follow'd them; but as the Misfortunes befallen him, had now changed the Face of Affairs, with regard to the War, 'twas therefore neceſſary they ſhould change their former Reſolutions alſo.

This Council prevailing, *Nemors* in the mean time having, by his Spies, had ſome Sort of Intelligence given him that Part, or rather the whole *Spaniſh* Troops had left *Barletta*, and gone to *Cirignuola*, he immediately order'd his Army to follow them thither, with all imaginable Speed. *Nemors* could not, indeed, learn certainly if they all had abandon'd *Barletta*, becauſe *Fabritius Colonna*, with his Light Horſe, took always Care to prevent the *French* from having any diſtinct Intelligence from that Place; nor even when they march'd, could they get a fair Sight of the Enemy, becauſe the latter, having elevated their Spears in the Rear of their Army, and the long Stalks of Fennel which run very high, and are vaſtly plentiful in that Country, for the moſt Part obſtructed, or rather intercepted their View.

The *Spaniards*, in the mean time, arrived at *Cirignuola*, and becauſe that Place was in the Hands of the *French*, they were obliged to lodge their Troops among certain Vineyards

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near the Town. *Proſperus Colonna*, as ſoon as they were ſettled, adviſed them to dig a [1] Ditch, by Way of Fence, in Front of their Army, and entrench themſelves in the beſt Manner they could; which was accordingly done.

By this Time the *French* Army came up, even before the Ditch was well finiſh'd: and as it now was in the Evening, the latter ſtood in Suſpence, whether they ſhould attack the Enemy immediately, or wait and give them Battle next Morning. *Ivo d'Allegri*, and the Prince of *Melfi*, were for delaying until Break of Day, judging that the *Spaniards*, for want of Proviſions, would ſoon be obliged to decamp from thence; ſo as the Night was approaching, they thought it adviſeable to [2] ſhun the Diſadvantage of making an Attack on the Enemies Entrenchments, not knowing how, or in what Diſpoſition they were.

But the Vice-Roy deſpiſing that wholeſome Council, the very Moment they arrived, [3] aſſaulted the *Spaniards* with great Fury, in which the *Swiſs* fought with incredible Bravery and Fierceneſs: But one Way or other, the Ammunition of the *Spaniards* having taken Fire, *Conſalvo*, with great Preſence of Mind, gave a very ſeaſonable Turn to that Accident, and cried out aloud, *We have gained the* [4] *Day! We have gained the Day! God proclaims Victory to us, ſeeing we have now no Occaſion to make uſe of our Artillery!* And indeed Victory they had, but the particular Manner how, or what Way they obtained it, is uncertain, the Accounts of it being ſo very various. The *French* aſſerted, that on their firſt Onſet they had worſted the *Spaniſh* Foot, and having come up to their Artillery, they ſet Fire to their Powder on Purpoſe, and actually poſſeſs'd the Field of Battle: But that the Night coming on, the *Gens d'Armes* had, out of a Miſtake, fallen upon their own Foot, by which the *Spaniards* had Time and Opportunity to recover their Loſſes.

On the contrary, the *Spaniards* gave out, That the *French*, in paſſing over the Ditch, were intangled among themſelves, and ſo began to fly, not only becauſe of that, but on Account of the warm Reception they gave them: Beſides, that the *French*, having loſt *Nemors* their Captain General, began to be greatly

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 156. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

diſpirited;

diſpirited; for he having fought couragiouſly, and ruſhed on among the firſt of his own Ranks, while he was bravely encouraging his People to fight, was [1] ſhot with a Musket, of which he inſtantly died. Others ſay that *Nemors*, deſpairing to get his People over the Ditch, was leading them round to the End of the Camp, in order to attack them there; where, ordering them to cry out, *Give Way*, his own Troops, hereupon, not knowing what it meant, imagin'd the Cry was, that their Army was giving Way: Terrified at this, and at the Report of *Nemors* being kill'd, they all in good Earneſt gave Way, and betook themſelves to Flight. Some endeavour'd to take the Diſgrace of this Miſcarriage from off the Vice-Roy, for being ſo imprudent to fight at that Time, and loaded *Allegri* with the Blame of the Whole, who, they ſay, having that Day been unwilling they ſhould hazard a Battle, *Nemors* had upbraided him for want of Courage, which very Thing, they ſaid, was the unfortunate Occaſion of the Loſs of the Battle.

The Conflict indeed laſted but a very ſhort Time; and notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* paſs'd over the Ditch, to purſue the *French*, yet, becauſe of the Darkneſs of the Night, very few of the latter were either kill'd or takan Priſoners, eſpecially the Horſe.

Among the others, Monſieur *Ciandeu* was ſlain; the reſt, having left their Carriages and Artillery in the Field, [2] fled away, being diſperſed up and down the Country.

This Victory was obtained by the *Spaniards*, about a Week after *Obigni*'s Defeat, and both the Battles fought on a *Friday*, a Day the *Spaniards* thought remarkably propitious to them. The *French*, after this Misfortune, having rallied their ſcatter'd Forces, had various Deſigns in View, being in Suſpence whether they ſhould march to ſome proper Place, in order to hinder the Conquerors from advancing towards *Naples*, or all unite together, and go to defend that City: But as it often happens in Adverſity, People who are beat, are, for the moſt Part, more apprehenſive of Danger, than at other Times; ſo did the *French* not embrace either of theſe Propoſals, becauſe of the Difficulty which they foreſaw would be there,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 156. [2] Ibid.

and

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and in other Places, for want of Proviſions. The *French*, indeed, had bought a conſiderable Quantity of Corn at *Rome*, but the People there hindered it being carried out of that Country, either for Fear of wanting Proviſion themſelves, or becauſe they were influenc'd to do ſo by the [1] Pope, as many believe.

In the mean time, *Allegri* and the Prince of *Salerno*, together with many of the *Neapolitan* Barons, retir'd to *Gaeta* and *Trajetto*, where they were join'd by the remaining Part of the *French* Forces, which had been deſpers'd in different Parts of the Country.

Conſalvo, on the other Side, having obtain'd ſo great a Victory, was unwilling to let ſlip the Opportunity Fortune had put into his Hands; accordingly march'd with his Army ſtrait for *Naples*, where, paſſing by *Melfi*, he offer'd the Prince of that Name Liberty to poſſeſs his Eſtate there, on Condition he would declare himſelf in the *Spaniſh* Favour: but the latter, chuſing rather to depart with his [2] Wife and Children, refuſed the Offer on theſe Terms; accordingly went and join'd *Lewis d'Ars*, who had halted at *Venoſa*.

Conſalvo, after taking Poſſeſſion of *Melfi*, continued his March to *Naples*, on whoſe Approach, the *French* there retir'd within Caſtle *Nuovo*; ſo that the City of *Naples*, being in a Manner abandon'd by their Governors, had, together with thoſe of *Capua* and *Averſa*, on the 14th Day of *May*, declared for the *Spaniards*; accordingly the [3] *Neapolitans*, received *Conſalvo* among them.

The King of *France* having received the bad News of ſo many and ſo great Diſaſters, at a Time he had been buoy'd up with the greateſt Hopes of obtaining Peace, was, above meaſure [4] afflicted, and ſunk for the Loſs of ſo noble and opulent a Kingdom, and for the Ruin of his Armies, in which were ſo many noble and valiant Commanders: Likewiſe, for the Danger his other Affairs in *Italy* were in, and the Diſhonour to be thus vanquiſh'd by the King of *Spain*, a Prince, no doubt, inferior in Power, had Matters been well manag'd by the *French*. But what aggravated him moſt of all, was, to ſee himſelf be-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 156. [2] Ibid. p. 157. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

fool'd

fool'd and deceiv'd, under the Notion of [1] Peace; for which his Majeſty determin'd, with the whole Force he could muſter, at all Events, to recover, both his Honour, and the Kingdom he had now very near loſt, and with his own Arms revenge the many Injuries received. But before he proceeded further, he complained heavily to the Archduke, who, as yet, had not left *Bles*, deſiring he would procure him an adequate Satisfaction and Reparation for that which, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace, had been acted in his Prejudice; beſides hop'd, he ſaid, that *Philip* would maintain his Word and Honour, and not ſuffer him to be ſo ſhamefully trick'd and abuſed by his Father-in-Law. On which the Archduke, who indeed was innocent of the Matter, in moſt preſſing Terms, deſired, that *Ferdinand* would give the King of *France* due Satisfaction: At the ſame Time complained bitterly, That he had, in Sight of the whole World, allowed Things to be tranſacted in a manner very much to his own particular Infamy. But before the Victory of the *Spaniards* within the Kingdom of *Naples* enſued, *Ferdinand* had all along, with various Excuſes, deferred ratifying the ſaid Peace, pretending Matters could not be ſo well adjuſted, becauſe of the great Diſtance he himſelf was from the Place where it had been made; alledging, that he was then buſied in other Matters, and the like.

But certain it is, that either the Archduke had [2] in ſome Things, exceeded his Inſtructions about making Peace, or that after his Departure from *Spain*, *Ferdinand* had conceived greater Hopes about Succeſs in the War of *Naples*, than before; or that he thought it not fair in *Philip* to arrogate Part of that Kingdom to himſelf, being altogether uncertain, by Reaſon of the Infancy of his Son and *Lewis*'s Daughter, whether or not that Marriage would take Effect.

But for all this, the King of *Spain* had never poſitively [3] refuſed to ratify the ſaid Peace; on the contrary, always had given the *French* Hopes, that he was willing to bring it to a Concluſion, on the Footing it had been agreed on between *Lewis* and the Archduke: However, it was plain he had been poſtponing and procraſtinating Things, on purpoſe to gain Time, and, by the Delay, to procure all the Advantages he could, juſt as Affairs ſhould prove more or leſs proſperous.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

But when *Ferdinand* heard of the Victories and Succeſs of his Arms, he plainly ſhew'd that he deſpiſed Treaties; tho' in this delay'd as long as he could letting the Archduke know his true Sentiments, becauſe he thought the longer the King of *France* ſhould remain in Suſpence, and the Affair appear ambiguous, the leſs aſſiduous would *Lewis* be in ſending Succours and Reinforcements to *Gaeta*, and other Towns, which as yet remain'd in his Hands.

Philip, in the mean time, gave his Father-in-Law to underſtand, that he would not depart out of *Bles*, until he ſhould declare himſelf either as to Peace or War: On which *Ferdinand* ſent ſome other ſham [1] Plenipotentiaries thither, ſo that the Form of a Treaty began anew, and continued ſome few Days; but at length they fairly took off the Mask, and plainly declared, *That their Maſter, the King of* Spain, *would* [2] *not ratify the Peace made at* Bles, *becauſe it was neither for his Honour or Safety; and that his Majeſty had Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with* Philip *for having exceeded his Commiſſion in making ſuch a Peace: And altho' that, for that Archduke's Honour, their Maſter had given him a very ample Commiſſion, and a Plenipotentiary Power, to act for him, yet the ſame was with Reſtrictions and Limitations, which he had not followed.* On this, very ill Blood aroſe, and the Archduke replied, *That his Inſtructions were to make a Peace; and that* Ferdinand, *before his leaving* Spain, *had ſworn over a* [3] *Crucifix to ratify and confirm whatever he ſhould conclude this Way; nor had he*, he ſaid, *made uſe of the full Extent of the Power lodged in him for that End, or acted in any Thing, but by the Conſent of* Ferdinand's *own Miniſters and Plenipotentiaries, who in every Point had concurred with him.*

After this, the above-mention'd Ambaſſadors, or Plenipotentiaries, propoſed a Treaty on a new Foundation, ſignifying a Kind of Deſire for reinſtating [4] *Frederick* in *Naples*. But the *French* knew that all this was Sham and Trick, propoſed, in an inſidious Manner, to alienate *Philip* from the their King's Friendſhip, the former being anxious for having his own Son ſucceed to the Kingdom of *Naples*: On which *Lewis*, in a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

publick

publick Audience, declared his Mind to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, in the following Manner, *viz.* [1] *That he would not liſten to new Treaties, or acquieſce to new Propoſals, until they firſt ratified the above-mention'd Peace, and acknowledg'd their Treſpaſs lately done him within the Kingdom of* Naples; *adding, That he thought it no leſs amazing than vile, that a Prince, who gloried in the mighty Title of Catholick, had ſo little Regard to his Word, Honour, Oath, or Religion, and ſo ſmall a Reſpect for the Archduke, a Prince of ſuch eminent Greatneſs and Valour, their own Son-in-Law and Heir.*

On this, he inſtantly gave Orders that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors ſhould, that very ſame Day, [2] depart from his Court, and, without Delay, out of his Dominions; ſo that *Lewis*'s Mind was now bent to proſecute the War againſt *Ferdinand* with all imaginable Vigour and Reſolution, deſigning to make his Preparations this Way greater, both by Sea and Land, than had been ſeen by any King of *France* for many Years: Accordingly he order'd a moſt powerful Fleet to be immediately equipt, and ſent to *Naples*, for preventing *Gaeta*, and the Caſtles within *Naples*, being taken by the Enemy. At the ſame time commanded other powerful Succours to be ſent thither, and a numerous Reinforcement of Troops, with every Thing neceſſary for proſecuting this War, and for hindering the *Spaniards* from being ſuccour'd: Beſides, he determin'd to attack *Spain* in two different Places, one Army to be ſent into the Country of *Roſſiglion*, another to *Fonarabia*, and the adjacent Places on the Ocean; and that a Fleet ſhould be alſo fitted out, and ſent to cruiſe on the Coaſts of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*.

While theſe Preparations were making, *Conſalvo* was buſy in beſieging the Caſtles of *Naples*, having planted his Artillery at the Foot of St. *Martin*'s Hill, againſt the Caſtle *Nuovo*, where, from an Eminence, he batter'd the Citadel, ſituated over-againſt the ſaid Hill, the moſt of which were principally above Ground; and under it *Pietro Novarra* had dug a Mine, in order to blow up and demoliſh it: At the ſame Time, they were likewiſe buſy in battering the Walls of the Caſtle, from the Place called St. *Vincent*, which *Conſalvo* had lately taken. The Caſtle *Nuovo* was then fortified in a different Manner from what it had been

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157.

[2] Ibid.

before,

before, for the Citadel being detach'd from it, the Fort was ſurrounded every where with a large and ſtrong Wall, extending from the open Place before it, even to the Sea-Side, which Work had been begun by King *Frederick*; it was therefore very difficult to be undermined, being countermined every where: However, it happen'd that when *Pietro Navarra* blew up the Mine, it damag'd the Citadel ſo very much, that Part of the Wall was thrown down, and a Breach made: on which the *Spaniards* made a vigorous Attack at different Sides, ſo that with their Ladders they ſcaled the Wall, and enter'd the Citadel there, chiefly where the Breach had been made, and in a very ſhort Time became [1] Maſters of the Whole.

The *French* ſeeing this from the Caſtle, came out to encounter the Enemy, with a Deſign to drive them from the Citadel; but meeting with a vigorous and reſolute Reception, they were forced to retire again within the Caſtle: However, it happen'd that the *Spaniards*, being in Numbers mix'd among the *French*, and finding the Gates of the Caſtle were open to receive the latter, they loſt not this Opportunity, but, puſhing on boldly, ruſh'd into the Caſtle by the ſaid Gates, in ſuch a Manner, that the *French*, being terrified at their own Unſucceſsfulneſs, and the Fury and Bravery of the Enemy, were in a ſhort Time forced to [2] ſurrender, and give up every Thing a Prey to the Enemies; in which Place many Perſons of Diſtinction had retired with their Things of greateſt Value; but their Effects were ſeized and plunder'd, and themſelves, and the whole Garriſon, taken Priſoners; among whom was the Count *Montorio*, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction.

This Affair of taking the Caſtle was particularly unlucky to the *French*, ſeeing the very next Day, a powerful Reinforcement [3] arrived at *Naples* from *Genoa* to their Aſſiſtance, conſiſting of ſix Men of War, and a great Number of Tranſports, loaded with Proviſions, Arms, Ammunition, and 2000 Foot; on the Approach of which, the *Spaniſh* Fleet, within the Harbour of *Naples*, retir'd to *Iſchia*. But when the *French* heard of the Loſs of the Caſtle *Nuovo*, they immediately tacked about to purſue them; on which the *Spaniards* ſunk ſome of their own Veſſels, to hinder the Enemies Approach: But after having

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 158. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

exchanged

exchanged ſome Fire with one another, one of the *Spaniſh* Ships ſet Sail for *Gaeta*, and another got back to the Harbour of *Naples*, ſo that very little Execution was done againſt them.

Conſalvo having taken the Caſtle *Nuovo*, and being bent on poſſeſſing himſelf of the whole Kingdom, ſent *Proſperus Colonna* into *Abruzzo*, leaving *Pietro Navarra* at *Naples*, to beſiege the Caſtle *del Vuovo*, and ſo went himſelf with the reſt of his Army to *Gaeta*, on the taking which Place he knew depended the complete Conqueſt of the Kingdom, the whole Hopes of the *French* being on that City, which had a commodious Harbour for receiving their Shipping, and conſequently was of no ſmall Importance with regard to the Succours they could ſend for recovering the Whole, from *Genoa*, *Provence*, and other Places: Nor was *Gaeta* alone in the *French* Hands, but likewiſe the whole Country round it. In *Abruzzo* alſo were the Towns of *Aquilla*, *Rocca d'Evandro*, and many large Villages.

About this Time *Lewis d'Ars*, having brought together a great Number of Troops, both Horſe and Foot, had, with the particular Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Melfi*, become very ſtrong, ſo that he harraſſed the Countries in his Neighbourhood, belonging to the *Spaniards*, prodigiouſly: beſides, *Roſſano*, *Mattalona*, and many other ſtrong Towns belonging to Barons in the *French* Intereſt, were ſtill on their Side, and under their Government.

Mean while *Pietro Navarra*, having cauſed certain Barques to be made, cover'd with Earth, with them he approached the Caſtle *del Vuovo*, and made a Mine oppoſite to *Pizzifalcone*: No ſooner was his Deſign diſcover'd to the Beſieged, than he ſet Fire to the Mine, by which Part of the Caſtle was blown up, and with it the greateſt Part of the Garriſon; ſo that within a very ſhort time he made himſelf [r] Maſter of the whole Fort, and, not a little to his own Reputation, took Poſſeſſion thereof.

Conſalvo, in the mean time, arrived at *Gaeta*, where *Allegri*, having on the other Side brought together 400 Lances, and 4000 Foot, of thoſe who had been preſerved after the Defeat

[r] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 158.

in *Calabria*, and had been quarter'd in *Gaeta*, *Fondi*, *Iſtri*, *Trajetta*, and *Rocca Gullielmo*; all theſe Troops he brought into *Gaeta*, at which Time the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, the Duke of *Trajetto*, and many other *Neapolitan* Barons, who before had join'd him, retir'd thither alſo: After which *Conſalvo* took Poſſeſſion of the Villages in that Neighbourhood; as alſo of *Rocca Gullielmo*, and pitch'd his Camp in the Suburbs of *Gaeta*, where, having planted his Artillery againſt the Fortifications, he began to batter them with great Fury, partly from the Side of the Town towards the Harbour, and partly from the Hill of *Monte d'Orlando*: But this being ſurrounded with a ſtrong Wall, and fortified by the *French* with Baſtions and Trenches, *Conſalvo*, having made two ſeveral Attacks for entering the Place, was [1] repulſed and drove back, ſo that he delay'd giving the general Storm at that Time, on Account of the vigorous Reſiſtance he met with from the numerous and reſolute Defendants: Beſides he knew if his People ſhould gain the Hill, they wonld be very much expoſed to the Fire of the Enemy, and the *French* Artillery, which had been placed to annoy them from the Monaſtery there, and the other Eminences on that Hill: However, he did not deſiſt from battering the Town, particularly from the Sides towards the Harbour, where 18 Gallies were lying, commanded by *Ramondo di Cardona*.

A few Days after the *French* Fleet arrived at *Gaeta*, conſiſting of [2] ſix large *Genoeſe* Men of War, ſix other Ships, and ſeven Gallies, loaded with Proviſions; and with them came a powerful Reinforcement of Foot. Among theſe was the Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, ſent by the King of *France* to ſucceed the Duke of *Nemors* in the Vice-Royſhip of that Kingdom; for the *French* being in great Concern about *Gaeta*, had likewiſe ſent thither from *Corſica* 1000 more Foot, and 3000 *Gaſcoins*.

On the Arrival of the *French* Fleet, the *Spaniſh* Gallies were obliged to weigh Anchor, and make the beſt of their Way to *Naples*; on which *Conſalvo*, deſpairing to take *Gaeta* at that Time, [3] retired with his Troops to *Mola-di-Gaeta* and *Caſtellone*, keeping *Gaeta* itſelf as if beſieged at large: But before this Time, with the many Attacks he had made on the Place, on

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 159. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

his

†

his retiring, he found he had loſt a good Number of his Soldiers, in the Number of which was Don *Hugo di Cardona*.

However, the Affairs of the *Spaniards* in other Parts of the Kingdom were going on very ſucceſsfully : For *Proſperus Colonna* having taken *Rocco d'Evandro* and *Aquila*, moſt of the other Places in the Province of *Abruzzo* became [1] ſubject to the *Spaniards* ; as in like manner did moſt of *Calabria*, there being no other Town left in the Hands of the *French*, except *Roſſano* and *Sancta Severino*, in which laſt the Prince of *Roſſano* was kept beſieged.

While the Affairs of the King of *France* were reduced to this low Paſs in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and *Lewis*, as we have ſaid already, determin'd to ſend powerful Succours thither for recovering it ; he knew the Difficulties which his Troops would encounter in their Paſſage thro' the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, would be very great, unleſs he could be ſure of the Pope and *Valentine*'s firm Alliance and Friendſhip in the Matter. Accordingly his Majeſty treated with them for this End, offering the moſt advantageous Propoſals they almoſt could deſire, if they would be favourable to his Cauſe ; among the reſt, he promis'd to procure them Poſſeſſion of the [2] Eſtate of *Giovanni Giordano*, and the Dominion of [3] *Sienna*. The King, indeed, was more willing to acquieſce to the Pope's Terms, becauſe he had made a Diſcovery of his Deſigns, by certain Letters, which had been [4] intercepted, in which he found that the *Borgians* were treating with *Conſalvo*, and willing to renounce the *French* Intereſt, and embrace that of the King of *Spain*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had propoſed to ſubdue *Tuſcany*, and get the Government of that whole Country into their own Hands : And certain it is, that the Pope and *Valentine*'s Inclinations were no longer in Favour of the *French*, of which they were giving freſh Proofs every Day ; for notwithſtanding the many Advantages they hitherto had reap'd from the Friendſhip and Protection of that Nation, yet, ſeeing now Fortune had abandon'd them, they conſequently judg'd they had the leſs to expect from them, with regard to aſſiſting the Proſecution of their own tyrannical and ambitious Views ; ſo that they thought,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 159. [2] Tom. Tom. p. 290. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

by

by a new Alliance with the ſtrongeſt Party, new Things would be produced for their Advantage. However, they judg'd it imprudent, in the preſent Juncture, to declare their Sentiments this Way, ſeeing a new [1] Army of *French*, under the Command of *Tramoglia*, had actually arrived within *Lombardy*; and by which, if they ſhould ſhew themſelves open Enemies, they might be in Danger of being ſtrip'd of the Acquiſitions they had made in *Italy*.

The Pope, in the mean time; was playing his Game with an Art and Cunning worthy his Holineſs; ſometimes buoying up the one with Hopes of coming into their Meaſures, and declaring on their Side, and ſometimes [2] tricking with the others in the ſame Manner; one Day making them believe he was on the Point of entering into an Alliance with them, another throwing Rubs and Objections in the Way, and then befooling both, and taking what Advantage he could of their Neceſſities, in order to gain Time till the *French* Army in *Lombardy* ſhould be actually within the Territory of *Naples*; by which nothing, he thought, would remain behind for obſtructing his Deſigns.

However, in order to make the beſt of the preſent Opportunity, they found it more neceſſary than ever to be provided of what is the great Support of War, *viz.* Money, the getting hold of *Tuſcany* being, above every Thing, in their View. To effect this the better, beſides their common Methods of procuring it by Violence and Oppreſſion, the Pope and his Son determin'd to raiſe ſome large Sums, by the Promotion of [3] new Cardinals, a Means they had always found more mild and gentle than any other, becauſe it always was with the Good-will of the Perſons promoted.

Accordingly, on the Feſtival of St. *Peter*, his Holineſs, in publick Conſiſtory, declared his Intentions of creating nine new Cardinals, whom he had pick'd out among the richeſt of all the Prelates of his Court, whoſe Names were as follow, *viz.* *Giovanni* [4] *Caſtellar Valentino*, Archbiſhop of *Trani*; *Franciſco Romolino*, Native of *Florida*, the King of *Arragon*'s Ambaſſador;

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 290. [2] Ibid. p. 291. [3] Ibid. p. 292. [4] Ibid.

Franciſco

Franciſco Sodorini, Biſhop of *Volterra*; *Melchior Copis*, a *German*, Biſhop of *Briſſina*; *Nicolo Fieſco*, Biſhop of *Frejus*; *Franciſco de Sprate*, a *Spaniard*, and Biſhop of *Leon*.; *Adriano Caſtellenſe*, from *Corneto*, Biſhop and Clerk of the Chamber, Treaſurer-General and Secretary of Briefs; *Franciſco Iloris Valentino*, Biſhop of *Elva*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and the Pope's Vice Secretary; *Jacomo Caſanoua Valentino*, Prothonatory, and his Holineſs's private Chamberlain.

But who would believe that, as ſoon as the common Functions were performed, by which theſe new Cardinals were to take Poſſeſſion of their Dignity, they ſhould be deſtin'd, at the ſame Time, to be ſtripp'd of them? But ſo it was; for the Pope, and *Borgia* his Son, being prompted by their wonted inſatiable Avarice, had determin'd to undo what they had been doing, with regard to theſe new Cardinals, the whole to be effected by a Stratagem; which, however, divine Vengeance, at laſt, permitted to be the Inſtrument in the Hands of Juſtice, for bringing on their own exemplary Puniſhment, Ruin, and total Downfal: For the Pope and *Valentine*, with unheard-of, and unprecedented Villainy, concerted between themſelves [1] to poiſon, not only the nine new Cardinals now mentioned, but alſo ſome others of the moſt wealthy at *Rome*. This Piece of Iniquity they contrived ſhould be put in Execution, by inviting theſe Cardinals to a Supper, at a certain Vineyard near the *Vatican*, belonging to Cardinal *Adriano di Corneto*, who, as he was remarkably wealthy, was, among the others, ſingled out to die by the ſame Poiſon. *Valentine*, accordingly, in order to have this helliſh Scheme executed to Purpoſe, ſent the Pope's Butler, who was to wait and ſerve at Supper, ſome particular Flasks of Wine, which he had envenom'd with a particular kind of Poiſon, called [2] *Cantarelle*. It was a whitiſh Sort of Powder, ſomething reſembling Sugar, and which, on Occaſions, they had experienced on ſo many poor Innocents, whom they had ſent out of the World in a miſerable Condition. It was of the moſt penetrating and venomous Nature, and never had failed bringing Death along with it.

[1] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 293. [2] Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 205.

Valentine gave the Butler a ſtrict Charge, that none ſhould taſte of it but thoſe whom he ſhould particularly direct; accordingly, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, [1] the Pope and *Cæſar*, about the Cool of the Evening, came to the Vineyard where they were to ſup. Some Authors relate, that *Alexander* uſually carry'd the conſecrated Hoſt in a Gold Box, out of a ſuperſtitious Notion which he had received from a certain Aſtrologer, *That while he carried the holy Wafer about him, he ſhould never die*; and which, therefore, he took Care [2] never to be without; but having now left it, by Accident, in his Apartment in the *Vatican*, as ſoon as he miſs'd it, he diſpatch'd Monſeignor *Caraffa* to his Chambers, to bring it him thither. While *Caraffa* was gone, *Alexander* being very thirſty, and the Weather exceſſive hot, before he ſat down to Supper, deſired the under Butler to give him ſomething to drink (the chief Butler, who had received *Valentine*'s Directions about the Poiſon, being gone to the *Vatican* to fetch a Salver of Peaches for the Deſert, which he had forgot): Accordingly this firſt-mention'd Servant going to the Side Board, and finding ſix particular Flasks laid by in a Corner, imagining they might contain Wine of a finer Sort than the reſt, he fill'd out a large Glaſs full of the poiſon'd Liquor for his Holineſs: This he delivered to the Cup-bearer, and he to the Pope, who, not apprehending any Danger, being eager to drink, and his Mind running upon nothing but the Scene of Miſchief and Villainy he had deſigned to act on others, without Heſitation, ſwallowed the Liquor, and with it his Death. *Valentine* alſo drank another Glaſs full of the ſame; for he, no more than his Father, had ſuſpected any Danger.

About this Time *Caraffa* arrived at the *Vatican*, and, at his entering the Pope's Apartment, as ſome [3] Authors relate, he ſaw an

[1] The Reader is deſired to obſerve that Tom. Tomaſ. differs from thoſe who wrote the Supplement to Platina, namely, Panvinius, Cicarelli, and others, as to the Day that this Affair happen'd of *Alexander* being poiſon'd. Tom. Tom. p. 294. ſays it was on the 2d of *Auguſt*, and allows that the Pope lived but eight Days longer, which makes his Death to fall out on the tenth of that Month: But Panvinius Platina, p. 294. and the others, ſay it happen'd on the Eighteenth. This ſmall Difference is left to be rectified by Chronologiſts, tho' I think Panvinius is moſt to be depended on in this Particular.

[2] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 294.

[3] This Story about the Apparition, is mention'd by Tom. Tomaſ. p. 296. but particularly related by Monſieur *Felibien*, in his *Entretiens ſur le Vies des Peinteres*, who ſays he peruſed the whole

an Apparition, in the Likeneſs of *Alexander*, lying, as it were, ſtretch'd out dead on a Bier; at which Sight, being prodigiouſly frightned, he had juſt Courage enough left him to take up the Box with the Hoſt, and carry it back with him to the Vineyard. How far this Story of the Apparition and conſecrated Wafer is true, I leave to the Belief of Perſons more credulous than myſelf; but certain it is, that as ſoon as *Alexander* ſat down to Supper, the Poiſon began to work ſo in his Bowels, that he fell ſuddenly off his Chair in a Fit, and was taken up for dead: Nor did his Son *Borgia* eſcape the Effect of his own Handywork; being in like Manner ſeized with racking Agony, and tormenting Pain, on the Spot; ſo that whether the Poiſon was ſtronger than ordinary, or had operated ſooner by reaſon of the great Heat of the Weather, is uncertain, but the Effect was immediately diſcovered on the Father and the Son.

As ſoon as the Pope was taken from the Ground, they cauſed him to be carried in all Haſte to his Apartment in the *Vatican*, and *Cæſar Borgia* to his alſo; nor, from that Moment forward, did they ever ſee each other again.

The Pope in ſome ſmall Degree recover'd his Senſes, and was let blood, vomited, and all Kinds of Remedies were uſed for his Recovery, but in vain, for, being rack'd with a burning Fever, and Anguiſh inexpreſſible, after the Formality of receiving all the Sacraments of the Church, he died; nor was he heard, from the Time he ſwallow'd the Poiſon till his Death, which was about a Week after, to mention one Word about his Son *Cæſar*, or his Daughter *Lucretia*, thoſe two woeful Pillars on which he had rear'd up the Edifice of his inordinate Deſires, and for whom, one may ſay, he had ſhaken the Frame of the

whole Narrative thereof in a Manuſcript in Cardinal *Barberini*'s Library at *Rome*. *Vid. Entretiens* —— p. 298 to 302. The anonymous Author of the Supplement to Tom. Tomaſ. mentions how *Alexander* had made a Compact with the Devil, and how, when his Time expired, he came in the Form of a Courier to fetch him; and for confirming this Story, quotes our *Engliſh Bale*, in his *Pageant of the Popes*. But as the whole ſavours more of the ſpurious Fable of Doctor *Fauſtus*, than any Thing elſe, I reject this Fiction as a ridiculous and fooliſh Tale, and ſcarce ſhould have mention'd it, had it not been to ſhew my Reader how much ſome People are apt to add to Characters, tho' never ſo bad; and, indeed, tho' *Alexander* and his Son *Cæſar Borgia* were Diſgraces to human Nature, yet, as the common Saying is, *'Tis a Sin to belye the very Devil.*

Earth.

Earth. Such a tragical End, and ſo frightful an [1] Exit had *Alexander*, to whom theſe Verſes are not, I think, unapplicable;

——*Neque eſt Lex juſtior ulla*
Quam Necis, Artifices Arte perire ſua.

The Day of his Death was on the 18th of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1503. being the 72d Year of his Age, of his Pontificate the 11th, and one Week [2].

It cannot be denied, ſays my [3] Author, but Pope *Alexander* had the Advantage of a Majeſtick Perſon, and endow'd with Talents and a Capacity able to manage the Government of an Empire as large as that of *Alexander the Great*: but for Tyranny, Luſt, and Cruelty, he was not to be match'd with the moſt barbarous Savage that ever lived, having been the moſt

[1] As to this Circumſtance of Pope *Alexander*'s miſerable Death, the Reader is refer'd to the Appendix, where the different Accounts of the Authors in the Thing, are given in their Original Languages.

[2] Platina Vita Pontificum in Vit. Alex.VI. Edit.Venet. M.DCC.III. Tom. Tomaſ. ſays he had lived only 71 Years, but ſome Authors differ a little from one another about this, and even about the Day of his Election to the Pontificate, which, as I have already ſaid in another Place, I leave to be rectified by Chronologiſts.

The Tragical Death of Pope *Alexander* is related and confirm'd by all the Authors I ever could conſult on this Subject, only *Ciaconius*, and ſome other of the Jeſuitical Tribe, do not deny he died by Poiſon, but endeavour to conceal the horrid Manner of it: However, as the Affair was too glaring to make it poſſible to be conceal'd, the Reader is deſired to ſee the Accounts given by Cardinal Bembo, Guicciardin, Jovius, Platina, Tomaſi: In fine, by the moſt authentick Authors who have wrote cotemporary with thoſe Times: And as Bembo and Guicciardin are not to be ſuſpected for Partiality, or ſpurious Writers, I therefore think it not improper to give here their Account of it in their own Language. Bembo, Lib.VI. p.218. Edit. Venet. ſays thus; —*Alexander Veneno, quod furtim dari Adriano Cardinali familiari ſuo juſſerat, cujus in Hortis uno cum Cæſare Filio cœnabat, per Miniſtri Imprudentiam epoto, quinto decimo Calendas Septembris exceſſit è Vita. Cæſar eodem hauſtu pene abſumptus, difficilem in Morbum incidit, qua in re Deorum Immortalium mens & Voluntas viſa eſt magnopere affuiſſe: cum ii, qui plurimos & Romanæ Reipublicæ Principes, & Clientes ſuos, ut eorum Opibus & Theſauris potirentur, Veneno necaverant, & tunc ſuum hoſpitem atque alumnum adjungi ad reliquos, necarique mandaverant, eo ipſo in Miniſterio ſemet pro illo interficerent.*

As for Guicciardin's Account of this Pope's horrible Death, as it is too prolix to be put Verbatim in the Margin, the Reader is referred to it in its Original Language, in the Appendix in Articulo Guicciardini Deſcriptio Mortis Papæ Alexandri Sexti; all which is tranſlated Word for Word into *Engliſh*. See alſo Platin. in Vit. Alex. VI. p. 477, 478. Edit. Venet. Anno M.DCC.III. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 205. Edit. Venet. M. D. LXXII. Tom. Tomaſ. Part II. p. 293 to 298.

[3] Tom. Tomaſ.

ſcandalous

ſcandalous of any, that, ſince the Time of Chriſt, ſet up for his Vicar; whoſe Life and Converſation was entirely repugnant to his pretended Belief and Profeſſion.

But not to defraud *Alexander* of any Thing ſaid in his Favour, there are very few Authors but agree, that he was endowed with a very quick Judgment; his Language attracting, and of a particular Force to convince, a Memory ſo fertile, that he could remember even the leaſt Action he had done in his Youth; an Aſſiduity not to be parallel'd: And for a natural kind of Eloquence, he was moſt remarkable, with which, both Pope *Sixtus* and *Innocent* the Eighth had been greatly deceived and befooled, and on that Account had ſent him often Legate into Foreign Courts. Beſides, no Mortal knew how to propoſe Matters with greater Rhetorick and Art, nor any who ſooner brought People into his own Sentiments, when propoſed. In fine, he knew, to a Nicety, how to accommodate himſelf to every Body's Genius and Temper; and in Affairs of a grave and ſerious Nature, he was grave and ſedate; with People of Pleaſantry, jocoſe and facetious; in his Management with the Foreign Ambaſſadors, Cardinals, and others of Diſtinction, he appeared as if he had been ſolicitous for nothing ſo much as the Chriſtian Common-wealth, eſpecially when Matters were indifferent, and not touching his own Affairs; by which, when a Cardinal, he had ſo artfully deceived the Sacred College, as to get himſelf exalted to the Papal Chair: With his Adverſaries, for the moſt Part, he uſed kind and ſoft Language, by which many were captivated in his Snares; in Paſtime and Pleaſure, he ſhew'd his Mind always diſingaged from Buſineſs and Affairs; and in Danger was remarkably intrepid; when vexed and angry, it ſeldom appeared in his Countenance, having been the moſt artful Concealer of his Paſſions of any Mortal; nor indeed, amidſt his Pleaſures, did he ever throw aſide Thoughts of what he judged to be Affairs of Importance. He was moſt vigilant, uſed himſelf to very little Sleep, nor was the want of Abſtemiouſneſs and Parſimony ever his Fault. The Liberal Arts he admired; above all, the Law: he never with-held from the Doctors of that, or other Faculties, their Sallaries, from the Soldiers their Pay, nor Workmen their Hire; and commonly uſed to tell *Valentine*, That whoever reſolved to take from the Great, muſt not give a

little to Inferiors: For which Reaſon he always had his Armies at his particular Devotion; and, indeed, it is almoſt incredible, that on his ſtripping ſo many *Roman* Barons of their Properties, and for all his abominable Tyranny, yet there never enſued any Inſurrection to depoſe him, and to take the Government out of his Hands: But what, above all, was moſt commendable in *Alexander*, was, his Aſſiduity in providing *Rome* with Proviſions and Corn in the Times of the greateſt Scarcity and Famine. But our Authors add, what indeed was too true, that all theſe good Qualities were obſcured and eclipſed with ſuch a Plurality of horrid Vices, that a Recital of them is really ſhocking and ſuperfluous to relate any more. †

As for *Cæſar Borgia* his Son, he did not die at that Time, but, for his greater Scourge and Anguiſh, God permitted him to out-live his own Fortune and Grandeur, and to ſee himſelf depreſſed, and his Enemies exalted; for, by the Vigour of his Youth, and Force of the powerful Antidotes given him by his Phyſicians, he got the better of his Poiſon, being frequently, as ſome ſay, put into the Belly of a Bull and Mule, ript up alive, in which, with Sudorificks, his Diſtemper by Degrees, wrought off, and was cured in the ſame manner as *Ladiſlaus* King of *Naples* had been in his Youth, who, when poiſoned, was likewiſe thruſt into the Belly of Beaſts cut up to receive him. Others report, that they heard from the ſame Cardinal of *Corneto*, in whoſe Garden he had been poiſoned, that he did not come to Life until they plung'd him into a large Ciſtern of cold Water, his Bowels being burn'd in ſuch a manner, that the Inſide of his Breaſt was quite excoriated, and as it were flayd; but for all this, by Degrees, he got the better of his Illneſs, notwithſtanding for many Months he was grievouſly ſick and tortur'd, and at a Time wherein he had moſt need for Health, which had he enjoyed, perhaps, he might have been able to provide againſt the great Changes he met with in his Affairs; for this

† All this Character of Alexander is moſtly collected from the anonymous Author of the Additions to Thomaſi's Life of Cæſar Borgia, alſo from Platina and Ciaconius, the laſt of which has, with more jeſuitical Art than any, palliated this Pope's Vices, and ſeems angry with thoſe who have painted him in his true Light, calling thoſe Hereticks and Infidels who have expoſed his flagrant Vices. See Ciaconius in Vita Papæ Alex. VI. p. 155.

Reaſon

I

Reaſon he often complained of the Deceitfulneſs of Fortune, eſpecailly ſince, he ſaid, he had foreſeen every Thing which could have happened in his Diſadvantage, by his Father's Death, and for which he had prepared Remedies; tho', indeed, by his preſent Sickneſs, all the Wheels of his Machinery and dark Schemes were now unhing'd, never having foreſeen that Matters would have happened to him as they had done, conſequently had not provided himſelf with adequate Remedies. But the Pride of his Heart, even when he began to recover a little, would not let him appear ſo much concerned at his Afflictions as might have been expected: On the contrary, he endeavoured, with a ſurprizing Obſtinacy of Mind, to maintain the Character and Credit of his Affairs.

As ſoon as *Valentine* learn'd the Pope was dead, he ordered Don *Michelotto* to ſhut the *Vatican* Gates, before a Rumour of it could reach the City, and gave ſtrict Charge to hinder any Perſon whomſoever to go in or out there, until ſuch Time as he ſhould carry off every Thing within the Pope's Appartments, which *Michelotto* accordingly did; and being back'd by a Number of armed Men, the Duke's Soldiers, they came up to Cardinal *Caſanuova*, where *Michelotto* put a Dagger to his Breaſt, and forced him to deliver up the Keys of the Cabinets, and Places where *Alexander*'s Money was, and forthwith to confeſs where the other Things of Value, belonging to the Pope, were kept and hid; with which, the Cardinal being obliged either to comply or loſe his Life, accordingly directed them to where the Treaſure was, and in two Cheſts, they found above a Hundred Thouſand Crowns in Specie, with ſeveral Vaſes of Gold and Silver. However, Don *Michelotto*, for all his Caution and Circumſpection, had ſuffered one of the Appartments backwards, to be plundered by other People, where a great deal more of Gold was found, beſides a Coffer full of Jewels. But when all the Rooms were, in this manner, ſearched and rifled, then were the *Vatican* Gates opened, and the Pope's Death made publickly known, which occaſioned ſo much Joy to *Rome*, and afterwards to all *Chriſtendom*, as can ſcarcely be expreſſed; every Mortal, beſides the Wretches of the *Borgian* Family, rejoicing for the Deſtruction of that Head, which had contaminated the whole Body; and that, at laſt, they had the Pleaſure of ſeeing an End of that Tyranny which had terrified

rified the whole World; ſo that, in Proportion, as *Alexander* had been fear'd while alive, ſo was he deſpiſed and abhorred when dead: Having now no Friend or Relation to take Care of his Funeral, becauſe they had other Concerns on their Hands, and obliged to provide for the Safety of their own Perſons from the Fury of the enraged People, whoſe Revenge was bridled by no other Reſtraint but *Valentine*'s Soldiers, who, by this Time, had ſurrounded the *Vatican*. However, the Deceaſed, with Regard to his Obſequies and Burial, was ſo very much neglected, that one may ſee plainly therein a clear Example of the divine Vengeance. For, a certain [1] Author ſays, that after *Alexander*'s Death, the Vice-Chancellor ordered the Officials of the Clergy, the Superiors of Convents, and the Confraternities of Seculars, under the Penalty of being diveſted of their Dignities and Offices, that they ſhould, according to Cuſtom, come, with their reſpective Companies, to the *Vatican* Palace, and be preſent at the Pope's Funeral, namely, on the Day after this Order was given, on which the Corpſe was to be carried from the great Chapel, where it lay, to St. *Peter*'s, there to be interr'd. Accordingly the forementioned Companies, as well of Religious as Seculars, came punctually thither, not ſo much with any Good-will to do Honour to the Deceaſed, as to have the Pleaſure of ſeeing, with their own Eyes, that Monſter of Iniquity at laſt fallen, and his Jaws bridled up by Death, who, in his Life Time, was odious both to the Clergy and Laiety, and, indeed to all Chriſtians. But it happened, that while they were entering the Church of St. *Peter*'s with the Corpſe, all of a ſudden a prodigious Tumult and Uproar aroſe, occaſion'd by ſome of the Soldiers of the Guards, who, in a forcible manner, had taken the lighted Torches out of the Hands of the Clergy attending the Funeral, on which, the latter were obliged to retire within the Veſtry, being, indeed, very indifferent whether they performed the Acts of Devotion ordinary at ſuch a Function or not. This Diſorder and Conteſt was the Occaſion that none of the Prieſts

[1] See the Additions or Supplement of Tomaſo Tomaſi's Hiſtory of Duke Valentine Edit. Mont. Chiar. An. 1670. p. 301. And for the whole Particulars abovementioned relating to his Burial, the Deformity of his Corpſe, and the Contempt ſhewn for him after his Death, the Reader is referred to Guicciardin. Lib. VI. p. 161, 162. and to the Appendix, where that Author's Words are rendered into Engliſh. See alſo T. T. from p. 301 to 306. Part II.

remain'd

remain'd with the Corpſe, tho' Thouſands of Men and Women, of all Ranks and Conditions, came thither, and were preſent to ſee that Serpent dead, who had ſtung ſo many Innocents; and whoſe Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, and Luſt, had, in a Manner, turned the World upſide down.

The Corpſe, however, had, by this Time, arrived at the Great Altar within St. *Peter*'s, and there it lay expoſed to publick View, tho' a moſt frightful and horrible Spectacle; it was ſo very black, ſo much ſwell'd and deform'd, that it ſcarcely could be known; the Noſe appear'd full of putrified Pus flowing from it, the Mouth hove up in a frightful Manner, and the Tongue became monſtrouſly ſwell'd, ſo that it fill'd the whole Mouth. In fine, 'twas a Sight ſo very ſhocking and horrible, that People were not able to look on it, nor to endure the peſtilential Stench which came therefrom, ſo were obliged to turn their Heads aſide and retire: And altho' 'twas the conſtant Cuſtom, at the Funerals of Popes, for the People to kiſs the Hand of the deceaſed Pontiffs, yet, it was obſerved, that no Mortal Creature offered the like Mark of Duty and Obſequiouſneſs to *Alexander*; ſo much was he deteſted by every Body. In the Evening, about Six o' Clock, the Corpſe was carried, by a few Porters and two Carpenters, to the Chapel where it was to be interr'd, and who, all the Time, 'twas obſerved, jeered with one another, and derided the Office they were about; and as it happened, the Coffin they had made being too ſhort, they beat in Part of the Corpſe with their Fiſts, and, out of Deriſion, ſpoke to it as if it had been alive, telling, *Rome* may now be aſſured he never ſhould get out of that Place: Accordingly, [1] uſing the Body of the Deceaſed with a Contempt ſcarcely credible, they placed it in a very [1] mean Tomb, on the Left-hand Side of the Great Altar, in St. *Peter*'s Church.

'Tis almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe the Commotions which enſued in *Italy* after *Alexander*'s Death, occaſion'd, eſpecially, by thoſe whom the *Borgians* had diveſted of their Eſtates; among the Number of which, was the *Colonna* Family, who, as has been already related, having, with the Aid of the victorious

[1] Vid. Ciaconius Vita Pontificum. p. 151. Alſo T. T. p. 305.

Arms of the *Spaniards*, recovered their Eſtates in *Abruzzo*, which had been poſſeſſed by the *Orſini*; and having obtained Leave from *Conſalvo*, they came Poſting into the Eccleſiaſtical Dominion, in order to recover their Lands there alſo, which had been violently wreſted out of their Hands by the *Borgians*. On which, *Valentine* finding that they, as well as the *Orſini*, were the People he had moſt to fear, in that Juncture, was forced, for his own Safety, to patch up a ſort of an Agreement with them; and accordingly [1] reſtored them their Poſſeſſions: And with no leſs Celerity did the Duke of *Urbin* repoſſeſs himſelf of his Dominion, being recalled for that End, by his own faithful and loyal Subjects. In like manner *Franciſco Maria della Rovere* got back his Territory, of which he had been robbed: As did alſo the Lords of *Peſaro*, *Camerino*, *Citta di Caſtello*, and *Piombino*. But altho' *Malateſta* made an Attempt with the others, to recover the State of *Rimini*, yet, being but indifferently liked by his Subjects there, he met with a vigorous Reſiſtance from thoſe who ſtill kept out the Caſtle for *Valentine*, and was therefore obliged again to leave it to the Enemies. But *Baglione*, joined by *Ludovico Orſino*, the Count *Petigliano*, and *Alviano*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetian* Troops, took *Perugia* out of *Valentine*'s Hands, and drove his Adherents and Factionaries from thence: They likewiſe aſſiſted the *Orſini* in recovering their whole Eſtates and Dominions.

But in *Rome* every Thing was in the utmoſt Confuſion and Diſorder; on which Account, the College of Cardinals, inſtead of attending the Pope's Funeral, had been obliged to look out for their reſpective Safeties, and to provide, as much as they could, againſt the Diſorders, more than ever like to happen there; ſo that their chief Buſineſs was now to put the Affairs of the approaching Conclave under ſome Regulation: The *Vatican* being by this Time, in a manner, beſieged by *Valentine*'s Troops, which, by reaſon of his Illneſs, had now *Michellotto* for their chief Commander, ſo that they were committing Outrages and Robberies every where, not a little to the Terror of the Inhabitants, and even of the Cardinals themſelves.

[1] T. T. p. 322.

The

The Caſtle of St. *Angelo* was held by the Biſhop of *Nicaſtro*, a Truſt given him by *Alexander*, but finding *Valentine*'s Troops ſo inſolent and diſorderly, he made an Offer to lend the Inhabitants of *Rome* Arms and Ammunition, both to defend themſelves, and to act offenſively againſt *Borgia*'s Soldiers; but that Propoſal was rejected, becauſe the Cardinals imagin'd, that inſtead of being a Remedy, it would only ſerve to increaſe the preſent Confuſion and Diſorder, and be the Occaſion of too great an Effuſion of Blood in *Rome*, ſo that they rather inclined to inliſt Soldiers themſelves, to ſerve for their Guards and Protection; but the Treaſury was ſo low, that they could not find Money to defray ſuch a Charge, nor ſcarcely ſo much as to pay the Expences of ordering Matters neceſſary for the Conclave.

In fine, the Meetings of the Cardinals were ſometimes held in the [1] *Minerva*, and ſometimes in Cardinal *Caraffa*'s Houſe; but, at laſt, one way or other, they did find means to raiſe about [2] 2000 Soldiers commanded by *Carlo Taneo*, who had the Title of Captain of the Sacred College given him; ſo that Matters were ordered in ſuch a manner, that not only thoſe of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, but alſo *Valentine* himſelf was obliged to take Oaths of Obedience and Subjection to the Decrees of the Sacred College. Every Perſon being continued in their former Poſts and Stations, until a new Pope ſhould be elected. But while they imagin'd all was beginning to be quiet and ſettled, behold greater Diſorders and Confuſion than ever enſued in *Rome*; for, notwithſtanding the Cardinals had ſent Letters to the *Colonneſe* and the *Orſini*, prohibiting them to approach within ten Miles of that City; yet *Proſpero Colonna*, with a numerous Body of *Spaniſh* Troops, came thither, but with Proteſtations that, in no wiſe, was he to moleſt the Sacred College. Beſides him arrived Count *Petigliano* and *Fabio Orſino*, and with them Two Hundred Horſe and above a Thouſand Foot; who all being, above Meaſure, eager to revenge themſelves on the perfidious

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 162. Platina, p. 481.

[2] T. T. p. 327. But the Writers of the Supplement to Platina, p. 481. ſay, the Number of theſe Soldiers raiſed by the Cardinals, was 4000.

Cæſar

Cæſar Borgia, and on thoſe who had then ſet Fire to the *Orſino* Palace of *Monte Giordano*, of which Outrage [1] *Michellotto* was the chief Inſtrument; they accordingly fell upon the latter, and ruin'd and plunder'd their Houſes in as cruel a manner as can well be imagin'd; inſomuch, that the ſame *Fabio*, having laid hold on one of the *Borgia* Family, he butcher'd him on the Spot; and not being content with taking his Life, in Preſence of a Multitude, [2] waſhed his Hands, and Mouth with his Blood. While theſe Outrages were committing in *Rome*, *Valentine*'s People lay not by as idle Spectators, but acted their Part in the Tragical Scene, ſo that *Rome* was filled with Murder and Blood, inſomuch that a Rumour was ſpread, that *Borgia*'s Soldiers had made all the Cardinals Priſoners, and that the City was to be deſtroyed with Fire and Sword; at which the Inhabitants were ſo terrified, that they ſhut up their Shops, took to Arms, and ſecured the Openings of the Streets with Beams and Bars, and Chains of Iron, in like manner, ſay my [3] Authors, as if another *Hanibal* had been at the Walls of *Rome*. And Matters remain'd in this Confuſion till the Cardinals found out a Remedy, and a Means to put a Stop to theſe uncommon and fatal Diſorders.

For this End, their Eminences immediately called together the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the Republick of *Venice*, and demanded Protection from their Maſters; eſpecially, ſince the Troops of both *France* and *Spain* were neither of them at a very great Diſtance from *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors, in their Maſters Names, did accordingly promiſe them Protection, and Aſſurances that the Immunities and Freedom of the Conclave ſhould be preſerved. On this, the Cardinals again begg'd, that *Rome* might be rid of all the Factionary Troops within it; and with which ſhe was ſo cruelly haraſſed, that they were like to bring Matters to a very fatal Iſſue, if one way or other they were not reſtrain'd. Above all, they intreated them to oblige Duke *Valentine*, at any Rate, to depart from *Rome* with his Soldiers, and to compel him, in Caſe he ſhould refuſe; which

[1] Platina, p. 481.
[2] T. T. p. 328.
[3] Panvinius Cicarelli, and the other Writers of the Supplement to Platina, p. 481.

Propoſal

Propoſal was unanimouſly well reliſh'd by their Excellencies, who remain'd ſeveral Hours concerting with the Cardinals, in what manner this could be brought about: And as they found *Valentine* in a very languiſhing Condition, and under inexpreſſible Anguiſh and Torment of both Body and Mind, being obnoxious to be tore to Pieces by his too much provok'd Enemies; they were, on this Account, at a Loſs how to manage the Matter, that [1] ſo the Enemies of that Wretch might not take the Advantage of his Illneſs, and get at him. However, they unanimouſly reſolved to undertake the Affair, and promiſed to find out as good a Salvo as they could for this perplexing Buſineſs; accordingly ſent the contending Parties Word, in the Names of their Maſters, and of the Sacred College, to depart quietly out of *Rome*, and not, with their Contentions, dare to retard or diſturb the Election of a new Pope, which, they ſaid, the Princes of Chriſtendom would not ſuffer. With this Order, the *Orſini* immediately [2] complied, and accordingly march'd with their Troops out of *Rome*: As, in like manner, did *Proſpero Colonna*, but not unleſs he ſhould learn *Valentine*'s Reſolution: And, indeed, the greateſt Difficulty of all, was to perſuade *Borgia* to comply with theſe Commands; ſo that he ſent many Excuſes, deſiring he might not be obliged to leave *Rome*, becauſe, he ſaid, his Indiſpoſition could not permit him, which his Phyſicians could bear Witneſs, and the like: Beſides, endeavoured to convince them, that if he marched out of the City, he could not be ſafe, not any where out of the *Vatican*; nor even there, but with his own People as his Guards. However, ſaid, he was willing to take Shelter within the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, if the pleaſed, providing, the Sacred College would give him ſuch and ſuch Security that his Perſon ſhould be ſafe; but as the Cardinals thought his Demands this way unreaſonable, they would not comply therewith: Then he deſired the Conclave ſhould rather be kept within the ſaid Caſtle, and himſelf remain in the *Vatican*, on which Conditions he would ſend away his Troops. In fine, they could not make any thing of what he really intended; ſo that, at laſt, they came to the following Determination, namely, that he [3] muſt depart with his Troops, without further Delay, out of *Rome*, and gave him their Words

[1] T. T. p. 328. [2] Ibid. p. 330. [3] Ibid. p. 331.

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that they would, for this Purpoſe, ſend with him a ſafe Convoy; and, if he pleaſed, eſcort him out of the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, with full Liberty to carry along with him all his Artillery, Ammunition, Carriages, and every kind of Hoſtile Matters. Moreover, the Senate and People of *Rome* gave alſo Aſſurances that he ſhould not be attack'd or moleſted in the ſaid Journey: With theſe Orders and Offers *Valentine* found he was obliged to obey and accept; at the ſame Time the Cardinals made him promiſe, that, on his Part, he ſhould, within three Days, march out of *Rome*, which City, nor any in the Eccleſiaſtical Dominion, he ſhould not, in any wiſe, injure or moleſt; and that, during the whole Time that the Conclave laſted, keep, at leaſt, ten Miles Diſtance from that City. *Proſpero Colonna*, on the other Hand, obliged himſelf to do the like. The Ambaſſadors of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, were accordingly Sureties for *Valentine*'s performing what had been agreed to; as were the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Venice* for the *Orſini*.

This Agreement being made, and both Parties having ſolemnly ſwore to adhere thereto, the Duke ſhew'd as if he intended to go towards *Tivoli*, having ſent eighteen Pieces of Artillery before him, with a Convoy of Four hundred Foot, appointed for that End by the Sacred College, to whom *Valentine* gave the Gratuity of Four hundred Ducats, having accordingly ſent his Van-guard likewiſe before him, to wait for his other Carriages, which were about a Hundred in Number. The Duke himſelf went out by the Garden Door of the *Vatican*, and was carried in a [1] Bed ſupported by twelve of his own Halbardeers, above it was a Scarlet Canopy; but leſt he ſhould be attack'd or ſurprized, he cauſed one of his Pages to ride upon one of his ſwifteſt and beſt Horſes, all along the Road near his Bed, which, for all his Sickneſs, he deſign'd to mount, if ſuch an Accident ſhould happen. His Horſes Capariſons were of black Velvet, on which were his own Arms embroidered. Part of his Army marched before, and Part behind his own Perſon. When they began to move, Cardinal *Ceſarino* waited at one of the City Gates, with a Deſign to conferr with him; but *Valentine* excuſed himſelf, and told him, he

[1] T. Tomaſ. alſo Platina, p. 481.

was

was not in a Condition to give [1] Audience. *Proſpero Colonna* in like manner waited alſo for the ſame Opportunity to ſpeak with him; and as the Duke, he found, was in ſo great Diſtreſs, he wanted to declare, That he freely forgave him for the Injuries he had received at his Hands; which generous Piece of Condeſcenſion and Magnanimity was reckon'd a Degree of Heroiciſm equal to the ancient *Romans*: Nay, more than this, he offered to conduct *Borgia*, with his own Guards, to *Tivoli*; but the latter gave him to underſtand he was not to march that Way; but would be pleaſed to ſee him any where beyond *Pontremolle*. However, *Colonna* did not think ſafe to venture ſo far that Way, becauſe of the Number of *French* Troops near that Place. The Duke followed on his Journey towards *Nepi*, thence marched to *Citta-Caſtellana*, that Town being yet under his own Government, in which Neighbourhood was the *French* Army lying, *viz.* between *Nepi* and *Iſola*, commanded by the Marquis of *Mantua*, deputed the *French* King's Lieutenant, in Place of *Tramoglia*, who was left behind ſick [2] at *Parma*. Their Pretence for encamping there, was by way of Protection to the Conclave, being apprehenſive that the *Spaniards* would force the Cardinals to [3] elect a Creature of their own Nation; eſpecially by means of *Proſpero Colonna*'s Troops, who were ſo near; and which, they thought, were ſent thither by *Conſalvo* for that Purpoſe; but the true Deſign of the *French*, notwithſtanding of theſe Pretences, was only to invigorate Cardinal *Rouen*'s Election to the Papacy, who had lately come for this End to *Rome*, in Company of the Cardinals *Aſcanius*, *Forza*, and *Arragona*; the firſt of which, for having been reſtored to his Liberty, *Rouen* judg'd would not be wanting, nor the other Cardinal, to give him their Votes: Beſides, he thought himſelf ſure of all thoſe others who were *Valentine*'s Friends. As for *Borgia* himſelf, he had, at the ſame Time, conſiderable Offers made him, provided he would join Iſſue with the *Spaniſh* Faction within the Conclave, but he ſhew'd himſelf, on this Occaſion, more inclinable to the *French* Party.

[1] T. Tomaſ. p. 333.
[2] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 162.
[3] Ibid. Guicciard. T. T. p. 334.

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In the mean Time, the Cardinals having, [1] about Thirty-ſeven in Number, conven'd together, and adjuſted Matters relating to the Conclave, and the ordinary Function about the deceaſed Pope's Obſequies being perform'd in St. *Peter*'s Church; after a Month's Vacancy in the Pontificate, they ſhut themſelves up in order to chuſe a new Pontiff; which Affair, beyond every Bodies Expectations, was conlcuded within five Days after. For the Cardinals, on Purpoſe to remove the Fear they were now under, on Account of the powerful Factions, which with Arms were ready to occaſion a great Effuſion of Blood in ſupporting their reſpective Intereſts and Pretenſions, and to have a Pope of their own electing. To obviate this, they made Choice of one, who, indeed, was no Adherent to any of their Parties; tho' as to his Health and Conſtitution, very infirm and weak, ſo that they imagin'd he could not live very long; but as Matters would come to ſome Iſſue or other while he did live, they thought, on his Death, they might then chuſe one according to their own Minds. However, the Perſon they exalted to the Chair at this Time, was *Franciſco Piccolomini*, Cardinal of *Sienna*, a Man, indeed, of an excellent Character, nor by any Mortal judg'd unworthy of the great Dignity they had conferr'd upon him. After his Election, which was on the 22d of *September* 1503, on the 8th of *October* he was crowned Pope, and took on him the Name of [3] *Pius* III.

The *French* Army, in the mean Time, having no longer Occaſion to tarry near *Rome*, purſued their [4] March towards *Naples*, ſo paſſed over the *Tiber*: But notwithſtanding of their Departure, and the Election of the new Pope, Things were by no means in a way of being ſettled within *Rome*. For at this very Time, *Alviano*, and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, were jointly raiſing new Troops within the State of *Perugia*, with deſign to attack *Valentine*, who continued ſtill in a very

[1] Vid. Panvinius in Vita Pii Tertii, p. 481. But Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 164. ſays the Number of the Cardinals within the Conclave were 38.

[2] Vid. Panvinius, ibid. alſo his *Chronologia Eccleſiaſtica*, Anno 1503. Guicciard. ibid.

[3] Vid. Panvinius Vita Pii Tertii, p. 482. Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 164. T. T. p. 335.

[4] Tom. Tomaſ. p. 336. Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 164.

miſerable

miſerable and ſickly Condition, and who, dreading the Force of his Enemies, whom he knew very ready to fly at him like ſo many Vultures; he found no other Remedy but to return to *Rome*, which, with the new Pope's Paſs, he did; and with him Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, the like Number of Light Horſe, and Eight Hundred Foot. The Pope's Intention in letting him come back thither, was to try if he could make up Matters between him and his Adverſaries: But as *Valentine* and the *Orſini* were within the ſame Walls, and as the latter thirſted for *Borgia*'s Blood, and would continue ſo to do till revenged for the many Murders and Villanies he had committed on their Family; and notwithſtanding they arraign'd him before the Pope and the Sacred College, and demanded of them Juſtice, in the common Courſe of the Law, againſt him as a notorious Robber and barbarous Cut-throat, yet they ſtill had their Arms in Reſerve, and reſolved to take Vengeance by their own Hands, if they could not obtain it elſewhere; and that as ſoon as *Alviano* and *Gian Pagolo* ſhould join with them their Forces together. On this Account, the Soldiers of their Side, and *Valentine*'s within *Rome*, were continually bickering with, and murdering one another; which ſhedding of Blood, and never-ending Contention, was above meaſure uneaſy and ſhocking to the Inhabitants of *Rome*.

As for the *Orſini*, notwithſtanding great Offers were made if they would join the *Spaniſh* Army; yet Cardinal *Rouen* found means to ſecure ſome of them, particularly *Julio Orſino* into his Maſter's Intereſt; but they all had determined not to ſerve any of theſe Powers, until firſt they ſhould finiſh their Revenge on *Valentine*, which, in that Juncture, was no ſmall Diſadvantage to the *French* Concerns, becauſe their Aſſiſtance was then of Importance. As for *Alviano*, the *French* were making very advantagious Offers, provided he would join with them alſo; but his Arrival at *Rome*, put them out of all Hopes of ſeeing that effected: For he perceiving that *Rouen*, for his own Views to the next Papacy, was *Borgia*'s Friend, this, they ſay, exaſperated him and the *Orſini* to ſuch a Degree, that, as ſome report, notwithſtanding *Julio* had, as we have ſaid, engaged himſelf in the *French* Service, yet, for the above mentioned Reaſons, they unanimouſly came to a Reſolution to ſhake themſelves altogether looſe of that Nation; accordingly agreed with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſa-

dor, that they all, except *Giovanni Giordano*, ſhould enter into the King of *Spain*'s Service; having, at the ſame Time, obliged themſelves to aſſiſt his Catholick Majeſty with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and advance Sixty Thouſand Ducats *per Annum*, the better to enable him to carry on the War againſt the *French*, and ſupport the Title and Poſſeſſion of *Naples*. Others ſay they were perſuaded into this by the *Venetians*, who were anxious, above meaſure, to ſee the King of *France* ſtripp'd of that Kingdom.

The *Spaniards*, on their Part, agreed, That *Alviano*, and the reſt of the *Orſini*, ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of very conſiderable [1] Eſtates within the Kingdom of *Naples*, and his Brother enjoy the beſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignities there: But what was moſt alluring, were the Aſſurances given by the *Spaniards*, that as ſoon as the War of *Naples* was at an End, the ſaid *Alviano* ſhould have the Aſſiſtance of Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, in the Expedition which the *Orſini* deſign'd to make into *Tuſcany*, for re-inſtating [2] *Pietro di Medici* in his wonted Government there.

On this ſudden Alteration of the *Orſini* Family, Cardinal *Rouen* was quite aſtoniſh'd; foreſeeing how fatal it would be to the *French* Affairs; for which Reaſon he offered them what Terms [3] they pleaſed, provided they would not eſpouſe the *Spaniſh* Intereſt; but 'twas now too late, for they gave him to underſtand, that they would, on no Conſideration whatever, depart from their Agreement with that Nation.

Valentine, in the mean time, being under great Apprehenſions of being beſet by ſo many powerful Enemies, combin'd in his Ruin, found now no Means left to ſave himſelf, but to fly from *Rome*; accordingly he deſign'd to leave that City without delay, and to get to *Bracciano*, where *Giovanni Giordano* gave Cardinal *Rouen* Aſſurances he would protect him: But while he was on the Point of ſetting out, the *Orſini* determin'd to [4] attack him at any Rate, and force their Way by the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* into that Part of the City near the

[1] Gucciard. Lib. VI. p. 164.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Gucciard. Lib. VI. p. 165. Alſo Platina, p. 482. and T. T. p. 339.

Vatican,
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Vatican, where *Borgia*'s Troops were lying; but this they could not effect, becauſe every Place there was ſecured; on this, they reſolved to march out of *Rome*, and lead their Men round by the Walls, towards the Gate called *Torione*, where they thought they could not fail to get at *Valentine*; but on their Arrival there they found that Gate barricaded and ſecured alſo: On which, immediately they ſet Fire to it, and accordingly got Admittance. As ſoon as they had entered, they fell in with a Party of *Valentine*'s Horſe, whom they inſtantly attack'd, Sword in Hand; and notwithſtanding a Number of *French* Troops made up to *Borgia*'s Aſſiſtance, yet the Enemies being ſuperior, tho', as ſome ſay, *Valentine* made a gallant Defence, they cut them to Pieces. On this *Borgia*, not knowing what to do, or where to ſave himſelf from falling a Prey to his implacable and revengeful Enemies, implored the Pope to give him Shelter in the *Vatican* Palace, which he obtained; and being now reſolved to abandon his Troops, ſeeing his helliſh Game was at an End, and his Forces diſperſed, and very much diminiſhed, with his Brother *Squillace*, and a few Cardinals of their Party, he and they were, by the new Pope's Permiſſion, allowed to take Refuge within the [1] Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and an Order given the Governor there, that whenever *Valentine* had a mind to depart from thence he might, without Moleſtation.

As this grand Obſtacle was now in a manner removed, the Tranquillity of *Rome* began of Conſequence to be re-eſtabliſhed, at leaſt the Tumults there to ceaſe. But while this was tranſacting, Pope *Pius* III. died [2] about Twenty-ſix Days after he had been exalted to the Papal Chair. His Death was occaſioned by a Gangrene, or Sore in his Leg, which, ſome ſay, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Lord of *Sienna*, had brib'd his Surgeons to poiſon with the Plaiſter they laid to it. His Deceaſe was regretted by the Generality of People, being very much beloved, on Account of his Merit and exemplary Life. The Day he expired was on the 18th Day of *October*, of the ſame Year 1503.

[1] Ibid. Platina. See alſo Gucciard. and Tomaſi.

[2] Platina, ibid.

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The Cardinals on this, deferred, for ſome Days, to enter into the Conclave, until the *Orſini* Troops ſhould march out of *Rome*, ſo that the Election of a new Pope was concerted, and, in a manner, concluded [1] without the Conclave: For the Cardinal of St. *Pietro ad Vincola*, or, as the *Italians* call him, *In Vincula*, on Account of his Friends and great Wealth, had got over ſo many of the Sacred College to his Side, that the others were not in a Condition to oppoſe his Election; accordingly, in an unprecedented Manner, he was choſe Pope, by the Name of *Julius* the Second, the very firſt Night they had made the Form of entering the Conclave, namely, on the firſt of *November*, ſome ſay the [2] laſt of *October*, 1503.

It was, however, Matter of univerſal Wonder, that the Cardinals had ſo unanimouſly inveſted a Perſon with the Papal Dignity, who was of ſo turbulent a Diſpoſition, and ſo formidable to every one, and who had ſpent his whole Life-time in Party Matters and Broils, and had conſequently brought on himſelf the Hatred and Ill-will of many Perſons of the firſt Rank: But, on the other Hand, the Reaſon for his being elected, appeared manifeſt, becauſe, [3] as he had been for many Years a Cardinal, and of Conſequence become very powerful, and his Magnificence very much exceeding the others, alſo his ſingular Greatneſs of Soul, he thereby obtained no ſmall Number of Friends and Adherents to ballance the Power of his Adverſaries; having moreover obtained the Character of the chief Defender of the Dignity and Privileges of the Church: All theſe, I ſay, put together, with his immoderate Promiſes to thoſe Perſonages who could advance him to the Supreme Government, was the Reaſon why he ſurmounted all Difficulties to the contrary, and carried the Election.

[1] Vid. Panvinius in his Supplement to Platina. in Vita Julii. II. p. 483. Gucciard. Lib. VI.

[2] Panvinius's Supplement to Platina, in Vita Julii Secundi, p. 483. ſays it was on the firſt of November; but Gucciard. Lib. VI. p. 165. ſays on the laſt of October. This Difference, tho' not very material, I thought fit to take Notice of to avoid the Cenſure, or rather the Snarlings, of ſome Criticks; but as Panvinius, both in his Life of Julius, and in his *Chronologia Eccleſiaſtica*, p. 177. has it on the firſt of November, I agree with him rather than Gucciardine.

[3] Gucciard. ibid. p. 165.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Rouen* gave his Aſſent to the Advancement of *Julius* to the Papacy, becauſe, as he could not obtain it for himſelf, he was willing to engage him in the *French* Intereſt. On the other Hand, thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction were obliged to conſent, not having a ſufficient Number to oppoſe it, being unwilling to irritate *Julius* in their Prejudice; beſides the new Pope, before his Advancement, had made them conſiderable Promiſes, and not to them only, but likewiſe to *Valentine*, with whom he agreed that one of his Daughters ſhould be married to *Franciſco Maria della Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, alſo to confirm the ſaid *Borgia* in his Office of [1] Captain General and in the Confalonerate of the Church: But what was moſt engaging of all, were *Julius*'s Promiſes to aſſiſt him in recovering his Dominions in *Romagna*, all which Country, except the Fortreſſes there, had revolted from him.

The Diſorders in *Romagna* gave, indeed, the new Pope very great Uneaſineſs, becauſe he could not diſpoſe Matters there as he wiſh'd, not being able to bear that the *Venetians* ſhould augment their Power and Conqueſts in that Country: For as ſoon as the News was ſpread in *Romagna* of *Valentine*'s taking Shelter in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and that his Army was diſſipated and broke, thoſe Cities which had adhered to his Government till now, began to act on [2] another Footing; *Ceſena* in Particular had returned under its ancient Government, *viz.* that of the Church. *Imola*, becauſe the chief Commander there had been at the Inſtigation of ſome of her Inhabitants ſlain, was, conſequently, fluctuating in Mind, whether they ſhould declare themſelves Subjects to the Church, or return under the Dominion of their old Maſters the *Riarii*. The City of *Forli*, which had been long under the Government of the *Ordelaſſi*, before the *Riarii* had aſſumed the Sovereignty, had accordingly called back, among them, *Antonio Ordelaſſi*, who having attempted to be reſtored by Help of the *Venetians*, had thought better of the Matter, for now he apprehended they would only make a Tool of his Name, to eſtabliſh the Government there to themſelves; on this he put himſelf into the Hands of the *Florentines*, and by [3] them was re-inſtated in this Territory.

[1] Guicciard. p. 166. T. T. p. 342.
[2] Idem. Guicciard.
[3] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 166.

Peſaro was recovered to its old Lord *Giovanni Sforza*. *Rimini* was claimed by *Pandolfo Malateſta*, having been invited to govern it by the Inhabitants; but by means of *Dionigio di Naldo*, that Place was ſtill kept for *Valentine*. *Faenza*, appeared more willing to remain under *Borgia*'s Government than any of the other Towns; but finding they had no Proſpect of having him any more for their Lord, as there were none of the legitimate Children of the *Manfredi* Family left alive, they made Choice of *Aſtor*, a [1] Baſtard Son, for their Sovereign.

But as the *Venetians* were aſpiring to the Government of all *Romagna*, they had, immediately after Pope *Alexander*'s Death, ſent ſeveral Troops to *Ravenna*, who, one Night of a ſudden, [2] attack'd the Town of *Ceſena*; but as the Inhabitants had couragiouſly defended the Place, and as the former had brought no Artillery along with them, having hoped more from Fraud than Force, they were obliged to deſiſt from the Undertaking, and return back towards *Ravenna*, being bent to extend their Dominion in that Province as much as they could: And, indeed, an Opportunity for doing ſo very ſoon preſented favourable, on Account of the Diſcord which happen'd between *Dionigio di Naldo* and the *Faentines*, becauſe the former being very much diſpleaſed that they ſhould return under the Government of the *Manfredi* Family, from whom they had revolted; when *Valentine* aſſaulted that City; having called in the *Venetians*, he gave them up the Fortreſſes of *Valdilamone*, of which he was Governor; ſo that, within a little Time, they placed Three Hundred Foot in the Caſtle of *Faenza*, which Troops had been admitted there by the Governor, who, for that End, had been brib'd to commit the Fraud.

At the ſame Time they took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Forlimpopolo*, with ſundry other Fortreſſes within *Romagna*, and ſent a Party of their Troops to beſiege *Fano*; but the Inhabitants ſtrenuouſly defended themſelves, declaring they would only be govern'd by the Church. The *Venetians* were likewiſe brought into *Rimini*, with the Conſent of the Inhabitants, having firſt made an Agreement with *Pandolfo Malateſta*, to give him the Village of *Cittadella*, in the Territory of *Padua*, and a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 166 [2] Ibid.

yearly

yearly Subſidy as an Equivalent, and alſo the Government of their *Gens D'Armes* while he lived. After which the *Venetians*, without loſs of Time, ſet about the taking of *Faenza*; for the *Faentines*, not having been diſmay'd for the Loſs of their Caſtle, which, as it was in a low Situation, detach'd from the Town, and ſurrounded by a deep Ditch, could therefore not annoy them much, accordingly they made a vigorous and gallant Reſiſtance, being moſt affectionate towards the Family of *Manfredi*, and greatly inraged that thoſe of *Valdilamone* ſhould promiſe away the State of *Faenza* to another. However, being unable of themſelves to hold out long, becauſe the *Venetians*, commanded by the Proveditor *Chriſtoforo Moro*, had approached that Town with his Army and Artillery, and, ſome time before actually taken Poſſeſſion of the other moſt important Places of that Neighbourhood: On which, the *Faentines* had Recourſe to the new Pope *Julius* for Aſſiſtance, who was not a little diſpleaſed at the Boldneſs and Uſurpation of the *Venetians*; but as he was but lately placed in the Chair, without Forces and Money, and not hoping for Aſſiſtance either from the King of *France* or *Spain*, becauſe he was neutral to both, accordingly made uſe of his own Pontifical Authority; for which Reaſon he ſent the Biſhop of *Tivoli* to *Venice* to complain, That as the City of *Faenza* belong'd to the Church, he hoped the Senate would not uſurp her Right, or affront a Pope, who, before his Exaltation to the Pontificate, had held ſo good a Correſpondence, and kept up ſo firm a Friendſhip with them, and the like. To which the *Venetians* ſent [2] Anſwer, That they were glad the Cardinal St. *Pietro in Vincula* had ſo deſervingly arrived at the Pontificate, but that they did not know in what Reſpect they had offended his Holineſs or the Church, in having embraced the Opportunity, preſented them, of taking *Faenza*, of which the Church had diveſted herſelf of all Pretenſions of Right, and in publick Conſiſtory, transferred the Dominion thereof to *Valentine*; and that, ſince the Memory of Man, *Faenza* had not belong'd to the Popes, tho' they had often inveſted Vicars with the Sovereignty thereof, and received their Fiefs, which they were willing to pay with the utmoſt Punctuality. Beſides, they ſignified to his Holineſs the Ill-will which the *Faentines* had to be govern'd by the Church, and how they abhorred the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 166. [2] Ibid.

Thoughts

Thoughts of having ever ſubjected themſelves to *Valentine*'s Government; that being the Reaſon why they had made Choice of the Baſtards of the *Manfredi* Family, rather than the Church, for their Governors. Laſtly, they beſeeched his Holineſs to have the ſame Regard and Affection for them which he had when a Cardinal.

The Pope, when he learned the Minds of the *Venetians* in the Affair, would have ſent *Valentine* into *Romagna*, who, by this Time, was very much favoured and honoured by *Julius*; but he was afraid his going thither would be very diſagreeable to every Body, ſince all the Cities and Country there had ſhaken off his deteſtable [1] Yoke; ſo that the People of *Faenza* could now expect no other Aſſiſtance but from the *Florentines*, who being concern'd and allarm'd that a City ſo near them ſhould be in the Hands of the *Venetians*, ſent therefore thither Two Hundred Foot, encouraging the *Faentines* in their Defence, and promiſing other Two Hundred to aſſiſt them until the Pope could be able to let them have other Succours; but finding *Julius* was not diſpoſed to uſe his Temporal Arms, they deſiſted from ſending other Forces.

In the mean time, the *Faentines* being deſtitute of all Hopes of Aſſiſtance, and the *Venetians* having battered the Walls of the City with their Artillery, they were forced to [2] ſurrender, but on Condition that the former ſhould give *Aſtor* a Subſiſtance during Life, which, tho' it was very ſmall, was however agreed on.

On the *Venetians* taking *Faenza*, they would alſo have laid Siege to *Imola* and *Forli*, but from that they deſiſted, not to irritate aud provoke the Pope too much, who was, above meaſure, angry at their Procedure, for which Reaſon, they thought it adviſable to proceed no further, but content themſelves with what they had acquired; for, beſides *Faenza*, they had, within *Romagna*, become Maſters of [3] *Rimini*, and its whole Country; alſo *Monte Fiore*, S. *Archangelo*, *Verucchio*, *Cattera*, *Savignano*, *Solaruolo*, and *Monte-Bataglia*, ſo that *Valentine* was diſpoſſeſſed of every Place within *Romagna* and *Lombardy*, except the Caſtle of *Forli* and *Ceſena*, *Forlimpopolo*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 166. [2] Ibid. p. 167. [3] Ibid.

and

and *Bertinoro*, at which, notwithſtanding *Valentine* greatly deſired to go in Perſon into *Romagna*, yet finding he could not, rather than the *Venetians* ſhould get Poſſeſſion of theſe Forts, was willing to depoſite them into the Hands of the Church, on Condition to have them reſtored him, when Affairs ſhould be ſettled: But this the Pope refuſed, declaring, he would not willingly accept of any thing which might be a Temptation to him to break his Promiſe. In fine, in order to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *Venetians*, at any Rate, and being willing that *Valentine* ſhould leave *Rome*, the Pope, with the Concurrence of the Sacred College, agreed with him, that he ſhould go by Sea to *Porto Specie*, and from thence, by Land, to *Ferrara*, then to *Imola*, to be eſcorted thither by a Hundred Men at Arms, and a Hundred and Fifty of his own Light Horſe, which ſtill he kept in Pay; on which *Borgia* went to *Oſtia*, to embark on board the Gallies lying ready to receive him there. But after his Departure, the Pope repenting he had not accepted the Offer *Valentine* made him, of taking his Fortreſſes into his own Cuſtody, and being now diſpoſed to have them in his Hands at any Rate; accordingly ſent the Cardinals of *Volterra* and *Surrente* to *Cæſar*, to tell him, that the Pope, on Purpoſe not to let the *Venetians* take his Fortreſſes in *Romagna* from him, was willing, at laſt, they ſhould be conſign'd into his own Hands, according to the Propoſal made him at *Rome*; but *Valentine* refuſing to do ſo, the Pope was greatly enrag'd, and ordered him to be forthwith [2] arreſted and ſecured in the Gallies, aboard which he was at that Time: After this he was carried to *Magliana*, and from thence brought back to *Rome*, where, tho' kept a Priſoner under a ſtrict Guard, he was nevertheleſs not a little careſſed by the Pope, who, fearing leſt the Governors of *Valentine*'s Fortreſſes, in Deſpair of his coming among them, would deliver them over to the *Venetians* for Money, took Care to ſooth and allure *Borgia*, with Courteſy and fair Words, the better to induce him to part with his ſtrong Holds.

In this way did *Valentine*'s Power, which had ſprung up in ſo ſudden a manner, no leſs by Cruelty and Fraud, than by the Arms and the Power of the Church, come to as ſudden a

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 167. [2] Ib. Guicciard. P. Jovius Lib. VIII. p. 176.

Ruin and Downfall, having himſelf experienced the ſame kind of [1] Deceit, with which his Father and he had deluded, oppreſſed, and ruined others: Nor did his few remaining Troops meet with better Fortune, for, having marched into the State of *Perugia*, with Hopes of obtaining a ſafe Convoy from the *Florentines* into *Romagna*, the Army of the *Baglioni*, *Vitelli*, and the *Sienneſe* being cloſe at their Heels, they were obliged, for their own Safety, to take Refuge in the *Florentine* Country, being penn'd up between *Caſtiglione* and *Cortona*, and reduced to the Number only of Four Hundred Horſe and a few Foot, all which were, by Order of the *Florentines*, [2] pillaged and ranſacked, and their Leader Don *Michelotto* made Priſoner, and afterwards delivered over to the Pope, who had demanded him with great Earneſtneſs, and who greatly abhorred all the wicked Miniſters of *Alexander*'s flagitious Pontificate, eſpecially *Michelotto*, who was one of his moſt truſty Tools of Iniquity, and the Executioner of his and *Valentine*'s Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs: Notwithſtanding which, *Julius* being very merciful to all thoſe in his Power, he even ſet *Michelotto* at Liberty.

At the ſame Time Cardinal *Rouen* left *Rome*, and, with the Pope's Permiſſion, returned to *France* in the Character of Legate; which *Julius* was obliged to grant, tho' it was againſt his Will: But Cardinal *Aſcanius* did not return to that Kingdom, notwithſtanding, at his Departure out of *France*, he had ſolemnly ſwore to the King that he would come back; but from this Oath he was privately abſolved by the Pope, which he thought a ſufficient Excuſe for breaking it. Theſe were the chief Revolutions which enſued in *Italy* on Pope *Alexander*'s Death.

At this Time the Affairs of the *French*, within and out of *Italy*, were attended with very bad Succeſs; for the Army ſent by them to the Confines of *Guaſcogna* was, on Account of bad Conduct and want of Money, very ſoon broke and diſbanded; and their Fleets having met with as bad Succeſs on the Coaſt of *Spain*, had retired to *Marſeilles*; and the Army that marched to *Perpignan*, in which the *French* King ſo much confided, beſieged the Town of *Sals* in vain, and were obliged

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 167. P. Jovius Lib. VIII. p. 176. [2] Ibid. Guicciard.

to

to retire without doing any thing material. However, King *Frederick* of *Naples*, as a Mediator between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, brought about an Accommodation, and a [1] Truce for Five Months, but only in regard to the Affairs out of *Italy*; for *Frederick* having brought the King of *Spain* to conſent to his Reſtoration in *Naples*, and only wanting the King of *France* to conſent thereto, of which the Queen did all ſhe could for having it effected; this was the Cauſe why *Frederick* had taken ſo much Pains to accommodate Matters between thoſe contending Monarchs: On this Account the King of *Spain* ſent Ambaſſadors into *France*, who managed the Matter with ſuch Cunning and Art as to make *Frederick* believe that the King of *France* was the only Perſon that obſtructed his Reinſtatement in *Naples*; tho' the Truth was, both *France* and *Spain* had their Eye on nothing ſo much as the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. For this End the *French* Army, after their Departure from *Rome*, having marched thro' the Country of *Valmontone*, and the Eſtate of the *Colonneſe*, where Forrage was willingly allowed them, they advanced through the *Campagna* of *Rome* towards St. *Germano*, where *Conſalvo* having placed a ſtrong Garriſon in *Rocca Secca*, and in *Monte Caſino*, the *Spaniards* had poſted themſelves there, not with deſign to come to Battle, but to hinder the *French* from proceeding further, which they thought they could do on Account of the ſtrong Situation of that Place.

The *French*, in the mean time, being arrived at *Ponte Curvo* and *Capperano*, they were joined there by the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the Troops from *Gaeta*; the latter having, on Account of *Conſalvo*'s returning, regain'd the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and the whole Country of *Fondi* as far as the River *Garigliano*. The firſt Exploit of the *French* was to make themſelves Maſters of *Rocca Secca*, for which End, having made an Attack without [2] Succeſs, they decamp'd from thence; which redounded ſo much to their Shame and Ignominy, that in the *Spaniſh* Camp they gave out, that the Retreat of that Day ſecured to them the whole Kingdom of *Naples*. On this, the *French* finding they could not diſlodge the *Spaniards* in St. *Germano*, were forced to ſeek for a Paſſage forward, nearer

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 168.
[2] Ibid. Guicciard. See alſo Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 160. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581.

the

the Sea-ſide; ſo that after they had halted two Days near *Aquino*, they took that Town, and left Seven Hundred Foot in *Gulielma*, and ſo retir'd back to *Ponte Curvo*, marching by the Way of *Fondi*: After this they lodg'd at the Town placed at the Paſs of the River *Garigliano*, where they deſign'd to lay over a Bridge, and ſo paſs to the other Side: Nor was the Situation a little commodious for them to quarter in, if they ſhould have Occaſion, ſeeing they had *Gaeta* in their Poſſeſſion, and their Fleet was near at Hand; beſides, *Trajetto*, *Itri*, *Fondi*, and all the Country as far as the *Garigliano* was in their Hands.

The Paſſing of the *French* Army was judg'd to be of great Importance to the Affairs of that Nation within the Kingdom of *Naples*, for as *Conſalvo* was inferior in Force, and conſequently unable to encounter them in the open Field, ſo if their Army ſhould get to the other Side, nothing could hinder them from marching directly to the very Walls of *Naples*; and alſo having ſo conſiderable a Fleet by Sea, nothing, they thought, could poſſibly oppoſe them.

On this *Conſalvo* left St. *Germano*, and with all his Forces went to the oppoſite Side of the *Garigliano*, where the Enemy was to paſs to hinder them from getting over; but the *French*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *Spaniards*, having laid a Bridge over that River, and placed their Artillery on the Banks, which were higher than on the other Side; by this, and the help of the Boats of their Fleet, which were haled againſt the Stream, they gain'd the Paſs: But next Day, when they began to come over, the *Spaniards* oppoſed them with all their Might; and having attack'd thoſe who had actually got upon the other Side, they drove them back to the Middle of the Bridge, and would have proceeded farther, had they not been very briskly repulſed by the violent Fire of the *French* Artillery. In this Aſſault, on the *French* Side, *Bagli di Digiuno* was ſlain; and in the *Spaniſh* Army *Fabio Paolo*, *Orſino*'s Son; 'tis however reported, that had the *French* puſh'd on couragiouſly, they would, in all Probability, have gain'd the Day; but they ſhewing a kind of Timidity, loſt the Occaſion of obtaining Victory, and with it their Hopes of future Succeſs; for from that Day forward their Affairs grew worſe and worſe; beſides, among their own Commanders there was no

no ſmall Diſorder and Contention, for the *French*, according to their wonted Cuſtom, diſdaining to be commanded by *Italian* Officers, did therefore not obey the Orders given them by the Marquis of *Mantua*, their chief General; for which Reaſon he, either becauſe of his Indiſpoſition, or the little Succeſs he had in the Affair of *Rocca Secca*, or becauſe he found his Orders not obey'd, [1] left the *French* Army: After whoſe Departure, the *French* Generals, the Chief of which were the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Bagli d'Occan*, and *Sandricort*, having made a Rampart near the Entry of the Bridge on the other Side of the River; they built alſo another Baſtion capable to hold a Number of Men, ſo that the Enemy could no more annoy them when they paſſed the Bridge; but other Incidents fell out which hindered their further Progreſs, partly on the Account of the Bravery and Reſolution of the Enemy, who deſpiſed Fatigue and the Inconveniency of Situation, and partly by their own bad Conduct, and the Adverſeneſs of their Fortune; for *Conſalvo* being determin'd to hinder their Proceeding, took Advantage of the Rigidity of the Winter Seaſon, and the Situation of the Country, and effected his Purpoſes more by that means than by main Force. He had encamped at *Cintura*, about a Mile's Diſtance from the River, which Place was on a riſing Ground, the Infantry and ſome of his other Troops being quartered thereabout, tho' indeed they ſuffered very much in this Situation for want of Cover, there being no Houſes near that ſolitary Place; and the Ground around them very low and marſhy, and with the vaſt Quantity of Rain that fell was almoſt covered with Water, and become a mere Sink, which obliged the Soldiers to bring thither a great Quantity of Faſcines to cover the Ground there; by reaſon of theſe Difficulties, and becauſe his Army was very ill paid, and the *French* had gain'd a free Paſſage over the River, *Conſalvo* was adviſed to retire to *Capua*, that ſo his People might ſuffer the leſs, and ſhun the Danger of being attack'd by the *French*, who were much ſuperior in Number; but this Advice was with great Magnanimity, rejected by *Conſalvo*, who told them in theſe Words, that, *He rather*

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 169. Paul. Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 172.

deſired [1] *his own Grave ſhould be a Hand's Breadth further towards the Enemy, than by removing it backward a few Paces be ſure to live a hundred Years.* In this manner, with a ſingular Conſtancy of Mind, ſuffering with Patience all the Uneaſineſs and Inconveniencies he met with, having fortified his Camp with a huge Ditch, and erected two Baſtions in Front, he reſolved in this Situation to defend himſelf, if attack'd: The Enemy finiſhed the Baſtion at the Bridge, yet, for all that, never had thought fit to proceed further, nor, indeed, was it ſcarcely poſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt Quantity of Water on the Ground, unleſs they had marched in deep Mud, and very narrow Paths, and not even this Way without great Danger of being annoy'd and harraſſed by the *Spaniſh* Infantry, who flank'd them on all Hands. And, indeed, that Winter being a remarkable cold Seaſon, and attended with prodigious Rain and Snow, it appeared as if both Fortune and the very Weather had conſpired againſt the *French*, who not being able to proceed, were lying by and waſting their Time in vain: And altho' their Situation was rather leſs inconvenient than that of the *Spaniards*, the Ground being higher, and Part of their Troops having the Advantage of lodging within an old *Roman* Amphitheatre there, which they covered, and ſo defended themſelves from the Injury of Weather, having alſo quartered Part of their Cavalry in *Trajetto*; yet for all this, their Difficulties in lying there were ſo great, that by Degrees, their Army began to diminiſh conſiderably; beſides, as is ſaid already, there was very ill Management among them, for the Commiſſioners appointed by the King for victualling the Army, out of an avaricious Deſire to enrich themſelves, put the Money, appointed for that End, in their own [2] Pockets, and ſuffered the Army to be in very great want of Neceſſaries, and the Soldiers Pay to be kept back from them: On this Account a great Sickneſs enſued among the *French*, inſomuch that the *Italian* Troops, in their Service, deſerted the Camp, ſo that their Number decreaſed viſibly every Day; but above all, what contributed moſt to their Ruin, was the Diſcord

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 169. The Reader is directed to obſerve, that Jovius differs from Guicciardin in this Particular, and ſays, that Conſalvo, in order himſelf and Army might the better perform their Chriſtmas Devotions in a Church, and not in the Field, did decamp from thence with his Forces. See P. Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 172. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581.

[2] Ibid. Guicciard. See alſo Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 172. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581.

among

among the Commanders, neither Diſcipline or Order being obſerved. In fine, the *French* being fruſtrated in their Deſigns, on Account of the Bitterneſs of the Winter Seaſon, no Action therefore between them and the Enemy enſued, only now and then ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes happened, in which generally the *Spaniards* got the better. Moreover, it fell out about the ſame Time, that the Infantry left by the *French* for the Defence of *Rocca Gulielmo*, not being able to bear the Aſſaults and Moleſtation they continually met with from the *Spaniards* within *Rocca Secca*, and the other Places in that Neighbourhood, returned to their own Army, but in their March were attacked and [1] routed.

Affairs being for many Days carried on in this manner, the Troops under the Command of *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and the others of the *Orſini* Family, in the mean Time, join'd the *Spaniſh* Camp; by the Arrival of which, *Conſalvo*'s Forces were ſo much encreaſed, that now his Army conſiſted of [2] Nine Hundred Men at Arms, a Thouſand Light Horſe, and Nine Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot: On this, he began to think of acting no longer on the Defenſive, but offenſively againſt the Enemy, and what greatly animated the *Spaniards* to this, was the Account they had, that tho' the *French* were ſuperior to them in Cavalry, yet not ſo in Number of Foot; beſides, that they were lying ſo much diſperſed and at a Diſtance from one another, that the Space of Ground their Army took up was no leſs than ten Miles in Circuit, inſomuch, that at the Tower near the *Garigliano*, where the Marquis of *Saluzzo* lay, the leaſt Part of the *French* Army was there; and tho' Proviſions became at laſt plenty, yet the Sickneſs encreaſed ſo very much, that great Numbers died; among them was *Bagli d' Occan*.

On this, *Conſalvo* reſolved to paſs over the River, and, if poſſible, without being obſerved by the Enemy; accordingly the Care being intruſted to *Alviano*, they privately built a wooden Bridge near to the Place of their Encampment; which, when finiſhed, was carried in the Night Time and laid over the River at *Suio*, four Miles above where the *French* had their Bridge. When this was done, on the Night of the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 169. [2] Idem. Guicciard. p. 170.

27th

27th of *December*, the whole *Spaniſh* Army [1] paſſed over with their Leader *Conſalvo* to the *French* Side: Next Morning he ordered the Rear-guard, lodg'd betwixt *Mondragone* and *Carinoli*, to haſte and attack the Bridge made by the Enemy, while he himſelf, with the Van-guard, march'd cloſe after the *French*, who on the Intelligence receiv'd, that the *Spaniards* were decamped, and reſolved to paſs the *Garigliano* by a Bridge, were ſeized with no ſmall Terror, ſo that tho' they had imagin'd the Enemy would not have attempted any Thing of that Kind in ſuch a Seaſon, yet finding themſelves deceived, and likewiſe that *Allegri*, who had been ſent to *Suio*, had come too late to oppoſe their Paſſage, the Vice-Roy, on this, ſent Word to his ſcatter'd Troops to rally and come to his Aſſiſtance with all Speed; ſo that having determined not to tarry any longer at the *Garigliano*, accordingly made the beſt of his Way towards *Gaeta*, leaving behind him the greateſt Part of his Ammunition, and Nine large Pieces of Artillery, together with a great Number of wounded and ſick Men.

Conſalvo hearing how the Enemy had gone off, ſent *Proſperus Colonna* before with the Light Horſe, to gall them in the Rear, thereby to retard their March as much as poſſible; and having come up with them at a Place called *Scandi*, they began to skirmiſh with each other; tho' the *French* did not halt altogether, but were obliged to ſtop now and then, on Purpoſe that when they came to narrow Paſſes, and in croſſing Waters, they might not be put in Diſorder; for all this, they could not avoid being annoy'd and haraſſed by *Colonna*'s Horſe. Their Artillery proceeded before their Army, the Cavalry in the Rear, but continually were aſſaulted by the Enemy: In this manner, between Fighting and Halting, did they, at laſt, arrive at the Bridge near *Mola di Gæta*, where Neceſſity obliged the Vice-Roy not to proceed any farther with his *Gens d'Arms*, in order to give Room to his Artillery to advance, which were not able to keep Pace with the reſt of his Army. The Enemy, by this Time, came up with the *French*, ſo that being, in a manner, mixed among one another, there enſued a ſharp Engagement, or rather a very great Battle; for now the *Spaniſh* Rear-guard was arrived, who had, without any Difficulty, paſſed the River, both in Boats and

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 170. P. Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 173. Ed. Venet. ut ſupra.

on

on the Bridge: At the ſame Time *Conſalvo*, with the reſt of the Army, having marched lower towards the Coaſt, came up alſo: In fine, both Armies were now engaged with great Fury againſt one another. At firſt, the *French* bore the Shock of the Enemy as well as they could, but were in great Dread and Terror, by Reaſon of the more advantageous Situation of the *Spaniards*. At laſt, being unable to reſiſt the Fury of their Adverſaries, and dreading leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded, and their March cut off, by thoſe Troops which came with *Conſalvo* along the Sea-Side, they began accordingly to break their Ranks, and to be put in Diſorder, inſomuch that they could not help giving Way and retiring. On their taking to Flight, they were hotly purſued by the *Spaniards*; and when they came as far as the Ground where two Roads ſeparate from each other, the one leading to *Itri*, the other to *Gaeta*, the *French* were quite routed, and a great Number of them ſlain, among whom was *Bernardino Adorno*: The Priſoners were many. Alſo thoſe who fled to *Gaeta* were follow'd cloſe at the Heels by the Enemy, even to the very Gates of that City.

At the ſame Time *Fabritius Colonna*, after he had paſſed the River with 500 Horſe, and 1000 Foot, towards *Ponte-Corvo* and *Frace*, with the Aſſiſtance and Favour of the Inhabitants there, took and [1] plunder'd the Company commanded by *Lodovick del-Mirandola*, and the others under the Conduct of *Aleſſandro di Trivulzi*: Beſides them, a Number of Soldiers, quarter'd at *Fondi* and *Itri*, were likewiſe pillaged and ſeized, who, having heard how the Enemy had paſſed the *Garigliano* by a Bridge, had not gone to join their own Army there, but, to ſave themſelves, had diſpers'd to and fro in the Country, and ſo became a Prey to the *Spaniards*.

But *Peter* of *Medici*, who follow'd the *French* Camp, met with greater Misfortune than this; for at the ſame Time they decamped at the *Garigliano*, he and ſeveral other Lords, having, with four Pieces of Artillery, embark'd aboard a Boat with a Deſign to ſail for *Gaeta*, the Weight of the Metal and Number of Paſſengers were ſo great, that, at the Mouth of the River,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 170.

the Winds being contrary, the Boat ſunk, ſo that he and thoſe in his Company were all [1] drown'd.

The next Night *Conſalvo* and his Army quarter'd at *Caſtellone* and *Mola*, and having the Day after marched up to *Gaeta*, where, beſides the *French* Generals, the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano* had taken Refuge, he immediately, on his Approach, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Suburbs and Hill, which had been abandon'd by the *French*, and tho' there was a ſufficient Number of Men and Proviſions for defending the Town, and Opportunity of having Succours ſent them by their Fleet, yet their Spirits being ſunk with their many Calamities, without waiting for the Attack, they reſolv'd to ſurrender: Accordingly ſent *Bagli di Digiuno*, *Santa Colomba*, and *Theodoro Trivulzi*, to treat for this End with *Conſalvo*; ſo that on the firſt Day of the Year 1504, they agreed to [2] deliver up *Gaeta* and its Fortreſſes to the *Spaniards*, on Condition that the Garriſon ſhould be permitted to march out of the City without Moleſtation, and their Goods and Effects ſent ſafe where they deſired by Land, and to have Liberty themſelves to depart out of the Kingdom by Sea; likewiſe, that *Obigni*, and the other Priſoners of War, ſhould be ſet at Liberty: but this laſt Article was not ſo clearly underſtood and expreſs'd, but that *Conſalvo* took Occaſion afterwards to diſpute the Matter, alledging that, by Virtue of that Stipulation, the other Barons of the *French* Party in the Kingdom of *Naples* were not included.

This was the famous Defeat the *French* had near the *Garigliano*, on the Banks of which they had lain for the Space of 50 Days, their Misfortunes being occaſion'd, no leſs on Account of the Enemy's Valour, than by the Diſorder among themſelves: It was indeed a very remarkable Overthrow, becauſe it occaſion'd the *French* the entire Loſs of that noble and opulent Kingdom, as, on the other Hand, a thorough Eſtabliſhment of the *Spaniſh* Government there; for, of the whole *French* Army, very few were ſaved, or eſcap'd Impriſonment and Death, beſides thoſe Foot who ſaved themſelves by Flight at the Battle, and the others who went by Land: After the ſurrendring *Gaeta*, moſt of them periſh'd on the Roads for [3] Hunger and Cold, and the

[1] Guic. Lib. VI. p. 171. P. Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 174. Edit. Venet.

[2] Ibid. Guic. & P. Jovius.

[3] Ibid.

others

others who got alive to *Rome* were in a naked and miſerable Condition, Numbers having died in the Hoſpitals, and ſome for Want and Sickneſs in the open Streets. Nor were the Misfortunes which befel the *French* Nobility of the Army leſs calamitous, on Account of the Diſtempers with which they were afflicted, occaſion'd chiefly by the Hardſhips they had undergone while lying at the *Garigliano*; many of which, after the Agreement for delivering up *Gaeta*, went from thence by Sea; and, having left their Horſes behind them in that City, they either died on Ship-board, or immediately on their Arrival in *France*, among the Number of whom was the [1] Marquiſs of *Saluzzo*, *Sandricort*, *Bagli della Montagna*, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction.

Two Things, above all, were the Occaſion of the Misfortunes and Defeat of the *French*; the one heir long Delay near *Rome*, waiting until a new Pope ſhould be elected, by which they linger'd till the Winter Seaſon was ſo far advanc'd, that they could not proceed in their March: The other was the inſatiable Avarice of the King of *France*'s Miniſters, in defrauding the Soldiers of their Pay, and not providing the Army with what Proviſions were neceſſary, by which the great Sickneſs and Mortality, already mention'd, enſued, which ſo much diminiſh'd their Numbers. By this, and the Diſcord among the Commanders, the *French* Army ſuffer'd that Ruin and Defeat now mention'd, tho' it could not be attributed to the Fault of the King, ſeeing he had ſent both Money and all Kinds of Stores in ſuch Abundance, that they might have wanted for nothing, had his Miniſters, as we have ſaid, acted like true Patriots, or Men of Honour.

The News of the Defeat at the *Garigliano*, and ſo many other Diſaſters, fill'd the whole Kingdom of *France* with [2] Tears and Lamentations, both on Account of the Death of ſo many valiant Soldiers, and for the great Number of their Nobility, who periſh'd in the Attempt; ſo that the Court in particular ſeem'd quite ſunk with Vexation and Grief. Hence, nought was heard but the Murmurings and Diſaffection of People of all Ranks and Sexes, who curs'd the Moment that their Kings, not con-

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 168. Paulus Jovius ſays Saluzzo died at Genoa. | Vid. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 160. Edit. Venet. ut ſupra. [2] Ibid. Guic.

tented

tented with their ample Dominions in *France*, out of a covetous Deſire of new Empire and Acquiſitions, had ſought for them in *Italy* : But above all, the King's own Mind was tormented with Anguiſh, deſpairing ever to recover that noble Kingdom ; and for the Decay of his Authority and Power ; often calling to Mind his own vain-glorious Expreſſions of being ſure to humble the Pride of *Spain*, and what mighty Feats his Armies would do, when they attack'd that Kingdom in different Parts. But what rack'd his Soul moſt with Grief, was, when he conſider'd that having largely, and without ſparing, procur'd, with no ſmall Diligence and Aſſiduity, ſuch vaſt Quantities of Money, Proviſions, and Neceſſaries for his Army ; that for all this, and tho' he was warring but with poor Enemies, yet, on Account of the Avarice and Fraud of his Miniſters [1], he ſhould in ſuch an ignominious and diſgraceful Manner be diſcomfited and ſubdu'd.

For this Reaſon, exclaiming againſt them vehemently, he ſolemnly ſwore that, ſince he had been ſo fraudulently abuſed and undermined by his own falſe and inſatiable Miniſters, in the future he would truſt his Armies with none but himſelf, and always go in Perſon to fight, whenever Occaſion ſhould ſerve. What ſtill added to his Pain, were the Thoughts that, by the Loſs of ſo noble an Army, and Death of ſo many brave Commanders and Nobility, his Forces were diminiſh'd to ſuch a Degree, that he thought, if *Maximilian* had a Mind to attack *Milan*, or the *Spaniſh* Army march out of *Naples* with the ſame Intention, in ſuch a Caſe he could not defend that Dutchy.

People did not wonder at the Emperor's not embracing this Occaſion, becauſe he was uſed to neglect Affairs when Time and Opportunity often preſented favourable. But every one thought differently of *Conſalvo*, for which Reaſon thoſe of the *French* Faction, within *Italy*, were under no ſmall Terror and Confuſion, leſt he, with his victorious Arms, ſhould, without Delay, purſue his Victories, and take Poſſeſſion of the State of *Milan* for his Maſter, and, in his Road thither, change the Face of Affairs in *Tuſcany* ; which, had he done, 'tis believ'd that, as the King of *France* was exhauſted of Money, and oppreſſed in Mind, muſt, without Queſtion, have been oblig'd

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 174.

to

to ſuccumb to that Fate, and ſink himſelf by the Storm, conſidering how averſe his People were to new Expeditions into *Italy*, ſince thoſe who return'd from *Gaeta* to *Genoa* even deſpis'd the King's Commands, when he order'd them not to paſs over the Mountains, and ſo return'd to their own Homes, in ſpight of his Endeavour to the contrary: however, it plainly appear'd, that the King, without further Thoughts about War, was entirely reſolv'd to enter into an amicable Agreement with the Emperor, nor to leave off the Treaties about a Peace with the King of *Spain*: For this End, even in the Heat of the War, there were *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors at the *French* Court, with Commiſſions to act in that Affair: *Conſalvo*, however, did not think fit to make uſe of this Opportunity of attacking *Milan*, as People thought he would; for finding himſelf deſtitute of Money, and indebted many Months Pay to the Army, he thought it not adviſeable to venture on new Schemes; and perhaps his King's Orders were to this Purpoſe, or judg'd it fit firſt to rid *Naples* and its Dominions of his Enemies, and thoſe in the *Anjouine* Intereſt. For *Lewis d'Ars* the *French* General, who, after the Battle at *Cirignuola*, had, with the Remainder of the broken Forces, not a deſpicable Number, rallied and brought them to *Venoſa*: There he halted, and while the Army was on the Banks of the *Garigliano*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Troia* and *San-Severino*: beſides, all *Puglia*, and ſome of the *Neapolitan* Barons of the *Anjouine* Faction, who retir'd to their Eſtates, held ſtill out for the *French*, and kept inviolable to that Intereſt. About the ſame Time *Conſalvo* was ſeized with a ſevere Fit of Sickneſs; for which Reaſon, not being able to attend any Expedition in Perſon, ſent *Alviano*, with Part of his Army, to ſubdue *Lewis d'Ars*; ſo that not being in a Condition to undertake any Enterprize out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Italy* at that Time was more in a State of Suſpence[1], than moleſted with any other War; for the *Venetians*, according to their wonted Cuſtom, ſtood by neutral, until they could ſee what Turn Affairs were like to take; and the *Florentines* thought they gain'd enough, if (at the Time they found they could expect no Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*) they ſhould not be attack'd and invaded by *Conſalvo*'s Forces: as alſo the Pope, deferring the Execution of his vaſt Deſigns, was above meaſure anxious that *Valentine* ſhould deliver up to

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 174.

him his Caſtles of *Forli*, *Ceſena*, and *Bertinoro*, which were the only ſtrong Holds the latter [1] had remaining within the Juriſdiction of *Romagna*; for *Antonio de-gli-Ordelaffi* had ſome Days before got into his Poſſeſſion the Caſtle of *Forlimpopolo*, having for this End brib'd the Governor to deliver it him.

Valentine conſented to give up the Caſtle of *Ceſena* to the Pope; for which End *Pietro Doviedo*, a *Spaniard*, was ſent thither, to take Poſſeſſion thereof for his Holineſs: But the Governor there told him, on his Arrival, that it was too diſhonourable for him to obey his Maſter *Borgia*, while he was kept a Priſoner at *Rome*, and that whoever had the Boldneſs to propoſe ſuch a Thing, ought to be puniſhed for his Inſolence; accordingly order'd the ſaid [2] *Doviedo* to be hang'd, and his Body to be thrown over the Walls of the Caſtle.

On this, the Pope finding he could not get thoſe ſtrong Holds into his Hands, unleſs he ſet *Borgia* at Liberty, accordingly came to an Agreement with him, for which a Brief was expeded in Conſiſtory, and agreed on, that *Borgia* ſhould be ſent to the Caſtle of [3] *Oſtia*, and there be kept by *Bernardino Carvagial*, a *Spaniard*, Cardinal of *Santa Croce*; and by him ſet at Liberty, as ſoon as *Valentine*'s Miniſters or Governors in *Ceſena* and *Bertinoro* ſhould actually deliver up thoſe Fortreſſes to his Holineſs; and that the like Order ſhould be given to the Governor of the Caſtle of *Forli*, and Security on the Banks of *Rome* for the Sum of 15,000 Crowns, which the Governor ſignified, when that Money was paid him, he would deliver up the ſaid Caſtle, pretending he had expended ſo much for the Affairs in it. But the Pope was determin'd in another Way; for tho' he was unwilling, in an open Manner to break and violate his Engagements, yet was he reſolv'd within himſelf to prolong as much as poſſible *Valentine*'s being ſet at [4] Liberty, either becauſe he fear'd, if he was releaſed, he might influence the ſaid Governor not to deliver up the Forts, or, perhaps, on Account of the mutual Hatred which had ſubſiſted between him, when a Cardinal, and the *Borgians*, and for the Memory of the many Injuries he had received from *Alexander* and *Valentine*.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 174.
[2] Idem Guicciard. Alſo T.T. p. 349. See Paulus Jovius Lib. VIII. p. 176. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581.
[3] Ibid. Guic. T. T. ibid.
[4] Ibid. Guic.

Which

Which Thing *Borgia* ſuſpecting, he ſent privately a Meſſenger to [1] *Conſalvo*, begging he would diſpatch a ſafe Convoy and two Gallies to bring him to *Naples* from *Oſtia* [2]. *Conſalvo* promiſed he would, and gave it under his Hand and Seal, that he ſhould be ſafe and protected if he came there: However, the Cardinal *Santa Croce* hearing that the Governors of *Ceſena* and *Bertinoro* had complied with *Valentine*'s Orders, and actually deliver'd up the Forts to the Pope, without his Holineſs's Knowledge, gave *Borgia* Liberty to go where he pleaſed: accordingly the latter, not thinking proper to wait for the Arrival of the Gallies, which were to be ſent him by *Conſalvo* [3], went away privately towards *Neptuno*, from thence aboard a ſmall Boat to *Mondragone*, and from that by Land to *Naples*, where, in Appearance, he met with a very friendly Reception from *Conſalvo*, and was not a little honour'd and careſſed, being very often admitted to private Conference with that General. At laſt *Valentine* deſired Liberty from *Conſalvo* to go to *Piſa*, telling, that his ſtaying ſome Time there would produce very advantagious Effects to the Affairs of the King of *Spain*, all which *Conſalvo* appearing to approve greatly, and making him an Offer of his Gallies to conduct him thither, allow'd him a Power of inliſting what Number of Foot he deſign'd to carry along with him; and in the mean time was buoying him with ſuch Hopes, until he ſhould learn the King of *Spain*'s Mind in the Matter, and receive Orders in what Manner he was to act: So that conſulting every Day with *Valentine* about the Affairs of *Piſa* and *Tuſcany*, at the ſame Time offered *Alviano*'s Aſſiſtance for invading the *Florentine* Dominions, on Account of the great Deſire the latter had of having the *Medici* Family reinſtated there: But the Gallies being ready, and the Foot the Day following order'd to get on Board, *Valentine*, after having the Evening before had a long Conference with *Conſalvo*, and taken leave of him, the latter embracing and ſhewing him all imaginable Marks of Reſpect and Affection, no ſooner was he gone out of the Room, than he was [4] arreſted by *Nugnio Campeio*, who told him he was the King's Priſoner; at which Words *Borgia* fetch'd a great

[1] Guicciard Lib. VI. p. 174. T. T. p. 350.

[2] See P. Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 176. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581.

[3] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 175. Tom. Tomaſ. p. 351. See alſo Platina's Supplement by Panvin. in Vit. Jul. II. p. 483. Jovius ibid.

[4] Guic. ibid. T. T. p. 352. Panvin. ibid.

Sigh, and [1] curſed his Fortune, which he ſaid had deceived him, and exclaimed bitterly that he had been betray'd under the Veil of Friendſhip. On this, he endeavour'd to make his Eſcape, but in vain, for, without being able to have Aſſiſtance from his own People, or from others, was led Priſoner to the Caſtle, ſo that now there was an End of his Fortune and Hopes, inſomuch that if his former Actions made him appear like *Cæſar*, from henceforth he fell to be nothing; ſo that in this Reſpect *Sannazarius*'s Verſes on him were very applicable,

Omnia vincebas, ſperabas omnia Cæſar;
Omnia deficiunt, incipis eſſe nihil.

As ſoon as *Valentine* was made Priſoner, the Convoy of Troops, appointed to eſcort him, were removed from his Lodging; and as 'twas impoſſible to conceal his Impriſonment, *Conſalvo* alledg'd ſeveral Things in his own Vindication, and for having broke his Faith with him: Above all, that it was the expreſs Commands of his [2] King to make him Priſoner: but the Truth is, he was willing it ſhould be ſo, and actually had deſired the King of *Spain* to ſend him that Order, becauſe of the ſtrenuous Solicitations of the Pope for that Purpoſe, in order to ſecure himſelf and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes from thoſe [3] Dangers which the turbulent and reſtleſs Spirit of *Borgia* made them fear, even tho' he was unarm'd, and to dread that Monſter of Iniquity, who, when he had Power, had been a common Enemy to the human Species, and a Butcher of Mankind.

'Tis however reported, that afterwards, when *Conſalvo* became himſelf out of the King's Favour, and in Diſgrace, he confeſſed to his Friends, that while he ſerved the King of *Spain*, there were two Things of which, before he left the World, he greatly repented: one, that he had broke his Faith and Promiſe to *Ferdinand*, Son to King *Frederick* of *Naples*; the other, that he had betray'd *Cæſar Borgia*: But, with regard to the latter, it ſeem'd to be the righteous Judgment of Heaven, that ſo the Traitor ſhould himſelf be puniſh'd by Treachery, and to free *Italy* from an Incendiary, who might have occaſion'd new Flames to burſt out for her Ruin and Deſtruction.

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 352. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 176. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 175. Tom. Tom. ibid.

[3] Paulus Jovius, ibid.

Conſalvo,

Conſalvo, with the ſame Orders brought to ſeize *Borgia*, was directed to ſend him forthwith for greater Security into *Spain*; which was accordingly [1] executed, and he put on board the Fleet, commanded by one *Liſcano*, having none of his own People, but one ſingle Page, to attend him thither. He was conducted by *Proſpero Colonna*, and a Number of Men of War, to ſecure him from being intercepted in his Voyage by the *French*, notwithſtanding the Truce which about that Time was concluded between *France* and the *Spaniards*; for the latter were apprehenſive that if *Valentine* ſhould eſcape out of their Hands, he might perhaps be the Occaſion of having the War, ſome Way or another, renew'd, which might perhaps prove prejudicial to their Affairs, and to their new, tho' unſtable, Acquiſitions in *Italy*.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet, with *Cæſar Borgia*, arrived ſafe in *Spain*, where he was ſent Priſoner to *Concilia*, from thence to the Caſtle of [2] *Medina del Campo*, in which he remained for the Space of two Years, not being ſo much dejected and caſt down in the Middle of his Sufferings and Miſery, as not to be contriving and plotting how he might make his Eſcape; t' is he did to very good Purpoſe, with the Help of a Rope, by which, in the Night-time, he got out of one of the [3] Windows of the Caſtle, and, with the Connivance of the Count of *Benevento*, who had Horſes ready for his Uſe in his Flight, he got ſafe to *Navar*, to King *John* his Brother-in-Law, where he met with a very friendly Reception.

From hence *Valentine* deſigned to go into *France*, and there, with the Aſſiſtance of *Lewis*, to try if he could once more re-eſtabliſh his Fortune: But the King [4] refuſed to receive him, becauſe at this Time not only had he and *Spain* concluded a Truce, but a firm Peace with one another was in a good forwardneſs: And as both theſe Monarchs were at Enmity with the King of *Navar*, *Lewis* was unwilling to take under his Protection a Perſon ſo nearly related to him, and an Enemy of *Spain*, with which Country he had ſo lately come to

[1] Gucciard. Lib. VI. p. 175. T. T. p. 356. Panvin. Supplement to Platin. in Vit. Jul. II. p. 483.

[2] Guic. ibid. T. T. p. 356. Paulus Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 176. Edit. ut ſupra.

[3] T. T. ibid. P. Jovius, ibid.

[4] T. T. p. 357.

an Agreement: Nay, the *French* King, in order to gratify *Spain*, had [1] confiſcated *Borgia*'s Dutchy of *Valentinois*, and taken away the yearly Penſion which he had from *France*: So that *Valentine*, in this poor and abandon'd Condition, without Revenue or Territory, was forced to live at the Mercy, and be ſubſiſted by his Brother-in-Law, who being at War with one of his own Subjects, the Prince *Alarino*, who had rebell'd againſt him, *Cæſar Borgia* ſerv'd as Volunteer in that War. Mean while the two Armies were engaged in Battle, and fighting under the Walls of [2] *Viana*, *Borgia* was kill'd by the Stroke of a Gianette, a Death, ſays my [3] Author, which ſeem'd to be too honourable and fortunate, if we reflect upon his former abhorred Actions: However, if we conſider that he had loſt all his Grandeur, Power, and Authority, before he loſt his Life, and was fallen from the great Eminence to which he had once arrived, ſtripped of all his Dominions and Poſſeſſions in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*, being, before his Life was at an End, reduced to a very low, abject, miſerable, and contemptible Condition: All this, I ſay, conſider'd, we cannot help thinking but Providence conſpired not to let him go out of the World without the Signs and viſible Evidences of the Divine Juſtice, for puniſhing his unparallel'd Cruelties, and matchleſs Iniquities; and as an Author ſays, *Feriunt ſummos Fulmina Montes*, ſo may we ſay that his Pride and Ambition was brought low and humble by the Divine Vengeance, before his Life was at an End; for when he fell in the Field of Battle, his Body was not known or diſtinguiſhed from the others then ſlain, and ſo by the *Navareſe* themſelves was ſtripped [4] naked, where it lay, and thus expoſed to publick View, until at length his Corpſe was found and known by his own Page, laid over a Horſe and brought to *Pamplona*, and there buried in the ſame Church, of which, in his Youth. he had been Archbiſhop, Providence ſuffering him to be placed, when dead, where he would not remain while alive.

As to the Truce already mentioned between *France* and *Spain*, it was concluded, with Relation to the Affairs both within

[1] Tom. Tom. p. 357.

[2] Ibid. T. T. Alſo Platin. Supplement by Panvin. in Vit. Jul. II. p. 483. Alſo P. Jovius, Lib. VIII. p. 486. Edit. ut ſupra. Jovius calls the Name of the Town where Borgia was ſlain Mendavia, and not Viana, as Guicciard. has it.

[3] Tom. Tom.

[4] Ibid. p. 358.

and

and without *Italy*, of which the *French* King was not a little deſirous; nor, indeed, was the Monarch of *Spain* unwilling, for they judg'd it better to eſtabliſh the Acquiſitions they had already made by this Means, than, by a War, to poſſeſs them on a precarious Footing, which, as it was attended with Troubles, and an incredible Expence, Things might therefore perhaps take a Turn different from what either of them thought on: Accordingly they came to this Agreement, [1] That each Party ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of the Countries and Cities then in their Hands, and that Commerce and a friendly Correſpondence ſhould be eſtabliſh'd throughout their reſpective Kingdoms and Dominions, *Naples* excepted, which Exception was in an indirect Method procured by *Conſalvo*: For in the Frontiers in thoſe Places held by the *French*, which in *Calabria* were only *Roſſano*; in the Country of *Otranto*, *Oira*; in *Puglia*, *Venoſa*, *Converſano*, and *Caſtel-del-Monte*; in all which Garriſons were placed, and prohibited to have any Manner of Converſe or Correſpondence with the *Spaniards*; which Order, within a little, brought them, and the Barons of the Kingdom, under ſuch Neceſſities and Hardſhips, as could not be bore; ſo that *Lewis d'Ars* determined at laſt to ſurrender up thoſe Places to the *Spaniards*.

'Twas, however, the general Opinion, that this Truce between *France* and *Spain* was the Forerunner of a ſolid Peace; for the Impriſonment of *Valentine* did effectually make the Affairs in *Romagna* eaſy and quiet, *Imola* having, by the Conſent of the Inhabitants, come under the Pope's Government; as did alſo *Forli*, on the Death of *Antonio d'Ordilaffi*, tho' the Governor there never conſented thereto, until firſt he heard of his Maſter *Valentine*'s being made Priſoner at *Naples*.

But by this Time the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain* was more than ever on the Tapit, notwithſtanding both theſe Powers propoſed, in a diſſembling Manner, that King *Frederick* [2], or his Son the Duke of *Calabria*, ſhould be reſtor'd to the Kingdom of *Naples*, to whom the *French* Monarch ſhould give up his Right, and that the ſaid Duke ſhould marry the Dowager Queen of *Naples*.

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 157. [2] Ibid. p. 177.

'Tis

'Tis certain that the Mind of the King of *France* was ſo very much alienated from the Affairs of *Naples*, that he indeed would have accepted any Kind of Peace, had not what was propoſed been attended with two Difficulties, which embarraſſed him greatly; one, That he was aſhamed to abandon thoſe *Neapolitan* Barons who had eſpouſed his Intereſt, and were now diveſted of their Eſtates; the other, That if the *Spaniards* were not in Earneſt in making ſuch a Reſtitution to *Frederick*, but propoſed it out of ſome Political View of their own: If in this Caſe *Lewis* ſhould, he thought, conſent, and the Thing not take Effect, he might thereby alienate the Affections of the Archduke of *Auſtria* from him, ſince that Prince greatly deſired to have the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son: For this Reaſon the latter was very ſollicitous of having that ſame Peace agreed on, which before had been concluded between him and *Lewis*; for all which, the King declared to the *Spaniards*, That tho' he was not at all averſe to Peace, yet he thought it diſhonourable for him to yield up his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples* to one of the Houſe of *Arragon*.

In the mean time *Lewis* had on Foot the antient Treaty propoſed between him, the King of the *Romans*, and the *Archduke*, of which, as he was certain it would have Effect, therefore, not to interrupt the ſame with the ambiguous and precarious Actings of the King of *Spain*: *Lewis*, therefore, ſhewing as if he was more moved, on Account of the *Neapolitan* Barons than any thing elſe, having called the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors before him, in Preſence of the whole Court, ſitting on his Throne, complained [1] that their King, more by Words than any thing elſe, ſhew'd a Deſire for Peace, tho' it ſeem'd his Inclinations were very different: therefore, he ſaid, as it was unbecoming a King to be conſuming Time in ſham Treaties, he therefore thought that it was more convenient for them to depart out of *France*.

After they had left the *French* Dominions, there arrived Ambaſſadors from *Maximilian* and the Archduke, on Purpoſe to conclude the fore-mention'd Treaties with *Lewis*. Among the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 177.

others,

others, the Biſhop of *Siſternon*, the Pope's Nuncio, and alſo the Marquiſs of *Finale*, were ſent thither by his Holineſs to act in Quality of his Plenipotentaries; after which the Affair was concluded [1], and agreed on in the following Manner, *viz. That the Marriage formerly propoſed between* Claudia *the* French *King's Daughter, and the Archduke's eldeſt Son* Charles, *ſhould take effect; for confirming and corroborating which, the King of* France *ſhould take a Solemn Oath to adhere thereto, and ſet his Name to the Agreement in Writing; and not only he, but Monſigneur* d'Angolem, *who was the next Succeſſor to the Crown of* France, *in Caſe* Lewis *had no Male-Iſſue: Moreover, That* Maximilian *ſhould grant the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of* Milan *to* Lewis *and his Sons, if there ſhould be any; and in Caſe of a Failure in the Male Line, that the ſaid Dutchy ſhould devolve on* Claudia *and* Charles; *and if* Charles *ſhould die before the ſaid Marriage was conſummated, that then it ſhould come back to* Claudia, *and to the ſecond Son of the Archduke, if ſhe ſhould be married to him: Next, That between the Pope, the King of the* Romans, *and* Lewis, *a Confederacy ſhould be entered into for their mutual Defence, and to act offenſively againſt the* Venetians, *in order to recover the Territories which the latter had uſurp'd from all the contracting Powers: and next, That the Emperor ſhould come to* Italy *in Perſon, to act againſt that Republick, after which proceed to* Rome, *and receive the Imperial Crown there, and give the Inveſtiture of* Milan *to the King of* France, *who, when it was expeded, ſhould pay* 60000 *Florins, and other* 60000 *in ſix Months after; and every Year, on the Feſtival of* Chriſtmas, *ſend a Pair of Golden Spurs to the Emperor: Moreover, That four Months ſhould be allow'd the King of* Spain *for acceding to this Alliance; and in Caſe he ſhould not, that the King of* France *might lawfully invade and attack the Kingdom of* Naples; *likewiſe, that* Lewis *ſhould oblige himſelf not to aſſiſt the Count* Palatine, *who was engaged in a War againſt the King of the* Romans.

By this Treaty, the *Venetians* were excluded, notwithſtanding their Ambaſſadors were always very civilly treated by the *French* King, and Cardinal *Rouen* had always, with Promiſes and Oaths,

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 177. See alſo Bembo, Lib. VII. p. 230. Edit. Anno 1718.

aſſured them, that his Maſter *Lewis* would [1] never violate the Agreement and Confederacy he had made with them.

The above-mention'd Articles of Agreement were committed to Writing, beſides which, the Emperor and the King of *France* eſtabliſh'd an Interview with one another, at the Place where formerly they had appointed to meet, and *Lewis* promiſed, that, on his Arrival there, he would ſet *Lodovick Sforza*, who had been ſo many Years his Priſoner, at Liberty, and allow him an honourable [2] Maintenance within the Kingdom of *France*, during his Life-time; for the Emperor was aſhamed he had not been able to get that unfortunate Prince ſet at Liberty, ſince, on Account of the many Promiſes made him before his Capture, *Lodovick* had, by truſting in them, precipitated himſelf ſooner than perhaps he would have done, had he not depended ſo very much on *Maximilian*'s Aſſiſtance.

About the ſame time *Frederick* King of *Naples* [3] died, who, before his Death, found himſelf and Poſterity at laſt ſtripp'd of all Hopes of being repon'd in his Kingdom of *Naples*, and that both the contending Powers of *France* and *Spain* had made a Tool of his Name, and buoy'd him up with the Hopes of reinſtating him, with no other Deſign but to promote their own Political Views.

Affairs in 1505. continued in the ſame Condition as they had been in the preceding Year; and if ſome Incidents had not interven'd, which, in ſome meaſure, diſturb'd the publick Peace, occaſion'd by the Differences between the *Florentines* and thoſe of *Piſa*, there would not have been any War at all carried on in *Italy*; for moſt of the Potentates in *Europe* were deſirous of Peace; and others, more inclined to War, were hindered therefrom, for ſundry Reaſons: Beſides, the Mind of the King of *Spain* was altogether occupied about Affairs which happened on the Deceaſe of his Queen [4] *Iſabella*, ſo that he thought it ſufficient that the Kingdom of *Naples* was kept for him, by Virtue of the Truce he had lately made with the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 178.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

[4] Guicciard. calls Ferdinand's Queen Elizabetha, inſtead of Iſabella, tho' Bembo mentions her Death alſo, lib. VII. p. 232. and calls her by her true Name.

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French King, who likewiſe was remaining in Suſpence how to act, on Account that the Emperor, according to his wonted Inſtability in his Proceeding, had not as yet ratified the Peace lately agreed between them: Moreover, the Pope, who had vaſt Schemes in View, could not move without the Aſſiſtance of other Princes in executing his intended Deſigns.

As for the *Venetians*, they thought themſelves happy, in-ſo-far as nothing was putting in Execution againſt them, notwithſtanding of the powerful Alliance made in their Prejudice: And the Pope, ſo much their Enemy, to pacify his Mind they had ſome Months before offered to give him up *Rimini*, and [1] all the other Dominions they had acquir'd in *Romagna*, ſince the Death of Pope *Alexander* VI. providing *Julius* would allow them only to keep *Faenza*, with its Territory, being apprehenſive about the King of *France*, and becauſe, at *Julius*'s Deſire, the Emperor had ſent [2] two Ambaſſadors to *Venice*, requiring the Towns in *Romagna* to be delivered up to the Church: But the Pope having declared his Mind freely, that he would never ſuffer the *Venetians* to be poſſeſſed of the leaſt Village they had uſurp'd in *Romagna*, he gave them to underſtand that he hoped, before his Death, to recover from them both *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, of which Towns, as well as *Faenza*, they had unjuſtly poſſeſſed themſelves. But, however, Affairs that Year proceeded no further than what we have related.

But in the Beginning of this new Year, the Fear of the *Venetians* increaſing, by Means of the Duke of *Urbin*, they once more offer'd to reſtore his Holineſs all which they had lately acquired, on Condition they might be allowed to keep *Faenza* and *Rimini*, which, with much ado, the Pope agreed to, becauſe he perceived the Affairs between the Emperor and *Lewis* were going on ſo ſlowly, and on ſo precarious a Footing: On which the Senate of *Venice* ſent no leſs than eight [3] Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to do Homage to Pope *Julius*, and to give up the

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 179.

[2] Vid. Bemb. Lib. VII. p. 230. Edit. Venet. Anno 1718. Bembo ſays, the Venetians ſent for Anſwer, That thoſe Places in Romagna belong'd, by Right, to them, and that they would not put the ſaid Right on an ambiguous Footing. —*Reipublicæ jus illis in oppidis ſatis eſſe clarum atque notum per ſeſe: Itaque nolle Patres id in ambiguum vertere.*

[3] Ibid. Bemb. p. 233. He names each of thoſe Ambaſſadors, one of whom was his own Father.

other

other Places: But for all this they found the Mind of the Pontiff alienated from them, and greatly exaſperated.

In the mean time the King of *France* was above meaſure anxious for Peace; accordingly ſent Cardinal *Rouen* to *Angonod*, a Town in *Germany*, to put the finiſhing Stroke to his Agreement with the Emperor and the Archduke, on whoſe Arrival the Peace was ratified, and confirm'd by the Solemn Oaths of both Parties for firmly adhering thereto, and the Cardinal actually paid the half of the Money ſtipulated for obtaining the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* to his Maſter, and promiſed the other half ſhould be likewiſe paid as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in *Italy*; for the King of *France* was unwilling to undertake any new Enterprize without the Approbation and Aſſiſtance of the Emperor.

But while theſe Things were tranſacting, Cardinal *Aſcanius Sforza*, Brother to *Lodovick*, determin'd, if Things within *Tuſcany* ſhould go right with regard to the reponing the *Medici*, that he, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Florentines*, would [1] attack the Dutchy of *Milan*; which Enterprize he judg'd would not be difficult, on account of the ſmall Number of *French* Forces there; beſides, that Cardinal had a conſiderable Number of the *Milaneſe* Nobility in his Favour: More than that, the King of *France* was at that Time ſeized with ſuch a ſevere Fit of Sickneſs, that his Life was deſpaired of; beſides, it was believed that the ſaid *Aſcanius*, for the better effecting his Deſign of ſeizing on *Milan*, had a private Correſpondence both with *Conſalvo* and the *Venetians*, who, for that End, were willing to aid his Pretenſions to the ſaid Dutchy. But how vain are human Deſigns, and how variable Fortune! For mean while theſe Things were in Agitation, *Lewis* the *French* King recover'd, and *Aſcanius* himſelf [2] died of the Plague at *Rome*, by which all the Thoughts of taking the Dutchy of *Milan* from the *French* vaniſh'd.

But what put an End effectually to the Confuſion and Diſorder of Affairs in *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, and likewiſe to the Tranſactions of the Year 1505, was the Peace which about this Time was at laſt concluded between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, by which all Difficulties, that hitherto

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 180. [2] Ibid. p. 181.

had

had obſtructed the ſame were effectually removed, namely, what regarded the *French* King's Honour, and the Fear of alienating the Mind of the Archduke from him; which Agreement was occaſion'd by the Death of *Iſabella* Queen of *Spain*: For as the King of *France* was not a little apprehenſive of the Grandeur of that Nation, was determin'd at any rate to find out Means, whereby he might arreſt their Career. But the King of *Spain* having had Notice that the Archduke deſpiſed the Will of his Mother-in-Law, and determin'd, in a forcible Manner, to remove him, the ſaid *Ferdinand*, from the Government of *Caſtile*, he found that on this Account he was under a Neceſſity to act on new Schemes, with different Politicks than before, and obtain new Alliances; for which Reaſon a [1] Marriage was made between him and Madam *Germana di Fois*, a Daughter of the *French* King's only Siſter, where *Lewis* agreed, by Way of Dowry, to give her that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* which belonged to him. On the other hand, the King of *Spain* obliged himſelf to pay *Lewis* 700,000 Ducats, as an Equivalent for the Charges the *French* had been at in the War of *Naples*; and that the new Queen ſhould be allow'd a Sum of 300,000 Ducats, as a Proviſion for her. On this Marriage the [2] Peace enſued, where it was agreed between the Barons of the *Anjouine* Faction, and all thoſe who had follow'd the *French* Intereſt, that [3] they ſhould, without paying any thing, be fully reſtored to their Liberties, Eſtates, Dignities, and Titles, within the Kingdom of *Naples*, and elſewhere, and reponed in the ſame Condition they had been the Day that firſt the *French* and *Spaniards* waged War againſt each other; and that all the Confiſcations made by the King of *Spain* and King *Frederick* ſhould be diſannulled; alſo, that the Prince of *Roſſano*, the Marquiſſes of *Bitonto*, *Geſualdo*, *Alphonſo*, and *Onorato Sanſeverino*, and all the other Barons who were made Priſoners by the *Spaniards* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould be ſet at Liberty: That the King of *France* ſhould renounce his Title of King of *Jeruſalem* and *Naples*, and the Homage and Recognitions of the Barons to be made reſpectively, according to the Stipulation in the above-mention'd Agreement; likewiſe, that the Pope ſhould be obliged to give the Inveſtiture of *Naples*: moreover, that in Caſe the new Queen *Germana* ſhould die without Iſſue, her Dowry ſhould be kept by *Ferdinand*, and his Heirs, as a Thing

[1] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 184. [2] Ibid. p. 184. [3] Ibid.

acquired by him; but if ſhe ſhould ſurvive her Husband the King, that then it was to return to the Crown of *France*: Likewiſe, that King *Ferdinand* ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt *Gaſtone* Count *di Fois*, his Queen's Brother, in his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Navar*; Alſo, that the ſaid King of *France* ſhould oblige the Widow of King *Frederick* to go with her Children out of his Dominions into *Spain*, where a reaſonable Subſiſtance ſhould be allow'd her; and if ſhe could not be perſuaded to acquieſce thereto, that *Lewis* ſhould, at any rate, oblige her to depart, with her Children unprovided for, out of the *French* Dominions. Moreover, it was agreed and ſtipulated, that, for a Corroboration of this Peace, there ſhould be a perpetual Confederacy between them, for the mutual Defence of their reſpective Dominions; and if *Spain* ſhould be attack'd by any Power whatſoever, in that Caſe the King of *France* ſhould ſend to their Aſſiſtance 1000 Lances, and 6000 Foot; and *Ferdinand*, if *France* was attack'd, 2000 Giannatiers, and 6000 Foot. The King of *England* was Guarentee for this Peace on one Side, and the Barons of the *Anjouine* Party, then in *France*, for the other; moſt of whom having, however, met with ſmall Marks of Gratitude from *Lewis*, took leave of the *French* Court, and went with the new Queen *Germana* into *Spain*; at which Time *Iſabella*, King *Frederick*'s Widow, being unwilling to truſt her Children into the Hands of the King of *Spain*, went with them out of the Dominions of *France*, and liv'd the reſt of her Days at *Ferrara*.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Tranſlation of Chap. VII. in *Machiavel*'s Prince.

Referred to in the Preface.

Of New Principalities, either acquir'd by the Arms of others, or by Fortune.

'THOSE who by Fortune alone are rais'd from private Perſons to 'the Dignity of Princes, arrive at it with no great Difficulty, 'tho' much Labour it coſts them to remain therein: for the 'moſt Part they encounter but few Rubs in their Way, becauſe 'they fly to it at once; but their greateſt Difficulties ariſe after it is attain'd. 'Such are thoſe who acquire the Sovereignty of any State, either by 'Bribery, or the Favour of the Beſtower, as it happen'd in *Greece* to many 'of the Cities of *Ionia*, and the *Helleſpont*, who were made Princes by '*Darius*, on Purpoſe to keep thoſe Countries for his own Security and 'Glory: and likewiſe to thoſe Emperors who from private Perſons were, 'by the Corruption of the Soldiers, rais'd to the Empire. But ſuch People 'remain ſolely at the Will, and are ſupported by the Fortune of thoſe by 'whom they are made great, two Things in themſelves very precarious and 'mutable: neither know they how to keep, nor can they maintain their Stations. 'They know not, becauſe, unleſs they be Perſons of extraordinary Genius and 'Valour, it is not reaſonable to think that thoſe who have always liv'd pri-'vately themſelves, ſhould know how to govern their Neighbours. They 'cannot, becauſe they often have not Forces they can truſt: beſides, States 'thus acquir'd (like every other Thing in Nature which ſprings up and 'grows of a ſudden) cannot have the Roots of Government ſo firmly fix'd, 'and its Communication ſettled, but that the firſt Shock of adverſe Fortune 'will make them liable of being deſtroy'd: eſpecially if thoſe Perſons, as I 'have already ſaid, who thus of a ſudden become Princes, have not ſuch 'a Share of native Sagacity and Valour as immediately ſhall make them 'prepare whatever is neceſſary for the Conſervation of what Fortune throws 'into their Lap, and to know how to take the ſame Meaſures, and build 'upon the ſame Foundations that others have done before they were Princes.

'What regards the one or the other Method of becoming Princes, either 'by Valour or Fortune, I will here produce two Examples which happen'd 'in our own Times and Remembrance; and theſe are, *Francis Sforza*, 'and *Cæſar Borgia*: *Francis*, by due Means and a ſingular Sagacity, from 'a private Perſon became Duke of *Milan*, and what he had acquir'd with 'a thouſand Difficulties and Hardſhips, he maintain'd with Eaſe: On the

'other

'other hand, *Cæsar Borgia* (commonly call'd Duke *Valentine*) his 'Dominion, was acquir'd by the Riſe, and loſt by the Fall of his Father's 'Fortune, notwithſtanding he made uſe of all thoſe Methods which a Man 'of Prudence and Valour ought to have taken in founding well his Go-'vernment in thoſe States he had acquir'd by the Arms and Fortune of 'others. For, as as we have already ſaid, whoever has not made his Foun-'dation ſure at firſt, if poſſeſſed of great Courage and Conduct, he may at 'laſt, tho' perhaps at the Expence of the Architect's own Ruin, or Danger 'of the Edifice. If therefore the Duke's whole Progreſs be conſider'd, we 'may plainly perceive what a ſolid Foundation he had laid for his future 'Power, and which I think may not be ſuperfluous to relate here, becauſe 'I know not what better Precepts I can offer to a new Prince, than the 'Example of his Actions; for if the Schemes he concerted were in any 'ways abortive, it was none of his Fault, but proceeded from an extra-'ordinary and extreme Malignity of Fortune.

'*Alexander* VI. in his Deſigns of aggrandizing his Son the Duke, en-'counter'd, both at that Time and afterwards, many Difficulties. In the 'firſt Place, he found no Method for making him Maſter of any State, 'but what belong'd to the Church, to which at the ſame time he knew 'that the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* would never conſent, becauſe '*Faenza* and *Rimini* were then under the Protection of *Venice*: Beſides, 'he ſaw the Arms of *Italy*, which he might have turn'd to ſerve his own 'Purpoſes, were in the Hands of thoſe who had Reaſon to fear his own 'Greatneſs, on this Account, could not truſt the *Orſini*, or the *Colonneſi*, or 'their Adherents: He found it therefore neceſſary to perplex their Meaſures, 'and embroil the Affairs of *Italy*, that ſo he might the better uſurp Part 'of her Dominions to himſelf, which he eaſily effected: For finding the '*Venetians* mov'd by different Views, and anxious to have the *French* return 'to *Italy*; this he was ſo far from oppoſing, that he contributed to make 'it the more eaſy, by giving into that Marriage which King *Lewis* had ſo 'long in View.

'This King, therefore, came into *Italy* with the Aſſiſtance of the '*Venetians*, and *Alexander*'s Conſent; nor ſooner was he arriv'd at *Milan*, 'than the Pope had Aſſiſtance from him in his Enterprizes againſt *Ro-'magna*, which, becauſe of the King's Power, was immediately yielded 'him. Aſſoon, therefore, as the Duke had obtain'd *Romagna*, and ſubdu'd 'the *Colonneſi*, being deſirous to maintain his new Acquiſitions, and to 'proceed further, two Obſtacles were in his Way; the one, his own 'Arms, which ſeem'd not altogether faithful to his Intereſt; the other, the 'Inclinations of the *French* in the Matter. As to the firſt, He was ap-'prehenſive leſt the Arms of the *Orſini* (which he had made uſe of him-'ſelf) ſhould undermine his Affairs, and thereby not only hinder him from 'conquering, but rob him of his Conqueſts, and dreaded the King of '*France* would do the ſame. One Evidence he had of the Diſaffection of 'the *Orſini*, after the taking *Faenza*, when he attack'd *Bologna*, he per-'ceived they went very coldly on to the Aſſault. As to the King, he 'knew his Mind very well, eſpecially at that Time when *Borgia* had 'poſſeſſed himſelf of the Dutchy of *Urbin*, and afterwards went to invade '*Tuſcany*, from which Exterprize his Majeſty made him deſiſt: on 'which the Duke determin'd not to depend any longer on the Arms and

'Fortune

'Fortune of others; ſo that the firſt thing he did was to weaken the Arms 'of the *Orſini* and *Colonneſi* in *Rome*, for he gain'd over to his own Side 'their Adherents, who were all Gentlemen, and made them his own Gen-'tlemen, by providing for them plentifully with Honours and Riches ac-'cording to their Rank, giving ſome a Command in his Troops, others the 'Government of his Towns, in ſuch Ways, that within a few Months, 'Party-Broils ceaſing, their Affections turn'd ſolely on the Duke.

'After this, he waited for an Occaſion to ruin the ſame *Orſini*, having 'likewiſe diſpers'd thoſe of the *Colonna* Family, which Affair ſucceeded 'well, and which he ſtill improv'd.

'But the *Orſini* perceiving too late that the Greatneſs of the Duke and 'Church was to be finiſh'd in their own Ruin, they held a Congreſs at '*Magione*, in the State of *Perugia*: From hence began the Rebellion of 'the Dutchy of *Urbin*, the Tumults in *Romagna*, and infinite other Dan-'gers to the Duke; all which, with the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, he ſur-'mounted, ſo that again his Affairs took a favourable Turn; nor even 'confiding in the *French*, or any Foreign Power, in order not to have Diſ-'putes with them, he had Recourſe to Fraud, and ſo well knew how to 'diſſemble, that the *Orſini*, by means of Signor *Paulo*, were reconcil'd 'to him, whom the Duke was not wanting in any reſpect to allure, that 'ſo he might ſecure him in his Intereſt; accordingly brib'd this *Paulo* both 'with fine Apparel, Money, and Horſes, ſo that the Simplicity of that 'Family brought them to *Sinigaglia*, where they fell into his own Hands.

'Theſe Chiefs being reduc'd, and he having brought their Partizans to be 'his own Friends, the Duke thereby laid a ſolid Foundation for his future 'Power, having all *Romagna* in his Poſſeſſion, together with the Dutchy 'of *Urbin*; and alſo gain'd over thoſe People, who by his new Government 'began to taſte their own Welfare: and as the following Particular is worth 'Notice, and the Imitation of others; I therefore think proper not to 'paſs it over in Silence.

'As ſoon as the Duke had obtain'd *Romagna*, finding that Country had 'formerly been govern'd by impotent Sovereigns, who had rather plunder'd 'than chaſtiz'd their Subjects, and ſo had given the Inhabitants Occaſion 'of Diſunion, rather than Concord, inſomuch that all the Province was full 'of Robberies, infeſted with Swarms of Thieves, and haraſs'd with the like 'Diſorders: On this Account the Duke judg'd it neceſſary to introduce a 'better Government, to reduce them to pacifick Methods, and Obedience 'to the Royal Sway: Accordingly appointed one *Meſſer Remiro d'Orco*, 'a Man of an active and cruel Temper, whom he deputed with a full 'Power to rule. This Perſon, in a ſhort time, with no ſmall Reputation, 'reduc'd them to Union and more pacifick Meaſures: But the Duke after-'wards thinking the lodging ſo great a Power in this Perſon might perhaps 'make his Government hated, he appointed within that Province a Judicatory 'for Civil Matters, alſo a very skilful Preſident, by which every City had an 'Advocate for its own Concerns.

'But finding the former Severity in the Adminiſtration had begot a Kind 'of Hatred for his Government among the People, he, in order to gain 'over the Inhabitants the more effectually to his Intereſt, was willing to 'convince them, that if before, Cruelty had been practis'd there, it had not 'proceeded from him, but from the auſtere Nature of his Miniſter, for 'which Reaſon he took occaſion to inflict on him an adequate Puniſhment; 'ſo that one Morning in the City of *Ceſena*, on the publick Market-place, 'he cauſed this *Remiro* to be ſawn aſunder, where a Piece of Wood and 'a bloody Knife was laid by his Side, the Horror of which Spectacle 'ſtupified People, at the ſame time they were ſatisfied.

'But to return to our former Narrative: I ſay the Duke finding himſelf 'in a very potent Condition, and in a good meaſure ſecured as to his 'preſent Danger, becauſe armed to his Mind, and the Forces in his Neigh-'bourhood (from which he might have apprehended Danger) deſtroy'd: 'And being willing to proceed in his Conqueſts, was however oblig'd to 'deſiſt for fear of the King of *France*, for he knew too late that that Mo-'narch would not ſuffer him to go on in his Deſigns, for which Reaſon 'he began to ſeek out for new Friends, and be leſs ſtedfaſt to the Intereſts 'of that Nation, eſpecially at the Time they were marching to the Kingdom 'of *Naples* againſt the *Spaniards*, who were then beſieging *Gaeta*, ſo that 'his Mind was bent on ſecuring the latter in his Intereſt, which he ſpeedily 'would have effected, had *Alexander* lived. Thus did he manage Matters 'at that Time. As to what regarded his future Views, among the firſt 'Things he had to apprehend, was, that a new Succeſſor to the Papacy might 'not be his Friend, conſequently ſtrip him of every Thing that *Alexander* 'had given him: To avoid this Danger he had contriv'd four Ways; 'Firſt, By extirpating the whole Race of thoſe Princes whom he had diveſted 'of their Eſtates, and thereby to deprive the Pope of the like Opportunity: 'Secondly, To gain over the Nobility of *Rome* to his Party, and by 'them, as is ſaid, to keep the Pope in awe: Thirdly, To make the Col-'lege of Cardinals his Creatures as much as was poſſible: Fourthly, To ac-'quire as much Dominion before his Father's Deceaſe, as that on the firſt 'Attack he might be able to defend himſelf: Of theſe four Methods, on '*Alexander*'s Death, he had effected three, and very near brought the fourth 'to bear; for of thoſe Lords whom he had diveſted of their Properties, 'he ſlew as many of them as came into his Hands, and very few eſcaped. 'The Nobility of *Rome* he had gain'd all over to his Intereſt, and the 'greateſt Number of the Cardinals were his Creatures. As to his new 'Acquiſitions, he propoſed to have made himſelf Maſter of all *Tuſcany*, for 'already he had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Perugia* and *Piombino*, and aſſumed 'the Protectorſhip of *Piſa*: and, as if he was to regard the *French* no 'more, and was ſtill to have leſs Value for them, becauſe the *Spaniards* had 'ſtripp'd them of the Kingdom of *Naples*, (each of theſe Powers being 'under a Neceſſity of buying his Friendſhip) he accordingly aſſaulted *Piſa*, 'and eaſily would have made himſelf Maſter of it, after which *Lucca* and '*Sienna* would have yielded of Courſe, partly out of Hatred to the *Florentines*, 'and partly out of Fear, ſo that thoſe of *Florence* would have found no Re-'medy, all which Schemes, had they ſucceeded as they ſhould have done the 'ſame Year wherein *Alexander* died, he would have obtain'd ſo great a

'Power,

‘ Power, and his Affairs ſo much Reputation, that he would have been ‘ able to ſupport himſelf without Dependance on the Fortune or Arms ‘ of others, and ſolely might have rely'd on his own Power and Valour. ‘ But *Alexander* died five Years after he had begun to unſheath his Sword, ‘ ſo left him only ſecur'd of his Dominions in *Romagna*, all his other Ac- ‘ quiſitions being in the Air, and himſelf penn'd up between two powerful ‘ Armies of his Enemies, and ſick to Death: The Duke, however, was ‘ endow'd with ſo much Fierceneſs and Valour, and knew ſo well in ‘ what manner Men were to be gain'd or loſt; ſo ſtrong were the Foun- ‘ dations of Government laid by him in ſo ſhort a Time, that had he ‘ not had thoſe Armies to hamper him, and been in Health, he would ‘ have ſupported himſelf in ſpight of all Difficulties. That his Foun- ‘ dation of Government was ſolid, plainly appear'd, for *Romagna* re- ‘ main'd a whole Month firm to his Intereſt, and in *Rome*, tho' he was ‘ half dead, yet he continu'd ſecure; and notwithſtanding the *Baglioni*, ‘ *Vitelli*, and *Orſini*, came to *Rome*, they did nothing material in his ‘ Prejudice: And if the Duke could not make a Pope of his own chuſing, ‘ yet he might have hindered another whom he did not like from being ‘ elected: And if, on *Alexander*'s Deceaſe, he had himſelf been in good ‘ Health, every Thing would have been eaſy to him; nay, he told me the ‘ ſame Day that *Julius* II. was made Pope, that he had foreſeen every Thing ‘ which poſſibly could have happened on his Father's Death, and prepar'd ‘ Remedies accordingly, only never imagin'd that at that Time he ſhould ‘ be afflicted with Sickneſs himſelf.

‘ All theſe Actions of the Duke conſider'd, I cannot reproach him; nay, ‘ as I have ſaid, I think him a Pattern fit for the Imitation of all thoſe who ‘ by Fortune, or the Arms of others, have arriv'd at Empire; for having ‘ a great Soul, and exalted Views, he could not govern in another Manner, ‘ the Shortneſs of *Alexander*'s Life, and his own Sickneſs, being the only ‘ Obſtacles which thwarted his Deſigns. Whoever then in a new Govern- ‘ ment thinks fit to ſecure himſelf from Enemies, and gain Friends, to ‘ vanquiſh by Force or Fraud, to be lov'd and fear'd by his Subjects, ‘ follow'd and honour'd by the Soldiers, he ought to deſtroy thoſe who may or ‘ can oppoſe him, and reform old Cuſtoms, to be ſevere, ſometimes face- ‘ tious, magnanimous, and liberal, to diſmiſs thoſe of the Soldiery not to ‘ be truſted, and inliſt new ones in their Stead, maintain a good Friendſhip ‘ and Correſpondence with Kings and Princes, in ſuch a manner as they ‘ may befriend him with a good Grace, or offend him with Reſpect: I ‘ ſay in ſuch a Caſe, I know no better Pattern than the Duke, nor freſher Ex- ‘ amples than his Actions, only he is to be blamed in Pope *Julius*'s Election; ‘ for, as is already ſaid, if he could not make one according to his own ‘ Mind, he could however have prevented the Election of another he diſlik'd, ‘ and ought never to have conſented to a Pope being choſen out of thoſe ‘ Cardinals whom he had formerly injur'd, or who, when elected, had ‘ Reaſon to live in fear of him; for Men generally injure either out of Fear ‘ or Hatred. Thoſe he had chiefly mal-treated were this Cardinal St. *Pietro* ‘ *ad Vincula* and *Colonna*, *San-Georgi* and *Aſcanio*. If any of the others ‘ had arrived at the Pontificate, they muſt have fear'd him, except Cardinal ‘ *Roan*, and the *Spaniſh* Cardinals; the one on Account of Alliance ‘ and Obligation, the other for Power, having the Kingdom of *France*

‘ in

'in his Intereſt; ſo that the Duke, above all, ought to have made a 'Spaniſh Cardinal Pope: and if he could not gain that Point, to have 'made Intereſt for *Roan*'s ſucceeding, and not St. *Pietro ad Vincula*; 'for whoever believes that new Favours conferr'd on the Great will 'obliterate old Injuries, are deceiv'd: The Duke, therefore, err'd in the 'Affair of that Election, which was the Cauſe of his final Ruin.

Tranſlation of Chap. XI. in *Machiavel*'s Prince.

Referred to in the Preface.

Of Eccleſiaſtical Principalities.

'IT remains at preſent to treat of Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignties, in which 'the greateſt Difficulties occur before they are poſſeſſed, becauſe 'acquir'd by Merit or Fortune, tho' maintain'd without either; for they 'are ſupported by the antient Orders of Religion, powerful in themſelves, 'and naturally contrived for the Security of the Prince, let their Procedure 'or Way of Living be what it will: Such Sovereigns alone have Dominions which they do not defend; Subjects whom they do not govern: 'Their Dominions, tho' undefended, are not loſt; their Subjects, by not 'being govern'd, they neither can, or chuſe, or think to be alienated; ſo 'that ſuch Princes only are ſecure and happy. But I ſhall ſay no more about 'them, ſince they are ruled by a ſuperior Cauſe, incomprehenſible to 'human Minds: for as they are exalted to their Dignity, and maintain'd 'therein by God, to treat about them would be Preſumption and Temerity; Yet if any ask me from whence the Church, in temporal Affairs, 'has arriv'd at ſo much Greatneſs, ſince before Pope *Alexander*'s Time the '*Italian* Princes, not only thoſe call'd Potentates, but every Baron, or 'Lord, however inconſiderable with regard to the Temporal Power of Popes, 'valu'd them little; tho' at preſent a King of *France* even trembles at that 'Greatneſs, which has been able to drive that Nation out of *Italy*, and ruin 'the *Venetians*: And altho' this be well known, yet I do not think it 'ſuperfluous to refreſh our Memories a little in the Affair.

'Before *Charles* King of *France* came into *Italy*, that Country was 'under the Dominion of the Pope, the *Venetians*, the King of *Naples*, the 'Duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*. Theſe Potentates had two Things 'chiefly to guard againſt; Firſt, That no Foreign Power ſhould invade '*Italy*; next, That neither of them ſhould enlarge their Dominions. Thoſe 'indeed

'indeed who gave the greateſt Apprehenſions this Way, were the Pope 'and the *Venetians*; ſo that to reſtrain the latter, an Alliance of the 'other three was neceſſary, as it happen'd at the Defence of *Ferrara*: Be- 'ſides, in order to keep the Power of the Popes low, recourſe was had to 'the *Roman* Barons, who, as they were divided into two Factions, namely, 'the *Orſini* and *Colonneſi*, there always happen'd Feuds and ill Blood 'between them, being often, even under the Pope's own Eyes, in Arms 'againſt one another, by which the Pontificate was kept weak and im- 'potent; and, notwithſtanding ſometimes a Pope of Reſolution, like '*Sixtus*, ſprung up, yet neither Fortune or Wiſdom could ever remedy 'ſuch Inconvenience, the Lives of the Popes being generally ſo ſhort; for 'in ten Years Time, wherein we ſuppoſe the Popes, one with another, 'may have liv'd in that Station, ſcarce was that time ſufficient to reduce 'one of the Factions; and, if I may ſo ſay, if the *Colonneſi* chanc'd to be 'almoſt extinguiſh'd by the one, another Enemy to the *Orſini* ſprung up, 'and made the former revive and recover their Strength; conſequently 'there was no fit Opportunity found, in which either of them could be 'reduc'd; hence it happen'd that the Temporal Power of the Popes was 'but little regarded in *Italy*: But afterwards *Alexander* VI. aroſe, who 'above all his Predeceſſors, ſhew'd what a Pope with Money and Force 'could effect: By means of Duke *Valentine*, and the coming of the *French* 'into *Italy*, he perform'd all thoſe Things I have already related in treating 'of this Pope's Actions; and tho' his Deſign in the Whole was not to 'aggrandize the Church, but the Duke, yet the whole redounded to the 'Greatneſs of the former, ſo that the Church, after his Death and the 'Deſtruction of the Duke, became Heireſs to all the Labour of the 'latter.

'Pope *Julius* II. ſucceeded next, who found the Church great to his 'Hands, becauſe all *Romagna* was Hers, and the *Roman* Barons deſtroy'd, '*Alexander* having not only ruin'd them, but annull'd and extinguiſh'd the 'other Factions, by which a Way was open'd for *Julius* to amaſs Riches, 'a Thing never practis'd before *Alexander*'s Time, wherein *Julius* not 'only purſued that Advantage, but improv'd it conſiderably, having de- 'termin'd to gain *Bologna*, ruin the *Venetians*, and drive the *French* out 'of *Italy*; in all which he was ſucceſsful; and the more to his Praiſe, 'becauſe every thing he did was for aggrandizing the Church, and not any 'private Perſon: Beſides, he kept the *Orſini* and *Colonneſi* within the 'Bounds in which he found them; and notwithſtanding there were ſome 'Chiefs among them, who might have cauſed an Alteration in Affairs, 'yet two Things kept them from acting; one, the Greatneſs of the Church 'by which they were over-aw'd; the other, their want of Cardinals; theſe 'being the Occaſion of Broils among them; nor will ever Matters be quiet 'while they can have them on their Side, for the Cardinals alone foment 'Parties both within and without *Rome*, ſome of which Parties the Ba- 'rons are forc'd to defend; ſo that from the Ambition of Prelates ſpring 'Tumults and Diſcords.

'His Holineſs Pope *Leo* has therefore found the Popedom moſt powerful, 'from whence 'tis hop'd, that if his Predeceſſors have made it Great by 'Arms, he, by his Bounty and infinite other good Qualities, will make it 'moſt Great and Venerable.'

APPENDIX.

Article I. *De Genealogia Familiæ Borgiæ.* Taken from *Moreri.*

BORGIA, (maiſon). La maiſon de Borgia eſt tres illuſtre en Eſpagne. Les auteurs parlent aſſez diverſement de ſon origine. Philippe de *Bergame* ſoûtient qu'elle étoit tres-noble & tres-conſidérable, avant même qu'elle eût donné deux Papes à l'egliſe. Divers auteurs croyent qu'elle deſcendoit des anciens Rois d'Arragon, & qu'elle avoit eu de legitimes prétentions ſur cette couronne, & ſur celle de Valence. Zurita reconnoît neanmoins qu'elle doit tout ſon luſtre, & tout ſon éclat au bonheur, & à la vertu du Pape Calixte III. auparavant nommé Alfonſe Borgia. Il fut fait Cardinal en 1444. par le Pape Eugene IV. ſucceda à Nicolas V. en 1455. & mourut en 1458. Ce Pape étoit fils unique de jean Borgia, & avoit, dit on, quatre ſœurs. L'ainée, nommée *Catherine*, fut mariée avec Jean del Milla, & fut mere de *Louis* Jean del Milla, que Calixte III. fit Cardinal, & qui mourut en 1507. Une autre nommée *Iſabelle* ou *Jeanne*, epouſa *Geofroi*, dont les auteurs parlent diverſement, car les uns ſoûtiennent qu'il étoit de cette même maiſon de Borgia, & les autres qui diſent le contraire, avoüent â la verité que ſa famille étoit tres ancienne & tres noble, du nom de *Lenzoli* ; mais qu'il ne fit que prendre le nom & les armes de Borgia, parce que cette maiſon n'avoit plus d'enfant mâle qui pût en continuer la poſterité. Quoy qu'il en ſoit, Geofroi Lenzoli, dit *Borgia*, eut *Pierre-Louis* Borgia, qui fut préfet de Rome, & lieutenant général du Patrimoine de ſaint Pierre ; Rodriquez Borgia, qui fut Pape, ſous le nom d'Alexandre VI. & trois filles mariées en Eſpagne. La premiere nommée *Jeanne*, épouſa dom *Pierre-Guillaume* Lenzoli, qui reſtoit chef de cette maiſon. La ſeconde fut femme de dom *Vital* de Villanova ; & la troiſiéme prit alliance avec dom *Ximnez* Perez de Arenos. Alexandre VI. eut pour neveu *Jean* Borgia, qu'il fit Cardinal en 1492. comme nous le dirons dans un Article ſeparé, un autre *Jean*, dit *le Jeune*, créé auſſi Cardinal par ſon oncle en 1496. Il en eſt fait mention aprés ſon frere ; & *Louis* ou *Pierre-Louis* Borgia qui fut d'abord Chevalier de Rhodes, grand prieur de Catalogne, & bailli de ſainte Euphemie. Son oncle le nomma Cardinal l'an 1500. aprés la mort de Jean, dit le *Jeune*, ſon frere, & lui donna l'Archevêché de Valence que celui ci avoit poſſedé. Il ſe trouva aux élections de Pie III. & de Jules II. & ſe retira à Naples ſous le Pontificat de celuici. Des bruits ayant couru que ce Pape étoit mort, le Cardinal de Borgia prit la poſte pour ſe rendre à Rome, mais étant tombé de cheval il ſe bleſſa, & mourut à Naples le 4 Octobre 1511. Le Pape Alexandre VI. créa auſſi Cardinal l'an 1500. François Borgia, que quelques uns diſent bâtard du Cardinal Alfonſe Borgia, avant qu'il fut Pape. François étoit Archevêque de Coſence, & Evêque de Thiano. Il fut perſecuté par le Pape Jules II. & écrivit contre lui des Lettres, qui ayant été intercepteés, furent lûës par le

ſouverain

ſouverian pontife en plein conſiſtoire, où il condemna le Cardinal François à une priſon, dont les prieres des autres Cardinaux l'exempterent. Pour s'en venger, il ſe joignit aux Cardinaux, qui citerent le Pape au conciliabule de Piſe, dont Jules II. é.ant irrité, il le depoüilla de la pourpre. François ne laiſſa pas de ſe rendre à Piſe, & il y mourut ſubitement le 4 Novembre 1511, agé de 70 ans. Alexandre VI. avoit eu dans ſa jeuneſſe, de *Vanoſa*, ou ſelon d'autres, de *Julie* Farneſe, dite *Vanoſa* ou Vanoccia, femme de *Dominique* Arimano, quatre fils & une fille. L'ainé des fils, nommé *Pierre Lowis* duc de Gandie, épouſa une fille naturelle d'Alfonſe II. Roy de Naples, & mourut ſans poſterité ; le 2. Jean, Duc de Gandie, qui ſuit ; le 3. Cæſar, Duc de Valentinois, mentionné dans un Article ſeparé ; le 4. Geofroi, qui épouſa en 1494. *Sanche*, fille *naturelle* du même Roi *Alfonſe* II. & eut la principauté d'Eſquilache dans le royaume de Naples, le comte de Cariati, &c. La fille d'Alexandre VI. nommée *Lucrece*, s'étoit diffamée pendant ſa jeuneſſe, pour s'être abandonée ſelon quelques auteurs, à ſes propres freres. Etant deja veuve, elle épouſa Jean Sforce, Seigneur de Pezaro ; enſuite elle ſe remaria avec le Prince de Biſelli, fils *naturel d'Alfonſe* II. Roi de Naples ; & enfin elle prit une quatriéme alliance avec *Alfonſe* d'Eſte, Duc de Ferrare. Jean I. de ce nom, Duc de Gandie & de Seſſa, apres la mort de ſon frere ainé épouſa *Marie* Henriquez, d'une tres illuſtre famille d'Aragon. Il fut aſſaſſiné à Rome, où ſon corps fut jetté dans le Tibre, & on ne douta point que Cæſar ſon frere n'eût fait le coup par jalouſie. Les aſſaſſinats ne coutoient rien à ce ſcelerat. Jean I. laiſſa Jean II. Duc de Gandie, & une fille nommée *Iſabelle* Borgia, qui fut promiſe au Duc de Segorbe, & qui ſe fit religieuſe à ſainte Claire de Gandie, où elle mourut ſaintement, Nous avons ſa vie ſous le nom de la mere François e de Jeſus. La ducheſſe ſa mere prit enſuitte l'habit de Religieuſe avec elle ; mais ce fut apres avoir elevé ſon fils avec beaucoup de pieté, & apres l'avoir marié avec jeanne d'Aragon, fille *d'Alfonſe*, qui etoit fils *naturel* du Roy *Ferdinand*. Jean II. mourut en 1542. ayant eu de ſon mariage François, qui ſuit ; Roderick Borgia, créé Cardinal par le Pape Paul III. en 1536. & mort en Eſpagne l'année ſuivante. Jean II. ayant perdu ſa femme en 1520. prit une ſeconde alliance avec François de Caſtro & de Pines, dont il eut *Henri* Borgia, nommé Cardinal en 1539. mort à Viterbe le 16. Septembre 1549. en allant à Rome recevoir la pourpre. N. & N. Borgia, ſucceſſivement Vicerois de Catalogne apres leur frere François ; *Thomas* Borgia Archevêque de Saragoſſe, & des filles, mariées à de Grands Seigneurs. Saint François Borgia, quatriéme Duc de Gandie, fut un des plus illuſtres ornemens de ſa maiſon, (Voyez François II.) mourut en 1572. & laiſſa *d'Eleonor* de Caſtro, decedée en 1546. 1. Charles Borgia, qu'il maria avec une des plus riches heritieres d'Eſpagne, fille du Comte d'Oliva, de la maiſon de Centellas, dont il laiſſa une illuſtre poſterité. 2. Jean Borgia, Commandeur d'Aznaga, Chevalier de Saint Jacques, Ambaſſadeur en Allemagne, Majordome de l'Imperatrice, qui publia en 1581. un ouvrage intitulé, *Empreſas Morales*, & fut frere de François Borgia, Prince d'Eſquilache, Viceroi du Perou, *mentionné dans un article ſeparé* ; de dom *Carlos*, Duc de Villahermoſa ; & de Ferdinand, Commandeur de Monteſa, &c. qui ont tous fait diverſes branches de la maiſon de Borgia : 3. *Alvare* Borgia, qui eſpouſa ſa niece : 4. *Ferdinand* Borgia, Grand-maitre de la maiſon de l'Imperatrice Marie, femme de Maximilian : 5. Alfonſe : 6. Iſabelle, Mariée à dom *François* de Royas de Sandoval, Duc de Lerme, & Marquis de Denia : 7. Jeanne, femme

femme de dom *Jean* Henriquez, Marquis d'Alcannizes, dont la fille unique epouſa dom *Alvare* Borgia ſon oncle: 8. Et une Religieuſe à Sainte Claire de Gandie, dite *la mere Dorothée.* Il y a eu dans le XVII. Siecle *Gaſpard* Borgia, créé Cardinal par le Pape Paul V. en 1617. Il étoit fils de *François* Duc de Gandie, & de *Jeanne* de Velaſco ; & *François* étoit l'ainé de *Charles* Borgia, premier des enfans de S. *François* Borgia ; *Gaſpard* fut Archeveque de Seville, Viceroi de Naples, Ambaſſadeur du Roy d'Eſpagne à Rome. Ce fut durant le cours de ſon Ambaſſade en 1617. qu'il fit tranſporter le corps de ſon Saint Biſayeul à Madrid. *Gaſpard* fut encore Eveque d'Albane, & enfin Archeveque de Tolede. Il mourut l'an 1645. agé de 61 ans. François Borgia, fils du Duc de Gandie, fut auſſi créé Cardinal par le Pape *Innocent* XII. le 21 Juin 1700. étant chanoine de Tolede. Il fut nommé Eveque de Calahorra en Avril 1701. & Archêveque de Burgos au mois d'Octobre ſuivant, propoſé par le Pape dans le conſiſtoire du 3 Avril 1702. mais il mourut à Madrid le lendemain, agé de 43 ans. Conſultez Zurita, Mariana, Paul Jove, Guichardin, Blanca, in *Tab. Geneal.* Ciaconius, Aubery, Onuphre, &c. Gaſpard Eſcolanus, *Hiſt. Valent.* & la vie de S. François Borgia, ecrite par les P. P. Ribadeneira, Euſebe Nieremberg, Verius, &c.

Borgia (Cæſar) Cardinal, Archevêque de Valence en Eſpagne, puis Duc de Valentinois, étoit ſecond fils d'Alexandre VI. Ce Pape, avant que d'être elevé au Pontificat, l'avoit eu de *Vanoſa* ou *Julie* Farneſe, dame Romaine. Des ſon bas age, il le deſtina à l'état Eccleſiaſtique, & lui donna l'Eveché de Pampelune ; auſſi tot apres ſon elevation il le nomma à l'Archeveché de Valence, & il le fit Cardinal en 1493. Comme la promotion d'un batard pouvoit être rejettée dans le ſacré college, il s'aviſa de propoſer dans un conſiſtoire que Vanoſa avoit eu de Dominique Arimano ſon mari, ce Cæſar, qu'il navoit point de honte d'appeller publiquement ſon fils, comme Guichardin le lui reproche. Quelque-tems apres, ce nouveau Cardinal portant ſes vues plus loin, reſolut de ſe defaire de ſon frere ainé Jean Borgia, Duc de Gandie, qu'on trouva en 1497. mort dans le Tibre, & percé de neuf coups d'epée. On avoit des preuves convainquantes que Cæſar etoit l'auteur de ce fratricide ; car outre ſes interets d'ambition, il ne pouvoit ſouffrir que le Duc de Gandie eut plus de part que lui aux bonnes graces de Lucrece Borgia leur ſœur & leur maitreſſe. Cæſar ne craignant plus rien de ce coté-la, quitta la profeſſion Eccléſiaſtique, & ſe ligua avec Louis XII. Roi de France, qui ſongeoit à l'expedition de Milan. Ce prince le fit Duc de Valentinois, en recompenſe de ce qu'il lui avoit apporté une bulle, par laquelle le Pontife nommoit des commiſſaires pour connoitre de la rupture de ſon mariage avec Jeanne fille de Louis XI. & qu'il lui avoit remis un bonnet de Cardinal pour George d'Amboiſe. Enſuite le Roi lui fit epouſer *Charlotte*, fille *d'Alain* Seigneur d'Albret. Depuis ce tems la Cæſar ſe ſervit des armes du Roi, pour venir à bout de ſes deſſeins ; mais ſans ſe piquer de lui être fidele, il prit les meilleures places de la Romandiole, s'empara d'Imola, de Forli, de Faence, de Peſaro, de Rimini, de Camerin, &c. & exerça une tyrannie inſupportable ſur la plupart des Princes d'Italie. Depuis, pour profiter de la riche ſucceſſion du Cardinal Adrien de Cornetto, il fit partie avec le Pape d'aller ſouper chez lui le 17. Aout, & y fit porter du vin empoiſonné. Le pere & le fils étant arrivez de bonne heure, & étant alterés à cauſe de la chaleur de la ſaiſon, demanderent à boire ; mais dans

dans le tems que le valet qui ſçavoit leur ſecret etoit ſorti, un autre leur donna de la boiſſon qu'ils avoient fait preparer pour le Cardinal Cornetto. Le Pape, qui étoit agé en mourut en 1503. Cæſar, qui étoit plus jeune, reſiſta à la force du poiſon ; & s'étant fait envolopper dans le ventre d'une mule, il echapa de ce danger. Mais ſous le Pontificat de Pie III. ſucceſſeur d'Alexandre, il fut ſur le point d'être maſſacré par ſes ennemis. La protection du Roi de France lui ſauva la vie, & en recompenſe ce perfide quitta ſon parti. De tant de places qu'il avoit envahies, il ne lui en reſta que quatre, qu'il voulut remettre à Jules II. elu apres Pie. Ce Pape refuſa d'abord de les accepter, & permit à Cæſar de ſe retirer. Mais ayant été mieux conſeillé, il le fit arrêter à Oſtie, & le retint en priſon, juſqu' à ce qu'il eut rendu ces places. Alors il lui permit d'aller trouver Gonzales de Cordoue, qui lui donna ſa foi, & qui l'envoya en Eſpagne, où il fut neanmoins confiné dans une priſon perpetuelle. Il s'evada de puis, & ſe refugia vers Jean d'Albret, Roi de Navarre, frere de ſa femme, lequel étoit en guerre avec Louis de Beaumont ſon vaſſal, connetable de Caſtille. Cæſar Borgia alla aſſieger le Chateau de Viane. Le connetable voulut y jetter ſoixante hommes pendant la nuit, & le Duc de Valentinois les pourſuivant, y fut tué un Vendredi 12 Mars de l'an 1507. ſes gens ayant couvert ſon corps d'un manteau d'ecarlate, le porterent à Viane, où il fut enterré. Cæſar Borgia avoit pour deviſe ces paroles, *Aut Cæſar, Aut Nihil.* Ce qui donna occaſion à quelque poete de ſon tems de lui faire ce diſtique :

Borgia Cæſar erat, factis & nomine Cæſar ;
Aut Nihil, aut Cæſar, dixit ; utrumque fuit.

Un autre en avoit parlé en ces termes :

Aut Nihil aut Cæſar vult dici Borgia ; quidni ?
Cum ſimul & Cæſar poſſit & eſſe nihil.

Il y eut encore un autre poete qui fit ce troiſieme diſtique pour ſe moquer de ſa deviſe :

Omnia vincebas, ſperabas omnia, Cæſar,
Omnia deficiunt, incipis eſſe nihil.

* What is mention'd above in this firſt Article, is the fulleſt Account of the Genealogy of the *Borgian* Family I could meet with any where, tho' indeed there are ſome Particulars therein, both new to the World, ſeemingly contradictory to the Author's own Words, and inconſiſtent with Probability : This I am the rather obliged to obſerve, becauſe ſome of this Author's Aſſertions ſeem a little incongruous with what I have related in Page 2. of this Work, in the Accounts there about Madam *Vanozza*, taken from the Manuſcript Copy mention'd in the Preface, wherein, as I have related, that Copy gives an Account how *Alexander*, in his private Life, was firſt acquainted with *Vanozza* in *Spain*, and had five Children by her, and that he kept her for his Miſtreſs in Place of a lawful Wife : which laſt Circumſtance I have proved from *Platina* and *Tomaſi*. But Monſieur *Moreri*, in the Article above, ſays, in the firſt Place, that this Lady had two or three Names, *viz. Vanoſa*, or *Vanoccia*, and *Julia Farneſe*, and that ſhe was the Wife of one *Dominique Arimano* a *Roman*.

APPENDIX.

What I am therefore to obſerve from this, is, That if *Vanozza* was the Wife of *Arimano*, it ſurely muſt have been after the Pope was firſt acquainted with her in *Spain*, and after the Duke of *Gandia*, *Cæſar Borgia*, the Prince of *Squillace*, and *Lucretia* were born; for it is not to be imagin'd in Nature or Reaſon, that if *Vanozza* had been the Wife of *Arimano*, from the Time of *Alexander*'s firſt Acquaintance with her, that this Pope would (at the Expence of his Honour, Conſcience, and every other Thing that ought to have been dear to him) have ſacrificed all to amaſs Riches, and procure Dignities to thoſe Children who might have probably been *Arimano*'s, and not his own: This cannot be imagin'd, tho', as I have ſaid in the foregoing Work, the Pope, on creating *Cæſar* a Cardinal, was, becauſe of Shame and the Cenſure of the World, willing that his Children ſhould be called not his own, but his Nephews, and the Offſpring of another Father, which *Guicciardin* upbraids him with, and for making uſe of Bribes and falſe Witneſſes to make it appear ſuch on that Occaſion: However, in the main, I do not think there is any Thing in this Aſſertion of *Moreri* which flatly contradicts what Accounts we have given from our Manuſcript, ſince it might have been that this *Arimano* may have married *Vanozza* many Years after *Alexander* knew her, tho' I do not remember to have ſeen this Circumſtance about *Arimano* in any Author but *Moreri* himſelf. There is indeed a *French* Romance, intitled, * *Hiſtoire des Favourites*, which mentions this *Julia Farneſe*, whom he calls *Vanozza*, and *Alexander*'s Miſtreſs, and which would ſurprize me if *Moreri* has built this Story on ſo romantick a Foundation.

But the Place in the Article above, where *Moreri* ſeems not conſiſtent with himſelf, and his own Words, is in Relation to *Cæſar Borgia*; for he ſays *Alexander* by this *Vanozza* had five Children, four Males, and one Female: The eldeſt Son he calls *Piere Lewis*, Duke of *Gandia*; the ſecond *Jean*, and makes him Duke of *Gandia* alſo; the third Son he ſays was *Cæſar*, Duke of *Valentinois*: but behold the Contradiction! in another Place in the ſame Article he ſays *Cæſar* was *Alexander*'s ſecond Son, which he thus expreſſes, *Borgia Cæſar Cardinal Archeveque de Valence in Eſpagne Puis Duc de Valentinois etoit ſeconds Fils d'Alexandre* ——Now how in Nature *Cæſar* could be *Alexander*'s third Son, and the ſame Time his ſecond Son, I cannot comprehend: If he means he was ſecond Son on the Deceaſe of the eldeſt, he ſurely ought to have told us ſo, and not been ſo injudicious in Writing, as to appear to contradict his own Words. But this is not the only Fault to be found in this Article of the *Borgian* Genealogy by *Moreri*; for, contrary to all the Writers I ever could conſult on the Head, he makes two Dukes of *Gandia*, and no leſs than three of *Alexander*'s Children to be married in *Alphonſus* the Second's Family, *viz.* his firſt Duke of *Gandia*, the Prince of *Squillace*, and *Lucretia*. But where he came at theſe Accounts, I know not, or how he transforms the Name of *Francis*, the real Duke of *Gandia*, to *Jean*, and *Vanozza* to be call'd *Julia Farneſe*, I cannot underſtand; nor from what Authority he ſays *Cæſar Borgia* was interred in *Viana*, ſince *Tomaſi* and *Jovius* relate him buried in *Pamplona*: In fine, theſe Things aſſerted by *Moreri*, are not only new and ſurprizing, but I humbly think very little to be depended on.

* See this Romance, p. 147. Edit. Amſterdam, Anno 1703.

A DIS-

APPENDIX.

A DISCOURSE of Mr. FRANCIS GUICCIARDIN, which is wanting in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory, and in all the *Italian*, *Latin*, and *French* Copies before now printed. To be ſeen in his Original Manuſcript at *Florence*, p. 119.

Referred to in the Preface *.

FOR the better illuſtrating this, and many other Particulars which afterwards happen'd, the Subject requires that we ſhould examine what Right the Church has to *Romagna*, and ſeveral other Countries which, in diverſe Times, ſhe either has poſſeſſed, or at preſent actually does poſſeſs ; and relate in what Manner the Popes, who at firſt were merely inſtituted for the Adminiſtration of Spiritual Matters, have arriv'd at Temporal Dominion, and Worldly Empire ; and, by Way of Connexion, to deſcribe the Broils and Contenſion which enſued between the Emperors and the Popes on this and other Accounts.

PER la dichiaratione della qual coſa, & di molt' altre ſuccedute ne tempi ſeguenti, ricerca la materia che ſi faccia mentione, che ragioni habbia la Chieſa ſopra le terre di Romagna & ſopra molte altre, le quali, o ha in varii tempi poſſedute, o hora poſſiede : e in che modo inſtituita da principio meramente per l'amminiſtratione ſpirituale, ſia pervenuta alli ſtati, & alli imperii mondani : & ſimilmente, che ſi narri come coſa connexa, quali contentioni ſiano ſtate per queſte & altre cagioni in diverſi tempi, tra e pontifici & gl'Impera dori.

The Popes of *Rome*, the firſt of whom was the Apoſtle *Peter*, and whoſe Authority in Spiritual Matters was founded by Jeſus Chriſt, at the Beginning were Men renown'd for Charity, Humility, Patience, the Spirit, and Miracles : For not only were they deſtitute of all Temporal Power, but rather by it perſecuted ; ſo that for many Years they remain'd but in a State of Obſcurity, and as it were unknown, being not famous for any Thing ſo much as their Sufferings, which, together with their Succeſſors, they endured : And notwith-

E pontefici Romani de quali il primo fu l'Apoſtolo Piero, fondata da Gieſu Chriſto l'autorità loro nelle coſe ſpirituali, grandi di charità, d'humiltà, di patientia, di ſpirito & di miracoli, furono ne loro principii non ſolo al tutto ſpogliati di potentia temporale, ma perſeguitati da quella ſtettono per molti anni oſcuri & quaſi incogniti, non ſi manifeſtando il no me loro per alcuna coſa piu che ne ſuplicii, e quali inſieme con quelli che gli ſeguitavono quaſi ſoſtenevano : per che ſe bene per la moltitudine innumerabile, & per le diverſe nationi,

* *N. B. Guicciardin* throughout the whole Diſcourſe makes uſe of *E* inſtead of *I*, as the Article of the Nominative Plural.

withſtanding, by Reaſon of the great Multitude of People, the many different Nations and Profeſſions then in *Rome*, their Procedure was but little regarded, and many of the Emperors did not haraſs them, except when it appear'd that their publick Actions could not be paſſed over in Silence; yet others, either out of Cruelty, or Love they had to their own Gods, did grievouſly perſecute them as Introducers of new Superſtition, and Subverters of the true Religion.

Thus were the Popes famous for their voluntary Poverty, the Sanctity of their Lives, and their Martyrdoms; and thus did they continue to the Time of Pope *Silveſter*, in whoſe Pontificate *Conſtantine* the Emperor, having embraced the Chriſtian Faith, and moved by the exemplary Lives and continual Miracles of thoſe who follow'd the Name of Chriſt, the Popes remain'd ſecure from the Dangers in which, for about 300 Years, they had lived, and were at Liberty to exerciſe the publick Worſhip and Ceremonies of the Chriſtian Religion.

Hence, from a Reverence to their exemplary Lives, the holy Precepts contain'd in our Religion, and the Aptneſs in Men to follow their Princes, often out of Ambition, or ſometimes out of Fear, the Chriſtian Name began marvellouſly to extend every where, and with it the Poverty of the Clergy to diminiſh: For *Conſtantine* having built the Church of St. *John Lateran* in *Rome*, St. *Peter*'s at the *Vatican*, St. *Paul*'s, and many others in different Places, he beſtow'd on them not only rich Veſſels and Ornaments, but likewiſe, in order that they might keep up and rebuild thoſe Fabricks, and a Proviſion be allow'd thoſe who perform'd Divine Worſhip, he endow'd them with Poſſeſſions, and granted them other Revenues: and afterwards many People being perſuaded that by Alms and Legacies to the Church, they might

tioni, & profeſſioni che erano in Roma, fuſſino qualche volta poco atteſi e progreſſi loro, & alcuni delli Imperadori non gli perſeguitaſſino ſe non quanto pareva che le attioni loro publiche non poteſſino eſſere con ſilentio trapaſſate, non dimeno alcuni altri, o per crudeltà, o per l'amore alli dii proprii, gli perſeguitarono atrocemente come induttori di nuove ſuperſtitioni, & deſtruttori della vera religione.

Nel qual ſtato chiariſſimi per la voluntaria povertà, per la ſantità della vita, e per i martyrii, continuarono inſino a Silveſtro pontifice: a tempo del quale eſſendo venuto alla fede Chriſtiana Conſtantino Imperadore, moſſo da coſtumi ſantiſſimi, & da miracoli che in quelle che il nome di Chriſto ſeguitavano continuamente ſi vedevano, rimaſono e pontifici ſicuri da pericoli, ne quali erano ſtati circa a trecento anni, & liberi d'eſſercitare publicamente il culto divino & riti Chriſtiani.

Onde per la riverenza de coſtumi loro, per e precetti ſanti, che contiene in ſe la noſtra religione, & per la prontezza che e negl'huommi a ſeguitare, o per ambitione il piu delle volte, o per timore, l'eſempio del ſuo prencipe, cominciò a ampliarſi per tutto maravigliosamente el nome Chriſtiano, & inſieme a diminuire la povertà de cherici. Perche Conſtantino havendo edificata a Roma la chieſa di ſan Giovanni in Laterano, la chieſa di ſan Pietro in Vaticano, quella di ſan Paulo, & molte altre in diverſi luoghi, le dotò non ſolo di ricchi vaſi & ornamenti, ma anchora, perche ſi poteſſino conſervare & rinovare, & per le fabriche, & ſoſtentatione di quelli che vi eſſercitavano il culto divino, di poſſeſſioni & d'altre entrate: & ſucceſſivamente molti ne tempi che ſeguitarono, perſuadendoſi con l'elemoſine e con legati alle chieſe, farſi

might the more eaſily obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, they either built and endow'd new Churches, or parted with a Share of their Riches, for the Support of thoſe already built; ſo that either by a Law, or an inveterate Cuſtom, following the Example in the Old Teſtament, they gave the tenth Part of the Fruit of their Wealth to the Church, to which Men were with great Ardour excited: For in the Beginning the Clergy (except what was abſolutely neceſſary for their moderate Subſiſtance) applied every Thing they got, partly for building and adorning their Churches, or in pious Works and charitable Diſtributions.

farſi facile l'acquiſto del regno celeſte, o fabricavano, dotavano altre chieſe, o alle gia edificate diſpenſavano parte delle richezze loro: anzi o per legge, o per invetterata conſuetudine ſeguitando l'eſſempio del teſtamento vecchio, ciaſcuno, de frutti de beni proprii pagava alle chieſe la decima parte, excitandoſi a queſte coſe gl'huomini con grande ardore, perche da principio e cherici, da quello infuora che era neceſſario per il moderatiſſimo vitto loro, tutto il rimamente parte nelle fabriche & paramenti delle chieſe, parte in opere piteoſe & charitative diſtribuivano.

Nor as yet had Pride and Ambition enter'd their Breaſts; and the Biſhop of *Rome*, as being the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, was by Chriſtians univerſally acknowledg'd as the Superior of all Churches, and Head, with regard to the Spiritual Adminiſtration of Affairs: For *Rome*, from her antient Dignity and Grandeur, retain'd (as Head of the others) the Name and Majeſty of the Empire, and from that City the Chriſtian Religion had been propagated in the greateſt Part of *Europe*; alſo *Conſtantine*, having been baptized by *Silveſter*, willingly acknowledg'd ſuch an Authority to be lodg'd in the Popes and his Succeſſors.

Ne eſſendo anchora entrata ne petti loro la ſuperbia & l'ambitione, era ricognoſciuto univerſalmente da Chriſtiani per ſuperiore di tutte le chieſe, & di tutta l'aminiſtratione ſpirituale el veſcovo di Roma come ſucceſſore dell' apoſtolo Pietro: & perche quelle città per la ſua anticha degnità & grandezza riteneva come capo delle altre el nome & la majeſtà del imperio, & perche da quella ſi era diffuſa la fede Chriſtiana nella maggior parte dell' Europa, & perche Conſtantino battezzato da Silveſtro, tale autorità volentieri in lui & ne ſuoi ſucceſſori havea riconoſciuta.

It is likewiſe reported, That *Conſtantine*, conſtrain'd by Commotions in the Eaſtern Provinces to remove the Seat of the Empire to the City of *Bizantium*, after his own Name call'd *Conſtantinople*, gave the Dominion of *Rome* to the Popes, and with it many other Cities and Countries in *Italy*; which Report, tho' induſtriouſly aſſerted by the ſucceeding Pontiffs, and from their Authority believed by many, yet by ſome grave and credible Writers 'tis refuted; and much more by the Nature of the Thing itſelf: For it is moſt certain, that at that Time, and long after, *Rome*, and all *Italy*, as ſubject to the Empire, was govern'd by Magiſtrates de-

E fama oltre a queſte coſe, che Conſtantino coſtretto dalli accidenti delle provincie Orientali a transferire la ſedia dell' imperio nella città di Bizantio chiamata del ſuo nome Conſtantinopoli, donò a pontefici el domino di Roma, & di molt' altre città & regioni d'Italia: la qual fama, benche diligentemente nutricata da pontefici che ſuccederono, & per l'autorita loro creduta da molti, e dagl' autori piu probabili riprovata, & molto piu dalle coſe ſteſſe: per che è manifeſtiſſimo, che all hora & longo tempo di poi, fu amminiſtrata Roma & tutta l'Italia ſuddita all' imperio, da e magiſtrati deputati dagl'imperadori. Ne manca chi re darguiſca

deputed by the Emperors: Moreover, there are ſome who deny what is reported about *Conſtantine* and *Silveſter*; ſo often are Things of Antiquity immerſed in deep Obſcurity, and confute the whole Story as an inconſiſtent Fable, becauſe theſe two were not cotemporary. But no Perſon denies but that the Removal of the Seat of the Empire to *Conſtantinople* was the Origin of the Papal Power, which gradually weaken'd the Authority of the Emperors in *Italy*, by reaſon of their continual Abſence, and the Difficulties which they met with in the Affairs of the *Eaſt*. The People being alienated from their Emperors, while obedient to the Popes, began to pay them not only a Kind of Subjection, but alſo a voluntary Obſequiouſneſs. Yet theſe Things did not appear at once, but ſlowly, and by Degrees, becauſe of the Inundations of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations, into *Italy*, by whom *Rome* was ſeveral Times ſack'd and plunder'd; ſo that the Name of the Popes, with regard to Temporal Matters, was but obſcure and abject, as was the Power of the Emperors in *Italy* very ſmall, ſince with ſo much Diſgrace and Ignominy they ſuffer'd that Country to be a Prey to the *Barbarians*. The violent Irruptions of other Nations were like Torrents; but the Power of the *Goths* remain'd for 70 Years.

darguiſca (ſi profunda è ſpeſſo nelle coſe tanto antiche l'oſcurità) tutto quello che ſi dice di Conſtantino & di Silveſtro, affirmando eſſi eſſere ſtati in diverſi tempi: ma niuno nega che la tranſlatione della ſedia dell' imperio a Conſtantinopoli, fu la prima origine della potentia de pontefici, indebolendo in progreſſo di tempo l'autorità de gl'Imperadori in Italia per la continua abſentia loro, & per le difficultà che hebbono nell' Oriente, el populo Romano diſcoſtandoſi da gli Imperadori, & però tanta piu deferendo a pontefici, cominciò a preſtar loro non ſubjettione, ma ſpontaneamente un certo obſequio. Benche queſte coſe non ſi demonſtrorono ſe non lentamente per le inundationi de Gothi, de Vandali, & d'altre barbare nationi che ſopravennono in Italia: dalle quali preſa & ſaccheggiata piu volte Roma, era quanto alle coſe temporali obſcuro & abjetto el 'nome de pontefici, & piccoliſſima in Italia l'autorità de gl'Imperadori, poi che con tanta ignominia la laſciavano in preda de barbari.

Theſe *Goths* were *Chriſtians* by Name and Profeſſion, originally ſprung from *Dacia* and *Tartary*, who at length driven out of *Italy* by the Emperor's Arms, that Country began anew to be govern'd by *Greek* Magiſtrates, of whom the Exarch was the ſupreme, whoſe Reſidence was at *Ravenna*, a moſt antient City, and at that Time exceeding rich, and moſt frequented becauſe of the Fertility of the Country, having been greatly augmented by the powerful Fleet of *Cæſar Auguſtus*, and the other Emperors which had lain there, in the Harbour contiguous to that Town, tho'

Tra le quali nationi, eſſendo ſtato l'impeto delle altre quaſi come un torrente, continuò per ſettanta anni la potentia de Gothi, gente di nome & di profeſſione Chriſtiana, & uſcita dalla prima origine ſua delle parti di Dacia & di Tartaria: la quale eſſendo finalmente ſtata cacciata d'Italia dalle arme dell' Imperadori, cominciò di nuova Italia a governarſi per magiſtrati Greci, de quali, quello che era ſuperiore a tutti, detto con Greco vocabulo Exarcho, reſedeva a Ravenna città antichiſſima, & all'hora molto ricca & molto frequente per la fertilità del paeſe, & perche dopo l'augmento

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tho' not to be ſeen at preſent. It was inhabited by many conſiderable *Roman* Commanders, and long afterwards by *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, and his Succeſſors, who having been jealous of the Power of the Emperors, had made Choice of it, rather than *Rome*, for the Seat of their Kingdom, and on Account of its Situation near the Sea, in a greater Vicinity to *Conſtantinople*. The Exarchs, allured by this Convenience, tho' for a different Reaſon, made Choice of it for their Seat, and deputed other particular Magiſtrates, with the Title of Dukes, for governing *Rome*, and the other Cities of *Italy*. Hence aroſe the Name and Office of Exarch of *Ravenna*, which comprehended all exempted from the particular Juriſdiction of the Dukes, and more immediately obedient to the Exarch.

At this Time the Popes of *Rome*, altogether deſtitute of Temporal Power, and Reverence ſhewn them in Spiritual Matters declining by the Diſſimulation of their Lives, they remain'd ſtill in a State of Subjection to the Emperors, becauſe, altho' the Pontiffs were elected by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, yet they neither durſt accept the Office, and exerciſe that Function, unleſs with the Conſent and Approbation of the Emperors, or their Exarchs: Nay, the Archbiſhops of *Conſtantinople* and *Ravenna* diſputed often the Superiority with the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſince commonly the Seat of Religion follow'd the Power and Arms of the Empire. But ſome time after the Face of Affairs vaſtly changed; for the *Longobards*, a fierce Nation, entering *Italy*, ſeiz'd the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, whence *Ravenna*, with all its Exarchate, and many other Places in *Italy*, took the Name of *Lombardy*, and extended their Arms even to the *Marquiſate* of *Marca d' Ancona*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, in which two Places they created particular Dukes. The Emperors making no Proviſion againſt

l'augmento grande che hebbe per l'armata potente tenuta continuamente da Ceſare Auguſto & da altri Imperadori nel porto quaſi congiuntoli & che hora non appariſce, era ſtata habitata da molti capitani, & poi per longo tempo da Theodorica Re de Gothi & da e ſuoi ſucceſſori: quali havendo a ſuſpetto la potentia de gl'Imperadori havevano eletta quella piu toſto che Roma, per ſedia del regno loro, per l'oportunità del ſuo mare piu propinquo a Conſtantinopoli, la quale oportunità, benche per contraria ragione, ſeguitando li Exarchi, fermati quivi, deputavano al governo di Roma & dell' altre città d'Italia magiſtrati particolari, ſotto titolo di Duchi. Da queſto hebbe origine el nome del Exarcato di Ravenna: ſotto el qual nome. ſi comprendeva tutto quello che non havendo Duchi particolari, ubidiva immediatamente all' Exarcho.

Nel qual tempo e pontefici Romani, privati in tutto di potentia temporale, & allentata per la diſſimulatione de coſtumi loro, gia cominciati a transcorrere, la reverentia ſpirituale, ſtavano quaſi come ſubjecti all'Imperadori, ſenza la confermatione de quali, o de loro Exarchi, benche eletti dal clero & populo Romano, non ardivano di exercitare, o di accettare el pontificato: anzi gl'Epiſcopi Conſtantinopolitano & Raveñate (per che communemente la ſedia del la religione ſeguita la potentia del' Imperio & del' arme) diſputavano ſpeſſo della ſuperiorità con l'Epiſcopo Romano. Ma ſi mutò non molto poi lo ſtato delle coſe: perche e Longobardi, gente ferociſſima, entrati in Italia occuparono la Gallia Ciſalpina, la quale dal' Imperio loro preſe il nome di Lombardia, Ravenna con tutto l'Exarcato, & molte altre parti d'Italia: & ſi diſteſeno l'arme loro inſino nella Marca Anconitana, & a Spuleto, & a Benevento: ne quelle due luoghi creorono Duchi particolari, non provedendo a queſte coſe parte per la ignavia loro, parte per le difficultà che havevano in Aſia gli Imperadori: da gl'ajuti

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againſt theſe Innovations, partly out of Indolence, and partly from the Difficulties of their Affairs in *Aſia*, *Rome*, abandon'd by them, and their Exarchs no more in *Italy*, began to be govern'd by the Counſels and Authority of the Popes, who for a long Time, together with the Inhabitants, being oppreſs'd by the *Longobards*, at laſt had Recourſe to *Pepin* King of *France*, who, with a powerful Army, came into *Italy*, which had been govern'd by the *Longobards* above 200 Years: However, the latter, at laſt diveſted of their Dominion, *Pepin* (Maſter of their Territories now by Right of Conqueſt) gave the Church of *Rome*, not only *Urbin*, *Fano*, *Agubbio*, and many other Towns near *Rome*, but likewiſe *Ravenna*, with its Exarchate, under which Dominion, they ſay, was included all that Country, extending from the Confines of *Piacenza* near *Pavia*, even to *Rimini*, between the River *Po* and the *Appenines*, the Marſhes, or Lake of the *Venetians*, and the *Adriatick*, and from *Rimini* to the River *Toglia*, call'd now *Iſauro*.

But after the Death of *Pepin*, the *Longobards* anew began to harraſs the Popes, and to invade the Countries given them. *Charles*, Son of *Pepin*, who, on Account of his many Victories, was juſtly ſtiled the *Great*, having deſtroy'd the Kingdom of the *Longobards*, confirm'd the Donative granted by his Father to the Church of *Rome*, and conſented while he was at War with the *Longobards*, to give the Popes the *Marca d'Ancona*, and Dutchy of *Spoleto*, in which were comprehended the City of *Aquila*, and Part of *Abruzzo*. Theſe Things are affirmed for Truth, to which ſome Eccleſiaſtical Writers add, that *Charles* gave the Church *Liguria*, even to the River *Vaar*, the Borders of *Italy*; beſides *Mantua*, and all that the *Longobards* poſſeſſed in *Friuoli* and *Hiſtria*. The ſame Author mentions the giving likewiſe the Iſland of *Corſica*, and all the Territory contain'd between the City of *Luni* and *Parma*;

de qua'i Roma abandonata, ne eſſendo piu il magiſtrato delli Exarchi in Italia, cominciò a regnerſi co' conſigli & con l'autorità de pontefici: e quali, dopo molto tempo eſſendo inſieme co' Romani opreſſati da Longobardi, ricorſeno finalmente alli ajuti di Pipino Re di Francia: el qual paſſato con potente eſſercito in Italia, havendovi e Longobardi dominato gia piu di ducento anni, cacciatigli d'una parte nel loro imperio, donò (come diventate ſue per ragione di guerra) al pontifice & alla chieſa Romana non ſolo Urbino, Fano, Agobbo, & molte terre vicine a Roma, ma etiamdio Ravenna col ſuo Exercato, ſotto el quale dicono includerviſi tutto quello che ſi contiene da confini da Piacenza contigui al territorio di Pavia in fino a Arimini, tra el fiume del Po, el monte Apenino, gli ſtagni o vero paludo de Venetiani, & el mare Adriatico: & di piu Arimini infino al fiume della Toglia, detto all hora Iſauro.

Ma dopo la morte di Pipino, moleſtando di nuovi i Longobardi e pontefici, & quello che era ſtato donato loro, Carlo ſuo figlivolo (quando che poi per le vittorie grandiſſime che hebbe, fu meritamente cognominato Magno) diſtrutto del tutto l'imperio loro, confermò la donatione fatta alla chieſa Romana dal padre, & approvò l'eſſerſi, mentre che guerriggiava co Longobardi, date al Pontefice la Marca d'Ancona & el Ducato di Spoleto, el quale comprendeva la città dell Aquila, & una parte dell' Abruzzi. Affermanſi queſte coſe per certe, alle quali aggiungono alcuni ſcrittori Eccleſiaſtici, Carlo haver donato alla chieſa la Liguria infino al fiume del Varo ultimo confine d'Italia, Mantoua & tutto quello che e Longobardi poſſedevano nel Friuoli & in Hiſtria: & el medeſimo ſcrive alcuno altro de l'Iſola d' Corſica, & di tutto el territorio che ſi contiene tra la città di Lumi & di Parma. Per e quali meriti

Parma; for the Merit of which the Monarchs of *France*, celebrated and exalted by the Popes, had the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King* given them, and afterwards, in the 800th Year of Chriſt, Pope *Leo*, together with the People of *Rome*, without any other Authority but his own, as Head of that People, elected the ſaid *Charles* Emperor of *Rome*, diſtinguiſhing it by that Name from the Part of the Empire belonging to the Emperors at *Conſtantinople*, as if *Rome* and the Weſtern Provinces, for want of Succour from the latter, had been conſtrain'd to be defended by a Prince proper and peculiar to themſelves: By which Diviſion, however, the Emperors at *Conſtantinople* were not depriv'd either of the Iſland of *Sicily*, or that Part of *Italy*, which, extending from *Naples* to *Manfredonia*, is terminated by the Sea, becauſe theſe Countries had been continually kept under the Government of thoſe Emperors: Nor for this did it derogate from the Cuſtom, that the Election of Popes ſhould be confirm'd by the *Roman* Emperors, in whoſe Names the City of *Rome* was ſtill govern'd; nay, the Pontiffs in their Bulls and Privileges granted to others, expreſs'd theſe preciſe Words, and dated their Writings *Nominatim* in the Reign of ſuch and ſuch Emperors, *viz. Imperante Carolo Domino Noſtro*; which Subjection or Acknowledgement was continued by the Popes, until the Succeſs of their Affairs gave them an Opportunity to govern by their own proper Authority.

meriti e Re di Francia celebrati & exaltati da potefici, conſeguirono el titolo di Re Chriſtianiſſimi: & di poi l'anno ottocenteſimo della noſtra ſalute, Leone pontefice inſieme col populo Romano, non con altra autorità, che del pontefice come capo di quel populo, eleſſeno el medeſimo Carlo per Imperadore Romano, ſeparando etiamdio nel nome queſta parte del imperio da gl'Imperadori che habitavano a Conſtantinopoli: come ſe Roma e le provincie Occidentali non difeſe da pro loro, haveſſino biſogno d'eſſere difeſa da proprio prencipe. Per la quale diviſione, non furono privati gl' Imperadori Conſtantinopolitani, ne del' Iſola di Sicilia, ne di quella parte d'Italia, la quale diſtorrendo da Napoli a Manfredonia è terminata dal mare, perche erano ſtate continuamente ſotto quell' Imperadori. Ne ſi derogò per queſte coſe alla conſuetudine, che la elettione de pontefici fuſſi confirmata da gl'Imperadori Romani, in nome de quali ſi governava la città di Roma; anzi e pontefici nelle bolle, ne privilegii & nelle conceſſioni loro, exprimevano con queſte parole formali el tempo della ſcrittura, Imperante il tale imperadore ſignore noſtro.

But the Power of the Emperors being now grown weak, on Account of the Diſcord which happen'd among the ſame Deſcendants of *Charles the Great*, while the Imperial Dignity remain'd in their Hands; and afterwards by the Change and Removal of the Empire to the Princes of *Germany*, who were not ſo great as the former Emperors had been, becauſe of the vaſt Power of *France*; The

Nella qua'e non grave o ſoggezzione, o dipendenza continuorno in fino a tanto che e ſucceſſi delle coſe non detono loro animo a reggerſi per ſe ſteſſi. Ma eſſendo cominciata a indebolire la potentia de gl'Imperadori, prima per le diſcordie nata tra e deſcendenti medeſimi di Carlo Magno, mentre che in loro riſedeva la degnità Imperiale, & di eſſere ſtata tranſportata ne prencipi Thedeſchi non potenti

The Succeſſors of *Charles*, the Popes and People of *Rome*, by whoſe Magiſtrates that City, tho' in a tumultuous Manner, was govern'd, derogating as much as they could in every Thing from the Juriſdiction of the Emperors, accordingly eſtabliſh'd a Law, that the Election of Popes was no more to be confirm'd by them; which Law was kept up and obſerv'd more or leſs, according to the Change of Affairs, and in Proportion as the Power of the Emperors encreas'd or declin'd; and which, as it did encreaſe greatly after the Empire had come into the Hands of the *Othos* of *Saxony*, *Gregory* V. a Native of *Germany*, having been elected Pope, by the Favour of *Otho* III. then preſent; this Pope, on Account of the Affection he had for his own Nation, and irritated becauſe of the Perſecutions he received from the *Romans*, by his Decree transferr'd the Power of electing the *Roman* Emperors to the *German* Nation, in the ſame Form that is obſerv'd to this Day, prohibiting the Elected (in order to reſerve to the Popes a Kind of Pre-eminence) not to uſe the Title of Emperor, or *Auguſtus*, until firſt they receiv'd the Imperial Crown from them: Hence was introduc'd the Cuſtom of coming to *Rome* to be crown'd, and that till then they ſhould not aſſume any other Title but King of the *Romans* and *Cæſar*. But the Race of the *Othos* being extinct, and the Power of the Emperors diminiſh'd, the Empire not being hereditary to great Kings, *Rome* therefore openly ſhook off the Yoke of Obedience to them: So that in the Reign of *Curado* the *Swabian*, many Cities revolted from the Emperors. Mean while the Popes being eager to enlarge their Authority, had almoſt the whole Government of *Rome* in their own Hands, tho' it again happen'd that, becauſe of the Inſolence of the People, and the Diſcords among them, the Popes found great Difficulty in preſerving their Power, to obviate which, by

come erano ſtati per la grandezza del regno di Francia e ſucceſſori di Carlo e pontefici & el populo Romano, da magiſtrati del quale cominciò Roma, benche tumultuoſamente, a governarſi, derogando in tutte le coſe quanto potevano alla juriſdittione dell' Imperadori ſtatuirono per legge, che non piu la elezzione de pontefici haveſſe a eſſere confermata da loro: il che ſi oſſervò diverſamente ſecondo che per la variatione delle coſe ſurgeva o declinava piu la potentia Imperiale. La quale eſſendo accreſciuta poi che l'Imperio pervenne ne gli Otthoni di Saxonia, Gregorio quinto di natione Thedeſco, eletto pontefice per favore d'Othone Terzo che era preſente, moſſo del' amore della propria natione, & ſdegnato per le perſecutioni ricevuta da Romani, tranferì per ſuo decreto nella natione Germanica la facultà di eleggere gl' Imperadori Romani, in quella forma, che infino all età noſtra ſi oſſerva, vietando agli eletti (per riſervare a pontefici qualche preminentia) di non uſare el titolo d'Imperadori, o di Auguſti, ſe prima non ricevevano la corona del' Imperio (donde è introdotto il venire à Roma a incoronarſi) & di non uſar prima altro titolo che di Re de Romani & di Cæſare. Ma mancati poi gli Otthoni & diminuita la potentia de gl' Imperadori, perche l'Imperio non ſi continuava hereditario in Re grandi, Roma apertamente ſi ſutraſſe dalla obedienza loro: & molte città, quando imperava Curado Suevo ſi rebellorono: & e pontefici attendendo ad ampliare la propria autorità, dominavano quaſi Roma, benche ſpeſſo per la inſolentia & per le diſcordie del popolo vi haveſſino molte difficultà: el quale per reprimere, havevano gia per favore di Henrico ſecondo Imperadore che era a Roma, trasferita per legge ne Cardinali ſoli l'autorità di creare el pontefice. Alla grandezza de quali ſuccedette nuovo augmento, perche havendo e Normanni, de quali il primo fu Gulielmo cognominuto Ferrabraccio, uſurpata al' Imperio Conſtantinopolitano la Puglia & la Calabria,

by the Favour of *Henry* II. then at *Rome*, the Authority of electing Popes was by a Law ſolely transferr'd to the Cardinals, to whoſe Grandeur not a little was added, for about that Time the *Normans*, the firſt of whom, ſurnamed *Ferrobrachius*, having uſurp'd the Dominion of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, which had been Part of the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, *Robert Guiſcard* one of thoſe, either to ſtrengthen his Pretenſions under Colour of Right, or becauſe he was more powerful than the others for defending himſelf againſt the Emperors, or for other Reaſons, reſtor'd *Benevento*, to which the Church pretended a Right, and acknowledg'd the Dutchies of *Puglia* and *Calabria* as feudatory to the *Roman* Church, whoſe Example was follow'd by *Rugerus* his Succeſſor, having driven *William* of the ſame Family out of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, afterwards poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Sicily*; and in the Year 1130. acknowledg'd theſe Provinces feudatory to the Church, aſſuming the Title of King of both *Sicilys*, on both the Sides of the *Vere* of *Meſſina*: The Popes, out of Ambition, and for their own Intereſt, giving into this Piece of Violence and Uſurpation, by which Means their Power and Authority daily encreaſing, (as the Covetouſneſs of Men is never ſatisfied) they began to deprive ſome of the Kings of theſe Countries of their Right of Governing, at what Time they were found contumacious to the Papal Decrees; by which Pretence they often transferr'd the Right of ſuch Kings to others, ſo that theſe Countries fell into the Hands of *Henry*, Son to *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, and from *Henry* to *Frederick* his ſecond Son, all the three being ſucceſſively *Roman* Emperors. But *Frederick* having become a bitter Perſecutor of the Church, in whoſe Time ſprung up the Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Gebelins*, the Pope being Head of the one, the Emperor of the other; after *Frederick*'s Death the

labria, Roberto Guicciardo uno di eſſi o per fortificarſi con queſto colore di ragione, o per eſſer piu potente a difenderſi contro a quegl' Imperadori, o per altra cagione reſtituito Benevento come di ragione Eccleſiaſtica, riconobbe el Ducato di Puglia di Calabria in feudo dalla Chieſa Romana, il cui eſſempio ſeguitando Ruggieri uno de ſuoi ſucceſſori, & havendo ſcacciato del Ducato di Puglia, & di Calauria Guiglielmo della medeſima famiglia, & occupata poi la Sicilia, riconobbe circa l'anno mille cento trenta queſte provincie in feudo dalla Chieſa ſotto titolo di Re di ambidue le Sicilie, l'una di la, l'altra di qua dal' Faro, non recuſando e pontefici di ſomentare per l'ambitione & utilità propria, l'altrui uſurpatione & violentia: con le quali ragioni potendo ſempre piu oltre, come non mai ſi ferma la cupidità humana cominciorono e pontefici a privare di quelli regni alcuno de Re contumaci à loro comandamenti, & à concedergli ad altri, nel qual modo pervenneno in Henrico figliuolo di Federigo Barbaroſſa, & da Henrico in Federigo ſecondo ſuo figliuolo tutti tre ſucceſſivamente Imperadori Romani Ma eſſendo Federigo diventato acerrimo perſecutore della Chieſa, & ſuſcitate a tempi ſuoi fattioni Guelfa & Ghibellina, del' una delle quali era capo el pontefice, del' altre lo Imperadore, morto Federigo concedette la inveſtitura di queſti regni a Carlo conte d'Angio & di Provenza, del quale di ſopre e ſtata fatta mentione, con cenſo di uncie ſemilia d'oro per ciaſcuno anno, & con conditione, che alcuno per l'avenire di quelli Re non poteſſe accettare lo Imperio Romano: la quale conditione e ſtata poi ſempre ſpecificata ne inveſtiture del regno di Napoli: per che el regno del' Iſola di Sicilia occupato da e Re d'Aragonia, ſi ſeparò dopo pochi anni nel cenſo & nelle recognitioni del feudo dalla ubidienza della chieſa. Ha anco ottenuto la fama, benche non tanto certo quanto ſono le coſe precedenti che molto prima la Conteſſa Mathelda prencipeſſa in Italia molto potente, donò

the Inveſtiture of theſe Kingdoms was given to *Charles* Count of *Anjou* and *Provence* already mention'd, on Condition that by Way of Yearly Tribute he ſhould give 6000 Ounces of Gold; and that theſe Kings for the future ſhould oblige themſelves not to accept at any Time the Imperial Dignity; which Condition has always been ſpecified in giving the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*: on which Account, as the Kingdom of *Sicily* was afterwards poſſeſſed by the Kings of *Arragon* for ſeveral Years, they refuſed to give the Popes the Annual Tribute now mention'd, and in their Recognitions of this Fief, refuſed Subjection to the Church therein. Moreover 'tis reported, tho' the Fame thereof is not ſo certain in this as it is with regard to other Things already mention'd, That long before that Time the Counteſs *Matilda*, a powerful Princeſs of *Italy*, gave the Church that Part of *Tuſcany* which terminates at the Rivulet *Peſcia*, and the Caſtle St. *Quirico*, in the County of *Siena*, on one Side, and on the other from the Sea below, and the River *Tyber*, at preſent call'd the Patrimony of St. *Peter*. Some add, that the ſaid Counteſs gave likewiſe the City of *Ferrara* to the Church. Theſe Things however are not certain; and even more dubious is that which is reported by others, namely, That *Authpert* King of the *Longobards*, while he reign'd in theſe Kingdoms, gave the Church that Part of the *Alps* call'd *Coccie*, in which they ſay *Genoa* is included, and all that other Country which extends from that City even to *Provence*. They likewiſe aſſert, That *Luithprand*, King of the ſame Nation, gave *Sabina*, a Country near *Rome*; alſo *Narni* and *Ancona*, together with other Towns, to the Church. Thus the Face of Affairs changing, in like manner did the Matters between the Popes and the Emperors change alſo; for the latter for many Ages having in the Beginning been

donò alla Chieſa quelle parte della Toſcana, la quale terminata dal torrente di Peſcia, & dal Caſtello di ſan Quirico nel contado di Siena da una parte, & dal' altro dal' mare di ſotto, & di fiume del Teuere, hoggi detta il Patrimonio di ſan Piero: Et aggiungono altri che dalla medeſima Conteſſa fu donata alla Chiſa la città di Ferrara. Non ſono certe queſte ultime coſe: ma è anchora piu dubbio quello che è ſtato ſcritto da qualcuno, che Authperto Re de Longobardi, ſiorendo el regno loro, gli donò l'Alpe Coccie, nelle quali dicono includerſi Genova, & tutto quello che ſi contiene da Genova infino a confini della Provenza: & che Luithprando Re della medeſima natione gli donò la Sabina, paeſe propinquo a Roma, Narni & Ancona, con certe altre terre. Coſi variando lo ſtato delle coſe, furono ſimilmente varie le coſe de pontefici con gl'Imperadori. Perche eſſendo ſtati perſeguitati per molte età ne principii da gl'Imperadori, & di poi liberati per la converſione di Conſtantino da queſto terrore ſiriposorono: ma attendendo ſolamente alle coſe ſpirituali & poco meno che interamente ſudditi, per molti anni ſotto l'ombra loro, viſſono di poi lunghiſſimo tempo in baſſo ſtato, & ſeparati totalmente dal commercio loro per la grandezza de Longobardi in Italia: ma poi pervenuti per beneficio de Re di Francia a potentia temporale, ſtettono congiuntiſſimi con gl'Imperadori. & dependendo con allegro animo dalla autorità loro, mentre che la dignita Imperiale ſi continuó ne deſcendenti di Carlo Magno: & per la memoria de beneficii dati & ricevuti, & per riſpetto della grandezza Imperiale: la quale poi declinando, ſeparatiſi in tutto dalla amicita loro, cominciorono a fare profeſſione, che la dignità ponteficale, haveſſe piu toſto che a ricevere, a dare le leggi alla Imperiale: & percio havendo ſopra tutte l'altre coſe in horrore el ritornare nel' antica ſubiezzione, & che eſſi non tentaſſino di riconoſcere in Roma, & altrove l'antiche ragioni del' Imperio,

been perſecuted by the former, and afterwards freed from that Bondage, on the Converſion of *Conſtantine*, and deliver'd from the Terrors in which they had lived: Beſides, having only applied themſelves to Spiritual Matters, and remain'd in a State little leſs ſuperior to that of a perfect Subjection, had lived quietly under the Shadow of the Emperor's Wings, and afterwards for a long Time in a very low Condition, and, becauſe of the Greatneſs of the *Longobards*, totally ſeparated from a Correſpondence with the Emperors; but afterwards having, by the Munificence of the Kings of *France*, been exalted to Temporal Power, they remain'd always in ſtrict Friendſhip with the Emperors, and were contented to live under their Authority, as long as the Imperial Dignity continu'd to the Deſcendants of *Charles* the Great, and for the Memory of the Benefices given and received, and the Reſpect they had to the Imperial Grandeur; but that afterwards declining, they intirely ſhook off their Friendſhip, ſo that they began openly to give out, that the Pontifical Dignity was rather to give Laws to, than receive them from the Emperors: For this Reaſon, above all other Things, they abhorred to return under their old Subjection, on the contrary, aſſerted, That the Emperors were at no rate to aſſume their antient Rights, either in *Rome* or elſewhere; tho' indeed ſome of them, either becauſe of their Power, or that they were endow'd with greater Courage than others, did make ſuch Efforts, which the Popes openly oppoſed by Arms, being ſupported therein by thoſe Tyrants who had the Title of Princes, and likewiſe by the Aſſiſtance of the Cities which claim'd their Liberties, ſo that ſome of the latter could be no more brought to acknowledge the Authority of the Empire. From hence it happen'd that the Popes, aſſuming every Day more and more Power to themſelves, converted the Terror of their Spiritual Arms to Temporal Matters, giving out that as the Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth, they were ſuperior to Emperors, and that in many Things the Care of State Affairs belong'd ſolely to them: For this Reaſon they ſometimes diveſted the Emperors of their Imperial Dignity, exciting

come alcuni di loro o di maggior potentia, o di ſpirito piu elevato ſi Sforſano di fare, ſi opponevano ſcopertamente con le arme alla potentia loro, accompagnati da quelli Tiranni, che ſotto nome de prencipi, & da quelle città che vendicateſi in libertà, non ricognoſcevano piu l'autorità del'Imperio. Da queſto nacque che e pontefici attribuendoſi ogni di piu, & convertendo el terrore delle arme ſpirituali alle coſe temporali, & interpretando che come vicarii di Chriſto in terra, erano ſuperiori al'Imperadori, & che a loro in molte coſe apperteneva la cura dello ſtato terreno, privavano alcuna volta gl' Imperadori della dignità Imperiale, ſuſcitando gli Elettori a eleggere de gl'altri in luogo de privati: & dal'altra parte gl'Imperadori, o eleggevano, o procuravano che ſi eleggeſſino nuovi pontefici: Da queſte controverſie nacque, eſſendo in debolito molto lo ſtato della Chieſa, ne meno per la dimora della corte Romano per ſettanta anni nelle città d'Auignone & per lo ſchiſma che al ritorno de pontefici ſuccedette in Italia, che nelle città ſottopoſte alla Chieſa, & ſpecialmente in quelle di Romagna, molti cittadini potenti, occuparono nelle patrie proprie la tyrannide: e quali e pontefici o perſeguitavono, o non eſſendo potenti a opprimergli le concedevano in feudo a quelli medeſimi, o ſuſcitando altri capi gl'inveſtivano. Coſi cominciarono le citta di Romagna ad havere ſignori particolari, ſotto titolo, la maggior parte, di vicarii eccleſiaſtici. Coſi Ferrara data dal pontefice in governo ad Azzo da Eſti, fu conceduta poi in titolo di vicariato, & exaltata in progreſſo di tempo quella famiglia a titoli piu illuſtri. Coſi Bologna occupata da Giovanni Viſconte arciveſcovo di Milano, gli fu poi conceduta

exciting the Electors to chuſe others in their Place: On the other hand, the Emperors either elected, or cauſed new Popes to be choſen. By ſuch Diſorders it happen'd that the Eſtates of the Church being thereby weaken'd, not only on Account of the Court of *Rome*'s making their Reſidence for 70 Years at *Avignon*, but becauſe of the Schiſm which happen'd in *Italy* on the Pope's Return; ſo that in the Towns under the Juriſdiction of the Church, eſpecially thoſe in *Romagna*, many powerful Citizens aſſumed a tyrannical and deſpotick Government there, whom the Popes, for that Reaſon, either haraſs'd, or, not being powerful enough to ſubdue them, granted them thoſe Eſtates, on Condition they ſhould be feudatory to the Church, tho' ſometimes they excited others to act againſt them, and accordingly gave the latter the Inveſtitures. In this manner the Cities in *Romagna* began to be govern'd by their own particular Lords, whoſe Titles for the moſt Part were Vicars of the Church: Thus the Government of *Ferrara* was given by the Pope to *Azzo* of *Eſti*, and afterwards granted by the Title of Vicarate, tho' in Proceſs of Time that Family was exalted to more illuſtrious Titles. In like manner *Bologna* was poſſeſſed by *Giovanni Viſconte*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and afterwards the Vicarate thereof yielded him by the Pope: And for the ſame Reaſons in many Towns of the *Marca d'Ancona*, the Patrimony of St. *Peter* and *Umbria*, now call'd the Dutchy of *Spoleto*, many particular Lords, contrary to the Inclinations of the Popes, or by a forced Conſent from them, ſprung up and aſſumed Sovereignty; which Change in like manner happening within *Lombardy* to the Cities of the Empire, it ſometimes fell out that, according to the Diverſity of Circumſtances, the Vicars of *Romagna*, and of other Eccleſiaſtical Towns, being alienated altogether from the Church, acknowledg'd the Fiefs of them to the Emperors; as, on the other hand, ſometimes thoſe who within *Lombardy* poſſeſſed *Milan*, *Mantua*, and other Imperial Cities, own'd them feudatory to the Popes. In theſe Days *Rome*, altho' it retain'd the Name of being govern'd by the Church, yet in effect it was by its own

in vicariato dal Pontefice: & per le medeſime cagioni in molte terre della Marca d'Ancona, del Patrimonio di ſan Piero, & del'Umbria hora detto el Ducato di Spoleto, ſurſono, o contro alla volontà, o con conſentimento quaſi Sforzato de Pontefici, molti ſignori particolari. Le quali variationi, eſſendo ſimilmente ſopra venute in Lombardia alle citta dello Imperio, accadè tal volta che ſecondo la varieta delle coſe, e vicarii di Romagna, & di altre terre eccleſiaſtice, allontanateſi apertamente dal nome della Chieſa recognoſcevano in feudo quelle citta da gl'Imperadori, come qual che volta recognoſcevano in feudo da pontefici quelli che occupavano in Lombardia Milano, Mantova, & altre terre Imperiali. Et in queſti tempi Roma, benche ritenendo in nome el dominio della Chieſa, ſi reggeva per ſe ſteſſa: & anchora che nel principio che e pontefici ritornorono d'Auignone in Italia fuſſino ubiditi come ſignori, nondimeno poco poi e Romani creato el magiſtrato de Bandereſi, ricaddono nell'antica contumacia, donde retenendovi e pontefici piccoliſſima autorità, cominciorono a non vi habitare in fino a tanto che e Romani impoveriti, & caduti: in graviſſimi diſordini per l'abſentia della corte, & approſſimandoſi l'anno del mille quattrocento, del quale ſperavano, ſi à Roma fuſſe el pontefice, doverui eſſere pel Giubileo, grandiſſimo concorſo di tutta la Chriſtianità, ſupplicarono con humiliſſimi preghi à Bonefacio pontefice che vi ritornaſſe, offerendo di leuar via el magiſtrato de Bandereſi, & di ſottometterſi in tutto alla obedientia ſua. Con le quali conditioni tornato à Roma, intenti e Romani a guadagni di quello anno, preſo aſſolutamente lo Imperio della citta, fortificò & meſſe

la

own Magiſtrates: And altho', upon the Return of the Popes from *Avignon* into *Italy*, they were obey'd as Sovereigns; yet ſome time after the People of *Rome* created a new Kind of Magiſtrate, whom they call'd *Bandereſo*, ſo that by this they reverted to their old Contumacy: Hence, the Popes retaining but little Authority there, began to reſide elſewhere, until the *Romans*, by being impoveriſh'd and fallen into great Diſorder, on Account of the Abſence of the Court; and the Year 1400 approaching, in which they hoped, that if the Pope was at *Rome*, on Account of the Jubilee, great Concourſe of People from all Parts of *Chriſtendom* would reſort thither; they therefore with the humbleſt Intreaties beſeech'd Pope *Boniface* to return to the City, offering to aboliſh the Magiſtracy of the *Bandereſi*, and in every thing ſubmit themſelves to the Obedience of the Pontiff; on which Condition the Pope did return to *Rome*, the *Romans* being intent on the Gain of that Year: His Holineſs accordingly took upon him the ſole Government of that City, fortified and garriſon'd the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, the Succeſſors of whom, even to the Time of *Eugene*, notwithſtanding they encounter'd many Difficulties, afterwards thoroughly eſtabliſh'd their Government there, and have, without the leaſt Oppoſition, reign'd in that City as they pleas'd. On this Foundation, and by theſe Means, being exalted to Temporal Power, by little and little they laid aſide their Regard for the Welfare of Souls, and the Divine Precepts, and ſo turn'd all their Thoughts on worldly Grandeur, making no other uſe of their Spiritual Authority, but in-ſo-far as it might be ſubſervient to their Temporal, ſo did they begin to appear rather like Secular Princes than Popes, their Care being no more about the Holineſs of Life, the Encreaſe of Religion, or Zeal and Charity towards their Neighbour, but to raiſe Armies, and make War againſt Chriſtians, performing Sacrifices with bloody Hands, and Thoughts bent on accumulating Treaſures, making new Laws, inventing new Arts, and laying new Schemes, how they might from every Place and Corner amaſs Riches; to effect which to uſe their Spiritual Arms, and, with-

la guardia in caſtel ſant Angelo, e ſucceſſori del quale fino a Eugenio, benche vi haveſſeno ſpeſſo molte difficultate, non dimeno fermato poi pienamente el dominio loro, e pontefici ſeguenti hanno ſenza alcuna controverſia ſignoreggiata a arbitrio ſuo quella citta. Con queſti fondamenti & con queſti mezzi exaltati alla potentia terrena, depoſta apoco a poco la memoria della ſalute delle anime, & de precetti divini, & voltati tutti e penſieri loro alla grandezza mondana, ne uſando piu l'autorità ſpirituale ſe non per inſtrumento & miniſterio della temporale, cominciarono a parere piu toſto Prencipi ſecolari, che Pontefici: cominciarono a eſſere le cure & i negotii loro non piu la ſantita della vita, non piu l'augmento della religione, non piu el zelo & la carita verſo el proximo, ma exerciti, ma guerre contra a Chriſtiani, trattando co penſieri & con le mani ſanguinoſe e ſacrificii, ma accumulare di teſoro nuovo leggi, nuovo arti, nuovo inſidie per raccore da ogni parte danari, uſare à queſto fine ſenza riſpetto l'arme ſpirituali, vendere à queſto fine ſenza vergogna le coſe ſacra & le profane.

without Shame, make Merchandize of every Thing Sacred and Profane.

From the Riches diffuſed among them and their Court, enſued Pomp and Luxury, diſſolute Manners and Cuſtoms, join'd with Luſt and Pleaſures abominable: no Care of their Succeſſors, or the leaſt Thought about the laſting Honour of the Pontificate; but inſtead of that, ambitious and peſtiferous Deſires to exalt their Children, Nephews, and Relations, not only to immoderate Riches, but to Principalities and Kingdoms, no more diſtributing Dignities and Emoluments to Men of Merit and Virtue, but for the moſt Part either ſelling them for the moſt Money, or beſtowing them on Perſons fit for nouriſhing their Ambition, Avarice, or ſhameful Voluptuouſneſs: on which Account the Reverence for the Pontificate being quite loſt in the Hearts of People: They, however, ſupport in ſome meaſure their Authority by the pompous and majeſtick Name of Religion; being not a little aſſiſted therein by the Faculty they have to gratify great Princes, and their Creatures who have Power, by conferring on them Dignities, and other Eccleſiaſtical Endowments.

Le richezze diffuſe in loro & in tutta la corte ſeguitarano le pompe, el luxo & i coſtumi inhoneſti, le libidini & i piaceri abominevoli: neſſun cura a ſucceſſori, neſſun penſiero della majeſta perpetua del pontificato: ma in luogo di queſto deſiderio ambitioſo & peſtifero, di eſaltare non ſolamente a richezze immoderate, ma à principati, à regni e figliuoli e nepoti & congiunti loro, non diſtribuendo piu le dignita & gl' emolumenti ne gl'huomini benemeriti & virtuoſi, ma quaſi ſempre o vendendoſi al prezzo maggiore, o diſſipandoſi in perſone oportune al' ambitione, al' avaritia, o alle vergognoſe volupta. Per le quali operationi perduta del tutto ne cuori del gl'huomini la reverentia pontificale, ſi ſoſtenta non dimeno in parte l'autorità per el nome & per la majeſta tanto potente & efficace della religione, & adjutata molto dalla facultà che hanno di gratificare a prencipi grandi, & a quelli che ſono potenti appreſſo a loro per mezzo delle dignita, & del' altre conceſſioni Eccleſiaſtiche.

Hence finding themſelves greatly reſpected by Men, and that whoever takes up Arms againſt them, the Undertaking redounds to their Infamy, and often are oppoſed by other Princes, and be the Event what it will, ſmall Gainers: If they are victorious, they turn the Victory in what Manner they pleaſe; if vanquiſh'd, they obtain what Conditions they deſire: In fine, being excited out of a Deſire of raiſing their Relations from a private Station of Life to Principalities, for a long Time they have been the Inſtruments of exciting Wars and new Conflagrations within *Italy*.——But to return to our chief Subject, from which the juſt Grief for the publick Misfortunes has more ardently tranſported me, than what the Rules preſcrib'd to an Hiſtorian will admit; We ſay then that the Cities of *Romagna*, &c.

Donde cognoſcendoſi d'eſſere in ſommo riſpetto de gl'huomini, & che a chi piglia l'arme contro à loro riſulta grave infamia, & ſpeſſe oppoſitioni d'altri prencipi, & in ogni evento piccioli guadagno, & che vincitori eſſercitano la vittoria a arbitrio loro, vinti conſeguiſcono che conditione vogliono, & ſtimulandoli la cupidita di ſollevare e congiunti ſuoi di gradi privati à principati, ſono ſtati da molto tempo in quà ſpeſſiſſime volte lo inſtrumento di ſuſcitare guerra & incendii nuovi in Italia. Ma ritornando al principale propoſito noſtro, dal quale el dolore giuſtiſſimo del danno publico in haver piu ardentemente che non conviene alle leggi del' Hiſtoria traportato, diciamo che, Le citta di Romagna veſſate, &c.

This

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This Diſcourſe of *Guicciardin* was tranſcribed from the Original Manuſcript at *Florence*, by a curious Gentleman of *Switzerland*, who compared the printed Editions of that Author with the ſaid Manuſcript, and finding it in the fourth Book wanting in all theſe Editions publiſhed and printed; in the 16th Century he cauſed this Paſſage, together with the other in the third Book, which had been caſtrated and interpolated, to be reprinted perfect at *Baſil* in *Switzerland* in three Languages, *viz. Italian*, *Latin*, and *French*. And in the Year 1595. *W. I.* reprinted theſe caſtrated Paſſages at *London*, in four Languages, *viz. Italian*, *Engliſh*, *Latin*, and *French*, from which Copy I tranſcrib'd the ſaid Diſſertation, as above; and as the *Engliſh* thereof is very obſolete, I have, with as much Care and Truth as I could, render'd the Whole into a more modern Stile; beſides, as 'tis aſſerted in the Title, that no Edition whatſoever of *Guicciardin's* Works had this Diſcourſe, and the other, printed in them: it was ſo then before 1595. for neither the Folio Edition of *Guicciardin*, printed at *Florence* Anno 1561. or that in Quarto, by *Giolito*, has theſe caſtrated Paſſages in them; nor indeed any Copy of *Guicciardin* that I ever could ſee or hear of before or ſince, except the *Geneva* Edition of 1665. *Preſſo Giacomo Stoer.* in two Volumes Quarto, there, indeed, I find both theſe caſtrated Paſſages; and in another ſmall Book in Octavo, intitled, *Franciſci Guicciardini Patricii Florentini Loci duo, &c.* printed Anno 1602. Likewiſe in *Thuanus reſtitutus*, lately printed, there are theſe two caſtrated Paſſages: And in *Heideggerus's Hiſtoria Papatus Amſteladami* 1684. this Diſcourſe of *Guicciardin* is in *Latin* there: And indeed in our Folio Edition, tranſlated into *Engliſh* Anno 1579. there is the caſtrated Paſſage about Pope *Alexander*, but not this in the fourth Book; therefore I here ſubjoin the Orignal Preface of *W. I.* as we have it in his Edition of theſe Caſtrations Anno 1595. and with it the *Italian* Preface alſo: His Words are as follow;

To the READER.

Gentle Reader,

HAVING gotten the Sighte of theſe two Diſcourſes, by Meanes of a good Friend that did lend me the ſame in three Languages, the *Latin*, *Italian*, and *French*, imprinted at *Baſil*, I thought it a good Labor to put them into *Engliſh*, for the Matter contain'd in the ſame, and eſpecially in the larger of them, wherein you ſhall find a notable Diſcourſe of an excellent Author, written long ſince, and ſetting foorth very lively how the See of *Rome* did enlarge their Juriſdiction and Territories, by divers ſubtile Means; as alſo by the ſuppoſed Donation of *Conſtantine the Great* to Pope *Silveſter*. And bicauſe they are left out in all the printed Books of *Francis Guicciardin's* Storye, ſome Scruple did ſtay me awhile to publiſhe the ſame, leaſt they might be ſuppoſed to be of ſome other Authour: Wherein I have ſithence been undoubtedly reſolved, by ſom Perſons of Honour and good Calling, who borh have ſeen the ſame in the Original at *Florence*, written of the

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Author's own Hand, and yet in the Cuſtody of *Laurence Guicciardin*, and have had Copies of the ſam from the *Guicciardines*: So as I dare affirm, on my Credit, that the ſame were of the Author's, and left out of Purpoſe, becauſe they diſcover ſuch Matter againſt the Pope's Uſurpation, as in the reading them thou maiſt perceive. I deſire but thy favourable Acceptance of my Labour, wiſhing thee all Happineſs. At *London* the 16th of *January* 1595.

Thy Friend to uſe,

W. I.

PREFATIO.

QUANTA che l'hiſtoria di M. Franceſco Guicciardini, per teſtimonio d'ogni intelligente è tenuta utile & profitteuole, tanto piu ſon dà eſſere biaſmati quelli, & da reprendere la loro infideltà, i quali ſon ſtati ſi arditi & preſuntuoſi che non ſolamente l'hanno corrotta, ma etiamdio ſtracciatone via queſti dui pezzi: lun de quali è di tanta conſequenza & importanza, che non ſolo è expediente il leggerlo, ma è neceſſario à ciaſcheduno l'intendere la contenuta verità in quel diſcorſo maraviglioſamente diſcoperta dal Guicciardino, & particolarmente ſopra tutti li altri ſenza veruna paſſione narrata. Il che è ſtato cauſa, che havendo ricoverato queſti dui fragmenti quaſi come dal fuoco, da chi o per paura o per maluagità l'haveva naſcoſti & quaſi ſepolti, noi te li diamo in tutte quelle lingue, nelle quali fino a queſt'hora preſente l'hiſtoria del detto auctore è ſtata data alla luce: riportandoci della verità di queſti luoghi, prima alla conſcienza di quelli, appo i quali ſi ritroua l'originale di detto Guicciardini intero: & appreſſo à tutte le perſone ſcienziate & intendenti, le quali potranno per lore ſteſſe riconoſcere in queſti tali luoghi la medeſima lingua, & il medeſimo ſtilo del Guicciardino, di che ſi vede compoſta tutta l'hiſtoria, & vedere quanta ella ne rimanga difettoſa per lo mancamento di queſta picciola parte. A queſte coſe aggiugeremo ancora la molta fede, che per la ſua ſincerità, & per altre lodevoli qualità merita che ſe le preſte la perſona, da chi cotali luoghi ci ſono ſtati dati à fine che li communichiamo à tutti gli amatori del vero, ſe mi foſſe coſi lecito il nominarla, come mi è conveneuole il tenerla celata. Hor per non perder tempo in provar coſa che per ſe ſteſſa è chiariſſima à chi non ha corrotta la viſta, in una parola diremo, il noſtro deſiderio eſſere. Lector cariſſimo, che ogn'huomo li legga, & ne facci il ſuo profitto ſenza abuſare la propria conſcienza di ſi fatto advertimento.

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Guicciardini Deſcriptio Mortis Papæ Alexandri Sexti.

Referred to from p. 364.

COME Sono vani, & fallaci i penſieri de gli huomini! il Pontefice da una vigna appreſſo a Vaticano, dove erano andato a cenare per ricrearſi da' caldi, è repentinamente portato per morto nel palagio Ponteficale, & incontinente dietro è portato per morte li figliuolo: & il giorno ſeguente che fuil 18 dì d'Agoſto, è portato morto ſecondo l'uſo d'Pontefici, nella Chieſa di San Pietro, nero, enfiato, & bruttiſſimo, ſegni manifeſtiſſimi di veleno. Ma il Valentino col vigore del' età, & per havere uſato ſubito medicine potenti, & appropriate al veleno; ſaluò la vita, rimanendo oppreſſo da lunga, & grave infirmità. Credetteſi conſtantemente, che queſto accidente fuſſe proceduto da veleno: & ſi racconta ſecondo la fama piu commune l'ordine della coſe in queſto modo. Che havendo il Valentino, deſtinato alla medeſima cena, deliberato d'avelenare Adriano Cardinale di Corneto, nella vigna del quale dovevano cenare: perche è coſa manifeſta, eſſere ſtata conſuetudine frequente del padre, & ſua, non ſolo d'uſare il veleno per vendecarſi contra i nimici, ò per aſſicurarſi d'ſoſpetti, ma etiandio per ſcelerata cupidità di ſpogliare delle proprie facultà le perſone ricche, in Cardinali, & altri cortigiani, non havendo riſpetto, che da eſſi non haveſſero mai ricevuta offeſa alcuna, come fu il Cardinale molto ricco di Sant Agnolo, ma ne anco che gli fuſſero amiciſſimi, & congiuntiſſimi, & alcuni di loro come furono i Cardinali di Capua, & di Modena ſtati utiliſſimi, & fidatiſſimi miniſtri. Narraſi adunque, che havendo il Valentino mandati innanzi certi fiaſchi di vino infetti di veleno, & havendogli fatti conſegnare ad un miniſtro non conſapevole della coſa, con commeſſione, che non gli deſſe ad alcuno, ſopravenne per ſorte il Pontefice innanzi al' hora della cena. Et vinto dalla ſete, & d'caldi ſmiſurati che erano, dimandò gli ſuſſe dato de bere. Ma perche non erano arrivate ancora di palagio le proviſioni per la cena, gli fu da quel miniſtro, che credeva riſervarſi, come vino piu pretioſo, dato dabere del vino, che haveva mandato innanzi Valentino, il quale mentre il padre beveva, ſopragiugnendo ſi meſſe ſimilmente a bere del medeſimo vino. Concorſe al corpo morte d'Aleſſandro in San Pietro con incredibile allegrezza tutta Roma, non potendo ſatiarſi gli occhi d'alcuni di vedere ſpento un ſerpente, che con la ſua immoderata ambitione, & peſtifera perfidia, & con tutti gli eſſempi d'horibile crudeltà di moſtruoſa libidine, & di inaudita avaritia, vendendo ſenza diſtintione le coſe ſagre, & le profane, haveva attoſſicato tutto l'mondo. Et nondimeno era ſtato eſaltato con rariſſima, & quaſi perpetua proſperità dalla prima gioventù inſino al'ultimo della vita ſua, deſiderando ſempre coſe grandiſſime, & ottenendo piu di quelle deſiderava, eſſempio potente a confondere l'arrogantia di coloro, i quali preſumendoſi di ſcorgere con la debolezza de gli occhi humani la profondità d'giudicii divini, affermando ciò, che di proſpero, o d'averſo aviene a gli huomini procedere, o d'meriti, o d'demiriti loro, come ſe tutto dì non appariſſe molti buoni eſſere veſſati ingiuſtamente, & molti di pravo animo eſſere

eſſere eſaltati indebitamente, come ſe altrimenti interpretando, ſi derogaſſe alla juſtitia, alla potentia di Dio, l'amplitudine della quale non riſtretta a termini brievi, & preſenti, in altro tempo, & in altro luogo con larga mano con premii, & con ſupplicii ſempiterni riconoſce i giuſti da gl' jugiuſti.

EPITAPHIUM Papæ Alexandri Sexti.

FORTASSE neſcis, cujus hic Tumulus ſite
Adſta Viator, ni piget.
Titulum quem Alexandri vides, haud illius
Magni eſt, ſed hujus, qui modo
Libidinoſa Sanguinis captus ſiti
Tot Civitates inclytas,
Tot Regna vertit, tot Duces leto dedit
Natos ut impleat ſuos.
Orbem Rapinis, Ferro & Igne funditus
Vaſtavit, hauſit, eruit.
Humana jura, nec minus Cœleſtia,
Ipſoſque ſuſtulit Deos:
Ut ſcilicet liceret (heu ſcelus) Patri
Natæ ſinum permingere,
Nec execrandis abſtinere nuptiis
Timore ſublato ſemel.
Et tamen in Urbe Romuli hic vel undecim
Præſidet annis Pontifex.
I, nunc, Nerones vel Caligulas nomina,
Turpeis vel Heliogabalos.
Hoc ſat Viator: reliqua non ſinit Pudor.
Tu ſuſpicare & ambula.

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Article B. *Of the Simony uſed at the Election of Pope* Alexander VI. *referred to from* Page 11.

Burchardus Diarium, ſeu Specimen Hiſtoriæ, &c. p. 3.

ANNO 1492, ſecundâ Auguſti Mane, Rodericus Borgia nepos Calixti, Vice-Cancellarius creatus Papa, vocatuſq; eſt Alexander VI. & incontinenti diſperſit bona ſua: Cardinali Urſino dedit palatium ſuum & caſtrum Monticelli & Sariani, Aſcanium Cardinalem Vice Cancellarium S. R. E. pronunciavit, Cardinali Columnæ Abbatiam Sancti Benedicti ſublacenſis cum omnibus caſtris ad jus patronatus conceſſit, ipſi domuique ſuæ perpetuò. Cardinali Sancti Angeli Epiſcopatum Portuenſem cum turri & omni ſupellectile ibi exiſtente, & inter alia cella vinaria plena vino, Cardinalem Parmenſem de Civitate * Nepeſinâ Patronum fecit. Item Sabello Civitatem Caſtellanam & Eccleſiam S. Mariæ majoris, reliquis aliis multa millia Ducatorum conceſſiſſe fertur; præcipuè cuidam fratri albo Veneto, nuper in Cardinalatum accepto, cui quinque millia Ducatorum Auri donavit *pro, habendâ ipſius voce*; quod cum ſcitum fuit à Venetis, denegati fuerunt omnes fructus beneficiorum, & mandatum ne quis ulterius amplius cum aſſociaret.

Quinque tantùm Cardinales nihil voluerunt ab eo accipere, ſcilicet Cardinalis Neapolitanus, Senenſis, Portugallenſis, S. Petri ad Vincula, S. Mariæ in Porticu: Dixerunt in Pontificatu voces dandas eſſe gratis & non muneribus. Fertur etiam antequam intraret conclave præfatum Borgiam pro habendâ voce Aſcanii prædicti & ſequacium miſiſſe quatuor mulos oneratos argento ad domum Domini Aſcanii ſub eo *prætextu* ut ibi cuſtodirerur dum eſſent in Conclavi, quod argentum fuit datum dicto Aſcanio pro ejus voto.

The Manifeſto *of* Charles VIII. *King of* France. *Publiſhed at* Florence *before his March to* Rome. *Referred to from* p. 55.

Burchar. Diar. p. 7. CAROLUS Dei Gratiâ Francorum Rex, univerſis Chriſti fidelibus præſentes literas inſpecturis. Zelum Catholicæ fidei, & ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam: conſiderantes attentiùs, & intra mentis noſtræ Arcana ſæpenumero revolventes innumerabilia damna & incommoda, cœdes, ſtrages, ac nobilium civitatum

& fidelium populorum deſolationem & devaſtationem & plurima alia horrenda facinora quæ ſpurciſſimi Turci ſanguinem Chriſtianum inceſſanter devaſtantes à quinquaginta annis citrà, ut à majoribus noſtris profecto fide dignis didicimus, perpetrarunt: cupienteſq; more progenitorum noſtrorum Francorum Regum Chriſtianiſſimorum tantis ſceleribus, quæ ipſi perfidi Turci Religioni Chriſtianæ continuò minantur pro viribus occurrere, ac eorum ſitibundam rabiem totis conatibus reprimere; poſtquam placuit Altiſſimo in Regno & Dominiis * noſtris ſuam pacem ponere & illâ tranquillitate potiri: propoſuimus pro repellendo Turcarum furore & recuperandis terrâ Sanctâ & aliis Dominiis per eos Chriſtianis principibus & populis ablatis, propriæ perſonæ ac laboribus facultatibuſque non parcere, quinimò dilectiſſimis ** unico noſtris regnoque ampliſſimo, pacifico & opulentiſſimo & præter voluntatem principum & procerum regni noſtri relictis, ſtatuimus cum adjutorio Dei, cujus cauſam amplectimur, ac ſummo omnium Chriſtianorum Pontificum & Paſtorum, nec non Principum & aliorum fidelium præſidio hoc ſacratiſſimum opus fideli devotione & magno animo aggredi: quod quidem ſanctum propoſitum divina credimus inſpiratione noſtro cordi fuiſſe infuſum. Nec arbitretur quiſpiam quòd ad occupandum quorumcunq Principium & populorum dominia & civitates hoc opus tam ſanctum tamque laudabile aggrediamur, ſed ut ipſe Deus inceſſabilis verus teſtis eſt, hoc ſolùm ad ejus gloriam & laudem ſanctæque fidei & Chriſtianæ Religionis amplectimur, ſperantes in ipſo Deo, à quo omnia perfecta opera perfectionem ſuſcipiunt, nos hoc ſanctum deſiderium noſtrum ad optatum effectum perducturos. Sed quia Regnum Siciliæ, quod Neapolitanum appellant (per progenitores noſtros manibus infidelium & aliorum Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Apoſtolicæ ſedis hoſtium erutum, & eidem Eccleſiæ reſtitutum, de quo ipſi progenitores noſtri 24 Inveſtituras, videlicet 22. à diverſis Romanis Pontificibus, & duas alias à duobus ſacris generalibus Conciliis receperunt, & quod ad nos jure hæreditatis pertinet; quamvis Pius II. volens ſuos ex generali plebe natos ad principatus ſuffragium extollere, regnum ipſum noſtrum contra juſtitiam abſtulerat, & illud quondam Ferdinando de Arragonia conceſſerat) ad oppugnandos dictos perfidiſſimos Turcas præcipuè per portum Valonæ & non nulla alia loca facilem ingreſſum præbere poterit: illud, Deo auxiliante, recuperare intendimus, ut nobis & noſtris facilis ingreſſus & egreſſus, ac tutum præſidium eſſe poſſit: nec intendimus propterea almæ Urbi Romæ, prout modernus Alphonſus de Arragoniâ, & ſui prædeceſſores, & alius Alphonſus & Ferdinandus magna temeritate & rebellione * tam obſidendo fecerunt, aut aliis terris Romanæ Eccleſiæ prejudicium aliquod ſeu damnum inferre; ſed illam & ipſius Eccleſiæ ſubditos, pro illius & Apoſtolicæ ſedis honore & reverentiâ ab omni damno & injuriâ pro poſſe noſtro illæſos conſervare, ac ipſius Eccleſiæ ſic ſtatum honorem & dignitatem more dictorum primogenitorum † noſtorum, quantum cum Deo poterimus potius augere. Quia verò pro dicto regno recuperando & noſtro ſancto propoſito exequendo, pro faciliori & breviori via ad Urbem prædictam veniendo, per nonnullas terras dictæ Eccleſiæ tranſitus ſit nobis faciendus; ſanctiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem & D. Alexandrum divina Providentia Papam Sextum ac S. R. E. Cardinalium Collegium, nec non quarumcunq; civitatum oppidorum, terrarum & locorum ejuſdem Romanæ Eccleſiæ rectores, Gubernatores, poteſtates, officiales, cives, incolas, & habitatores quoſcunq; in

† *Forte progenitorum.*

Domino

Domino requirimus hortamur, & conhortamur; ut ſaltem quemadmodum hoſtibus noſtris & in hoc ſacro propoſito nobis adverſantibus favores & auxilia quæ potuerunt, præſtiterunt & præſtant, ita nobis & noſtris liberum ingreſſum & regreſſum per civitates, oppida, terras & loca prædicta & victualia neceſſaria noſtris expenſis & ſumptibus exhibere dignentur; niſi enim nos hoc in ſaluberrimo opere impediviſſent, credimus jam urbem, Neapolim & magnam regni partem expugnâſſe & in principio veris proximè futuri fines hoſtium ingredi potuiſſe: ſi vero ingreſſus & regreſſus ac liber tranſitus, aut victualia nobis & noſtris, ſolvendo debito pretio fuerint, quod non credimus, denegata; nihilominus conabimur totis viribus noſtris * meritum invenire & capere victualia neceſſaria quibus poterimus mediis; proteſtantes ſolenniter nobis ad culpam non debere imputari, ſed potius illis qui perfidâ iniquitate de fide noſtrâ non recte ſapientes noſtrum præſens & ſanctum propoſitum voluerunt impedire. Proteſtamur ut ſupra de injuriis Deo & nobis faciendis, damnis quoque & intereſſe per nos propterea jam incurſis, & ſi quæ in futurum incurſi fuerimus; quas proteſtationes proſequemur *coram univerſali Eccleſia* ac Principibus totius Chriſtianitatis, quos convenire intendimus pro hac ſanctiſſimâ expeditione, Deo duce, adimplenda. In quorum omnium fidem ac teſtimonium præſentes literas fieri, per Notarium publicum infra ſcriptum ſubſcribi & publicari noſtriq; regalis ſigilli appenſione muniri fecimus.

Datum Florentiæ, die 22 *Novembris* 1494. *Regni noſtri* 12.

Manifeſto *of Cardinal de* Gurk, *or* Gurſenſe. *Referred to from* p. 61.

Cariſſimis fratribus, & amicis Palatii & aliis Curialibus nationis Almanæ & Dominiorum illuſtriſſimi Archiducis Philippi in urbe habitantibus.

Burchard. p. 11. 12. CARISSIMI: etſi, prout teſtis eſt Deus, qui hominum ſcrutatur corda & renes, qualem potuimus fecimus diligentiam erga Chriſtianiſſimum Regem; nihilominus quorum culpâ neſcio, hactenus fuimus impediti, non per ipſum Chriſtianiſſimum Regem, cum nihil aliud cupiat quàm ſe devotiſſimum filium gerere erga ſummum Pontificem & ſanctam ſedem ſuorum primogenitorum more; ſed timeo quod à Deo principaliter propter peccata noſtra & demerita graviter offenſo impedimentum dictæ unionis proceſſerit, qui niſi precibus devotarum perſonarum fuerit placatus, dicta unio, neque ex conſequenti pax inter principes Chriſtianos fieri poterit. Cæterum cùm timor ſit de invaſione urbis per armigeros Regis Chriſtianiſſimi & ſuorum confæderatorum, ſi dicta unio in dies brevis non fiat, propter hoſtes ipſius Chriſtianiſſimi Regis qui ſtant in urbe * ut dicitis ſic effici apud Chriſtianiſſimum Regem, ne aliqua damna inferantur à ſuis armigeris quibuſ-

quibuſcunque partiſanis in urbe moram trahentibus, neque etiam cæteris quibuſcunque ſint oriundi, niſi in armis contra ſuam Majeſtatem & ſuos reperirentur & inter cæteros in urbe moram trahentes voluit & declaravit S. M. quod etſi ſubditi eſſent Domino Romanorum Regi ſemper auguſto & illuſtriſſimo Principi Domino Philippo ejus inclyto nato, Auſtriæ Archiduci & Burgundiæ Duci, non minore favore per ſuos armigeros debere tractari quàm proprios ipſius Chriſtianiſſimi regis, una cum omnibus Romanis: & hac de cauſa me miſit de caſtris ad Dominum Comitem de Mont † pacet ejus cognatum & generalem locum tenentem, ad ſignificandum ei pro prædictâ ſuâ Majeſtate, ut caveret ne permitteret per quoſcunque Armigeros ſuæ Majeſtatis aliquas injurias aut moleſtias fieri ſupradictis incolis, & præcipuè dictis Reverend. D. Cardinalibus, quibuſcunque Partiſanis & Civibus Romanis, & maximè dictis ſubditis Domini Cæſaris & Domini Archiducis Philippi. Et eâ de re volui vobis ſignificare, ut ſi contingat, quod abſit, armigeros Chriſtianiſſimi Regis intrare urbem cum manu forti, ſitis adviſati de bona voluntate, ipſius Chriſtianiſſimi Regis: & ut poſſitis ſecuriùs vos & bona veſtra conſervare, eſſem opinionis, quod cum bona licentia * Domini ſecretarii D. Cardinalis Lugdunenſis qua inhabito ex gratia dicti Domini ſecretarii, cui ſcribo in præſentiarum ut vos benignè recipiat: ſum enim memor quod de nihilo Deus me creavit, & ad Cardinalatum, honores & onera me promovit, ad preces bon. Mem. Cæſaris, ipſius Sereniſſimi Romani Regis, & Principum Electorum: quapropter quamdiu vixero conabor reddere vices gratitudinis ipſis Domino Seren. Rom. Regi, Domino Archiduci Philippo, & omnibus eorum ſubditis, non minùs quàm ſi eſſem oriundus de eorum Dominiis. Deo duce valete filii Chariſſimi, & Deum pro intentione mea, quæ eſt ad pacem univerſalem inter Chriſtianos, & guerram univerſalem contra Turcas, orate. Ex Formello hoc 23 Decemb.

Frater Anthonius Rombald. Cardinal. Gurgenſ.

† *Forte Montpenſier.*

Capitula conventionis Papæ & Regis Franciæ, & præſertim de dando fratrem magni Turcæ. Referred to from *p.* 66. and referred alſo *p.* 69.

Burch. Diar. p. 25. DOMINICA XI. menſis Januarii concluſum fuit & deliberatum inter S. D. N. & Illuſtriſſ. D Philippum de Breſſa avunculum Regis Franciæ locum tenentem ejuſdem Regis, quod S. D. N. aſſignare debet, Gem. Sultan fratrem magni Turcæ ad ſex Menſes Regi Franciæ, qui ex nunc ſolvere deberet Papæ 20 millia ducatorum, & *dare Cantionem Mercatrum Florentinorum & Venetorum* de reſtituendo ipſum Gem. Sultan ipſi Papæ, elapſis ſex Menſibus ſine morâ. Item *coronare Regem Franciæ Regem Neapolitanum ſine præjudicio,* & facere

facere ſecuros, Cardinales S. Petri ad Vincula, Gurcenſem, Sabellum & Columnam de non offendendo eos: pro quorum ſecuritatis declaratione deberent convenire in ſero illius diei coram Reverendo D. Cardinale Alexandrino Rever. in Chriſto Patres D. D. Bartholomæus Nepeſinus & Sutrinus ſecretarius & Jo. Petruſinus Epiſcopus Datarius nomine Papæ; & D. de Breſſâ & de Montpenſier & D. Johannes de Ganuay primus Præſidens Parliamenti Pariſienſis. Sed Cardinalis ſancti Petri ad Vincula & Gurcenſis intellectâ concluſione ſine eis quæſtâ & factâ conqueſti ſunt Regi de pactis ipſis per eum non ſervatis, cum ipſis promiſiſſet per coronam regiam, ſine eorum ſcitu & voluntate cum Pontifice non velle concordare vel aliquid concludere. Et hoc modo concluſionem hujuſmodi & ne illi ad Rev. Cardinalem Alexandrinum venirent impediverunt.

Feriâ ſecundâ, duodecima Januarii Rex Franciæ equitavit per urbem ſolus & illam videndi cauſa, quem aſſociavit Rev. Cardinalis S. Dionyſii longe poſt Regem cum aliis nobilibus equitans: inter ipſum & Regem equitabat quidam Capitaneus peditum cuſtodiæ Regis circa ipſum incedentium, curam habens quod pedites ſequerentur: Sequebatur Cardinalis cum nobilibus aliis. Sequenti die 18 Januarii Rex equitavit ad ſanctum Sebaſtianum ab iſtis etiam aſſociatus. Aliis ſequentibus diebus alibi pro libito ſuæ voluntatis. Feriâ ſextâ, octavâ decimâ dicti menſis Januarii bono mane receſſerunt ex urbe Rev. Aſcanius Vice-cancellarius & de Lunate Cardinales Mediolanum ituri, ut a nonnullis aſſerebatur. Eodem die in mane Rex Franciæ equitavit ad Baſilicam S. Petri, ubi auditâ miſsâ in capellâ ſanctæ Petronillæ per unum ex capellanis ſuis, ſi rectè memini ſine cantu, miſsâ celebratâ aſcendit ad Palatium Papæ ad cameras novas pro eo paratas ubi fecit prandium, diende circa horam vigeſimam Papa portatus fuit per deambulatorium diſcoopertum in * roccliosò & capucino cruce præcedente, quam portavit Dominus Raphael diaconus capellæ, cùm nullus adeſſet ſubdiaconus Apoſtolicus, de caſtro ad Palatium præfatum. Rex adventum Papæ intelligens occurrit ei uſque circa finem ſecundi horti ſecreti, de quo ad dictum deambulatorium aſcendit, deinde Cardinales ſecuti ſunt Regem, qui tunc cum eo præſentes erant, & ipſi Papam expectantes; Papa cum eſſet in plano horti prædicti præceſſerunt Cardinales Regem uſque ad Pontificem. Rex viſo Pont. ad ſpatium duarum cannarum genu flexit bis ſucceſſivè, competenti diſtantia, quod Papa finxit ſe non videre; ſed cum Rex pro tertiâ genuflexione facienda appropinquaret, Papa depoſuit biretum ſuum & occurrit Regi ad tertiam genuflexionem venienti, ac eum tenuit ne genuflecteretur, & deoſculatus eſt eum. Ambo detectis capitibus erant, *ſicq*; *Rex*, *nec Pedem nec Manum Papæ deoſculatus eſt*, Papa noluit reponere birectum ſuum, niſi prius ſe tegeret Rex, tandem ſimul capita cooperuerunt Pontifice manum bireto Regis ut cooperiretur apponente. Rex quam primum a Pontifice, ut præmittitur, receptus fuit, rogavit Papam, velle pronunciare Cardinalem, Epiſcopum Maclovienſem conſiliarium ſuum, quod Papa dixit ſe facturum, mandans mihi, quod ad affectum hujuſmodi cappam unam, Cardinalem & capellum reperirent cappam mutavit Cardinalis ſanctæ Anaſtaſiæ. Rex exiſtimans ibidem id ſtatim fieri debere, interrogavit me ubinam & quando Papa eſſet expeditus, reſpondi, in camerâ Papagalli, ad quam continuo ibant.

Papa ſiniſtrâ manu Regis dextram accipiens eum duxit uſque ad dictam cameram Papagalli; ubi antequam intraret, finxit ſe Pontifex Syncopâ turbari, intus autem pervento Papa ſedit ſuper ſedem baſſam ante feneſtras ibi apportatam, & Rex juxta eum ſupra ſcabellum; pro quo continuo ſe-

dem ſuæ ſanctitatis ſimilem fecit apportare, me autem inſtante, repugnante & ſeſſionem hujuſmodi nequaquam convenire aſſerente, Papa aſcendit ad ſedem eminentem Conſiſtorialem, & ibi ordinante me poſitam dimiſſis prius birecto & capucino, rubro, & acceptis biretto & capucino, albo & ſtola prætiosâ: poſita fuit ſedes Papæ cameralis ante dextram ſuam in quâ ſedit Rex, retrò ſedem Regis & ante in modum coronæ poſita ſcabella pro Cardinalibus, in quibus ſederunt Cardinales. Papa noluit ſedere, niſi prius Rex ſederet, quem manu coegit prius ſedere. Deinde ſedit Rev. D. Cardinalis Neapolitanus & ſedit ad dextram Papæ juxta murum in ſcabello prout ſedere ſolet Diaconus Cardinalis a dextris in Capellâ Papæ exiſtens; alii Cardinales ordine Conſiſtoriali poſt eum ſeu prius ad ante eum, ſicq; *Rex, non ſedit rectâ lineâ inter Cardinales, ſed ante eos ſeu in Medio eorum.* Omnibus ſic ſedentibus, Papa dixit, nuper ſe vota omnium Cardinalium habuiſſe pro creatione Rev. D. Epiſcopi Maclovienſis in ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalem, quem Majeſtas Regis ibidem præſens inſtanter fieri ſupplicaverat, & ipſe facere paratus erat ipſis Cardinalibus complacentibus. Reſpondit Rev. D. Cardinalis Neapolitanus, & poſt eum alii, in eandem ſententiam, quod non ſolum id ipſis placeret, ſed fieri ſupplicarent pro Regis honore & voluntate. Tunc vocatus per me præfatus Dominus Maclovienſis Cardinalis Gulielmus Briçonnetus, depoſitis ibi mantello & capucino de ciambelotto nigro, & bireto nigro induit ipſum Cappa Cardinalis Valentinienſis, in qua coram Papa genu flexit, qui detecto capite ex ceremoniali pronunciavit ipſum Cardinalem per verba, auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei, *&c.* & Eccleſiam Maclovienſem, & ſingula ac omnia monaſteriâ & beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, quæ prius in titulum & commendam obtinebat, ſibi commendavit; Maclovienſis oſculatus eſt Pedem & Manum Papæ, & a Pontifice elevatus, ad oris oſculum eſt receptus, tunc iterum genu flexit, & Papa impoſuit capiti ſuo Capellum rubrum verbis in Ceremoniali poſitis. Quo facto Maclovienſis egit gratias Pontifici, qui dixit Regi agendas eſſe, coram quo Rege ipſe Maclovienſis genuflexus immemor novæ dignitatis adeptæ & Epiſcopalis egit ei gratias: ſic flexus ſurrexit & a ſingulis Cardinalibus ad oris oſculum receptus eſt, mantellum præfato Domino Maclovienſi exutum receperunt ſui, nec me advertente, Dominus Jacobus de Casâ novâ & Franciſcus, Alabagnes ſecreti cubicularii, & ſibi indebitè uſurparunt & retinuerunt. Capucinum autem & biretum ego retinui. Interim ſurrexit Pontifex & dixit ſe velle Regem uſq; ad regias Cameras aſſociare; ſed Rex id fieri omnino recuſans, fuit ab omnibus Cardinalibus aſſociatus ad hujuſmodi Cameram, iter faciens per cameras paramenti & omnes Aulas & deambulatorium Rev. Domini Cardinalis ſanctæ Anaſtaſiæ, & Aulam & Cameras novas ad quas ipſe erat inhabitaturus. Ibat autem Rex Medius inter Neapolitanum a dextris & ſancti Clementis Cardinales a ſiniſtris, Cardinalibus omnibus binis & ſuo ordine ſequentibus.

Pervento ad *quartam* prædictam Rex egit gratias Cardinalibus, qui ab eo receſſerunt omnes, dempto S. Dionyſii & Maclovienſi, uſque ad Cameram ſibi deputatam, quæ fuit olim D. Falconis, quam cùm non poſſent intrare defectu ſervitorum Claves habentium, iverunt ad Cameram Epiſcopi Concordienſis, ubi aliquandiu manſerunt, tum venerunt ad Cameram Domini Maclovienſis prædictam, ubi ante Oſtium Cardinalis ſancti Dionyſii ab eo licentiatus diſceſſit. Porta prima Palatii & omnia alia aditum ad Regem præbentia data fuerunt Scotis pro cuſtodiâ Regis deputatis, qui non permittebant niſi ſuos aut pauciſſimos ex noſtris intrare: interfuerunt præmiſſis 14. Cardinales, videlicet Rev. Dominus Neapolitanus Epiſcopus, S. Clementis,

APPENDIX.

Clementis, Parmenſis, S. Anaſtaſiæ, Montis Regalis, Urſinus, S. Dionyſii, Alexandrinus, Carthaginenſis, Presbyteri, ſancta Georgii, S. Severini, Valentinus, Cæſarinus & Germanus, Diaconi. Dedi eâdem die Rev. Domino Maclovienſi Informationem competentem de ſtrenis conſuetis perſolvendis per ſchedulam hujuſmodi tenoris:

Cubiculariis ſecretis Smi. D. N. ducatorum centum -	*d.*	100
Scutifero Capelli —— —— ——	*d.*	100
Magiſtris Cæremoniarum ad voluntatem ſuam - -	*d.*	
Servientibus Armorum —— ——	*d.*	15
Magiſtris Officiariis —— ——	*d.*	15
Portæ ferreæ cuſtodibus —— ——	*d.*	6
Cuſtodibus Portæ primæ —— ——	*d.*	3
Cuſtodibus horti ſecreti —— —— ——	*d.*	3
Cuſtodibus ſmi. D. N. Papæ —— ——	*d.*	10
Summa ducat.		252

Dominicâ, 18 Januarii, le Pape dit aut Maiſtre des Ceremonies qu'il tiendroit conſiſtoire pour la receprion du Roy de France, & comme il la falloit faire. Comme le Pape parloit de cela, le Roy ſurvint, le Pape le fuſt recevoir & là parlerent de la reſtitution du Turc. L'article portoit que le Roy donneroit fide juſſores nobiles Barones & Prelatos Regni ad voluntatem Pontificis; le premier Preſident de Gannay vouloit reſtraindre à dix perſonnes, le Pape en vouloit trente ou 40. Ils conteſterent ſur cela 3. heures. Sur cela le Pape entra en une ſale, ou il avoit de chaires, il fiſt ſeoir le Roy dans l'une & luy dans l'autre, là le traicté fuſt leu, & de la part du Pape il y avoit de Cardinaux de S. Anaſtaſe & Alexandrin, & pour le Roy les Cardinaux S. Dennis & S. Malo; les deux Secretaires du Pape, & le dataire & peu d'autres; & furent leu les articles du Traicté: le Notaire pour le Pape nommé Stephanus de Narnia, & celui pour le Roy Oliverius yuon clericus Cænomanenſis. Il fuſt faict deux Copies du Traicté, en François pour le Roy, & en Latin pour le Pape.

19 Janvier. 1495. Deſtinè pour la reception du Roy & l'obedience. Le Maiſtre des Ceremonies envoyé au Roy luy dire ce qu'il avoit a faire, circa oſculationem pedis Papæ & obedientiam præſtandam, de loco inter Cardinales ſeu poſt primum Cardinalem. Rex ipſe cum ſuis decrevit ibi non ſedere, ſed apud Pontificem in ſolio ſtans aliqua pauca verba præſtationis obedientiæ proferre. Le Roy dit qu'il vouloit ouir la Meſſe a S. Pierre, puis diſner, & de là aller veoir le Pape; & on ne peut rien obtenir de plus ſur cela. Le Pape tint conſeil, de là vint in cameram Papagalli fort præparé, puis en la ſalle du conſiſtoire public. Les Cardinaux Alexandrin & de Carthage eurent ordre d'aller au devant du Roy. Le Pape ne voulut pas que celuy de S Malo le dernier des Cardinaulx en fuſt, quoy que ce fuſt l'ordre, mais parce qu'il eſtoit creature du Roy, il crut luy faire plus d'honneur. Le Pape envoya donq; ces Cardinaux avertir le Roy, qui le trouverent diſnant. Les Cardinaux ſe retirerent en attendant dans une chambre une demie heure. Le Roy adverty que l'on l'attendoit, interrogea le Maiſtre des Ceremonies de ce qu'il falloit faire, & l'ayant eſcoutè, il alla dans une autre chambre, ou il tint conſeil une demie heure, fit appeller le dit Maiſtre de Ceremonies, & lui demanda encore une fois ſe qu'il falloit faire qui luy repeta: & de là alla trouver les deux Cardinaux

dinaux & Eveſque qui l'attendoient. Le Roy donq; fuſt au cõſiſtoire avec ces Cardinaux & medius inter eos ſuivy des Princes & Grands François, Philippus Dom. de Breſſa, Dom. de Montpenſier, Dom. de Foix, Duc Cliviæ, Ducis Ferrariæ, & alii plures. Rege veniente Papa aſſiumpſit pretioſam mitram, Rex fecit debitas reverentias in terram, primam in introitu conſiſtorii, ſecundam in plano ante ſolium Papæ, tertiam in ſolio ante Papam, ubi genuflexus pedem, dein Papæ manum oſculatus, quem Papa elevans, ad oris oſculum recepit. Rex ſtans ad ſiniſtram Papæ, tunc Dominus Johannes de Gannay præſes parliamenti Pariſienſis coram Pontifice venit & genuflexus expoſuit Regem ad præſtandam obedientiam Sanctitati ſuæ perſonaliter adveniſſe, velle tamen prius tres gratias a ſua Sanctitate petere, eſſe conſuetum vaſſallos ante eorum præſtationem ſive homagium inveſtire; petebat propterea 1°. omnia privilegia Chriſtianiſſimo Regi, ejus conjugi & primogenito conceſſa, & omnia in quodam libro cujus titulum ſpecificabat contenta confirmari; 2°. ipſum Regem de Regno Neapolitano inveſtiri; 3°. de dando fidejuſſores de reſtituendo fratre magni Turci inter alia heri ſtipulatum caſſari & aboleri. Pontifex ad hæc reſpondit ſe confirmare hujuſmodi primo petita, quatenus eſſent in uſu. Ad 2. quod agitur de præjudicio tertii, propterea oportere, cum conſilio Cardinalium ſuper hoc maturius deliberare, & in eo velle pro poſſe ſuo Regi complacere. Ad 3. velle eſſe cum ipſo rege & ſacro Cardinalium Collegio, non dubitans concordes futuros. Qua reſponſione facta Rex ſtans ad ſiniſtram Papæ protulit hæc verba: Sainct Pere. Je ſuis venu pour faire obedience & reverence a voſtre Sainctetè comme ont accuſtume de faire me predeceſſeurs Roys de France. Quibus dictis dictus præſes adhuc genuflexus ſurrexit, & ſtans coram Pontifice verba Regis Latine extendit his verbis.

Beatiſſime Pater: conſueverunt Principes & præſertim Francorum reges Chriſtianiſſimi per ſuos Oratores Apoſtolicam ſedem & in ea pro tempore ſedentem venerari. Chriſtianiſſimus vero Rex Apoſtolorum Limina viſitaturus id non per Oratores & legatos ſuos facere, ſed in propriâ perſonâ voluntatem ſuam oſtendere volens, ſtatuit obſervare. Vos igitur, Pater Beatiſſime, Chriſtianorum ſummum Pontificem, verum Chriſti Vicarium, Apoſtolorum, *Petri & Pauli ſucceſſorem*, fatetur, & debitam reverentiam & obedientiam, quam prædeceſſores ſui Francorum Reges ſummis Pontificibus facere conſueverunt, vobis præſtat, ſeque & omnia ſua Sanctitati veſtræ & huic ſanctæ ſedi offert.

Papa ſedens & ſiniſtra manu ſua Regis dextram tenens reſpondit breviſſime & convenienter propoſitis, Regem ipſum in ſuo reſponſorio hujuſmodi primogenitum filium ſuum appellans: interim dum præmiſſa fierent, acceſſerunt ad ſolium Pontificis omnes Cardinales cum confuſione propter Gallorum impetum & inſolentiam. Completa Pontificis reſponſione ſurrexit Papa, & ſiniſtra manu ſua Regem apprehendens, ad Cameram Papagalli reverſus eſt, ubi depoſitis ſacris veſtibus fingit Regem ipſum velle aſſociare. Rex illi gratias agens ad cameram ſuam rediit, a nullo Cardinalium aſſociatus. Interfuerunt omnibus præmiſſis 20 Cardinales.

Le 20 Janvier, le jour de S. Sebaſtien le Pape voulut celebrer Pontificalement la Meſſe en faveur du Roy, le Roy avant que d'y aller voulut diſner, & le Pape l'attendit un quart d'heure & vint enfin aſſiſté de ſa nobleſſe ſans armes: ſes gardes demeurerent hors la chapelle. Rex ex commiſſione Papæ ſedit in ſede nuda cum cuſſino de brocato tantum. Ordinatis pro miniſtranda aqua manibus Epiſcopi, de Pontificis voluntate Regem D. D. de Foix, Breſſe & Montpenſier, tamen quia eorum præcedentia mihi

mihi ignota erat, communicavi id regi, quem interrogavi ſi ipſe dare aquam vellet, reſpondit id libenter facturum, ſi regibus conveniret; de aliis tribus * quod digniorem locum D. de Breſſe, 2°. D. de Foix; primo igitur dedit aquam D. de Foix, 2°. D. de Montpenſier, 3°. Domino de Breſſe, 4°. Rex cui portari feci *bachilia & credentia Papæ* per Dominum de Ligni camerarium ſuum ſecretum, qui ſingulis noctibus cum Rege ſolet dormire; & ego portavi *tobaliam pro collo* uſque ad gradus ſolii Papæ, ubi Regi ipſam impoſui; & acceptis per Regem bacilibus, aſcendit ad Papam, & dedit ſtans aquam manibus Papæ; qui voluit quod ipſe Rex de aqua credentiam faceret. Papa aquam poſt communionem accepit de manibus Regis Francorum. De multis interrogavit me Rex quid hoc eſſet, declaravi ſingula ut potui, replicavit Rex ut clarius exponerem, nihilominus non ceſſavit repetere, & non potui illi ſemper ſatisfacere.

22 Janvier, le Cardinal de Gurce reconcilié avec le Pape en receut la Benediction, & culpam ſuam Pontifici agnovit; ſed in præſentia Cardinalium de Urſinis, & Sancti Georgii crimina Pontifici objecit; Simoniam, peccatum carnis, informationem magno Turco miſſam & mutuam intelligentiam; aſſerens ipſum Pontificem magnum ſimulatorem & veram deceptorem eſſe, ſi ſui veram mihi retulerunt. 28 Janvier, poſt prandium le Pape monta à Cheval & le conduit auſſy, & furent à la place de Saincte Pierre, le Roy de France ſ'y trouva; qui cum Papa birectum depoſuiſſet * amovit etiam Papa capellum & biretum, nec voluit Papa illa prius reponere quàm Rex caput ſuum cooperuiſſet, tenuit Papa continuò Regem a ſiniſtris, Dominus de Breſſa continuò equitavit ad ſiniſtram Regis, ſicq; Regem medium poſuit inter ſe & Papam: Omnes alii Principes & nobiles equitarunt immediatè poſt Regem, & poſt eos gentes ſui armorum. 28 Janvier Gem Sultan Frater Magni Turcæ, equeſter de Caſtro Sancti Angeli aſſociatus fuit uſque ad Palatium S. Marci & ibidem Regi Francorum aſſignatus. Erecta fuerunt per urbem duo patibula unum in campo Floræ, alterum in platea judæorum per officiales Regis Franciæ, & per eos miniſtrabitur juſtitia, non per officiales Papæ, & mandata publica ſive banni per urbem fiebant ſub nomine dicti Regis, & non ſub nomine Papæ. Rex finxit ſe velle pedes Papæ deoſculari, Papa autem non voluit. Cardinales Valentinus dedit Regi ſex pulcherrimos equos in frenis ſine ſellis. Rex cum Cardinali Valentino a ſiniſtra Regis equitante equitarunt recta via ad marinum; eodem ſero ſecutus eſt Regem Cardinalis Gurcenſis, Frater quoque Magni Turci.

APPENDIX.

Inſtructions donnees par le Pape Alexandre au Nonce par luy envoyè à Sultan Bajazet Empereur des Turcs.

Item Lettres du dict Sultan au dict Alexandre VI.

Referred to from p. 90, 91, 93.

Burchar. Diar. p. 14. SUperioribus diebus Cardinale Gurcenſe referente, Dominus Georgius Baſardus literarum Apoſtolicarum Scriptor per S. D. N. Papam ad magnum Turcam Nuncius Oratorq; miſſus, ut ipſe Cardinalis dicebat, per Illuſt. D. Joannem de Rouere almæ urbis præfectum, Illuſtriſſimi D. Cardinalis S. Petri ad Vincula fratrem Germanum captus fuit, & apud, Senogalliam detentus, apud quem idem Cardinalis Gurcenſis compertas fuiſſe dixit informationes per eundem Sanctum D. N. ſibi datas, ſuper iis quæ apud magnum Turcam agere deberet quæ dictus Cardinalis Gurcenſis Sanct. D. N. ad infamiam improbrabat, quarum informationem Nuntii & Oratoris ad magnum Turcam tenor.

Alexander Papa Sextus.

INSTRUCTIONES tibi Georgio *Bozardo Nuntio & familiari noſtro: poſtquam hînc receſſeris, directe & quando citius poteris, ibis ad potentiſſimum magnum Turcam Sultan Bajazet ubicunq; fuerit, quem poſtquam debitè ſalutaveris, & ad Divini Numinis timorem & amorem excitâris, ſibi ſignificabis nomine noſtro, qualiter Rex Franciæ properat cum maxima potentia terreſtri & maritima cum auxilio ſtatus Mediolanenſium, Britonum, Burdegalenſium, Normandorum & cum aliis gentibus huc Romam veniens eripere è manibus noſtris Gem. Sultan fratrem Celſitudinis ſuæ, & acquirere regnum Neopolitanum, & ejcere Regem Alphonſum cum quo ſumus in ſtrictiſſimo ſanguinis gradu & amicitia conjuncti, & tenemur eum defendere, cum ſit feudatarius noſter & annuatim ſolvat nobis cenſum: & ſunt anni ſexaginta tres, & ultra quòd fuit inveſtitus Rex Alphonſus avus ejus, deinde Ferdinandus Pater, cui ſucceſſit Rex, qui per prædeceſſores noſtros & per nos fuerunt inveſtiti & incoronati de dicto regno. Ideo hac de cauſa prædictus Rex Franciæ effectus inimicus noſter, qui non ſolum properabit ut dictum Gem. Sultan capiat & ipſum regnum acquirat, ſed etiam in Græciam transfretare & patrias Celſitudinis ſuæ debellare queat, prout ſuæ M. innoteſcere debet: & dicunt quod mittant dictum Gem. Sultan cum claſſe in Turchiam. Et cum nobis opus ſit reſiſtere & nos defendere a tanta Regis Franciæ Potentia, omnes conatus noſtros exponere oportet, & ſe bene præparare: quod cùm jam fecerimus, opuſq; ſit facere maximas impenſas, cogimur ad ſubſidium*

ſidium præfati Sultan Bajazet recurrere, ſperantes in amicitia bona quam ad invicem habemus, quòd in tali neceſſitate juvabit nos: quem rogabis & nomine noſtro exhortaberis, ac ex te perſuadebis, cum omni inſtantia; ut placeat quam citiùs mittere nobis ducatos quadraginta millia in auro Venetòs pro *annata* anni præſentis, quæ finiet ultimo Novembris venturi, ut cum tempore poſſimus nobis ſubvenire, in quo Majeſtas ſua faciet nobis rem gratiſſimam; cui in præſentiarum nolumus imponere aliud gravamen & * ſcio exponendo vires & conatus noſtros in reſiſtentia facienda ne dictus Rex Franciæ aliquam victoriam contra nos potiatur & contra fratrem S. Majeſtatis. Cum autem ipſe Rex Franciæ terra mariq; ſit longe potentior nobis, indigeremus auxilio Venetorum, qui ſiſtunt, nec volunt nobis eſſe auxilio, imò habent arctiſſimum commercium cum inimicis noſtris, & dubitamus quòd ſint nobis contrarii, quod eſſet nobis magnum argumentum offenſionis, & non reperimus aliam viam convertendi ad partes noſtras tractandas, quam per viam ipſius Turcæ, cui denotabis ut ſupra, & quod ſi Franci victores forent, ſua Majeſtas pateretur magnum intereſſe; tum propter ereptionem Gem. Sultan fratris ſui, tum etiam quia proſequerentur expeditionem & longè cum majori conatu contra *Altitudinem ſuam*, & in tali cauſa haberent auxilium ab Hiſpanis, Anglicis, Maximiliano & Hungaris, Polonis & Bohemis, qui omnes ſunt potentiſſimi Principes. Perſuadebis & exhortaberis Majeſtatem ſuam, quam tenemur certiorem reddere ob veram & bonam amicitiam quam habemus ad invicem, ne patiatur aliquod intereſſe; ut ſtatim mittat unum oratorem ad dominium Venetorum, ſignificando qualiter c rto intellexit Regem Franciæ movere ſe ad veniendum Romam ad capiendam Gem. Sultan fratrem, inde regnum Neapolitanum, demum terraq; & mari contra ſe præparare, quòd velit facere omnem reſiſtentiam & ſe defendere contra ipſum, & devitare, ne frater ſuus capiatur ex manibus noſtris, quos exhortetur & adſtringat pro quanto correſpondet pendant cari * perdant amicitiam ſuam, debeant eſſe adjumento & defenſioni noſtræ & Regis Alphonſi terra marique, & quod omnes amicos noſtros & præ memoratum Regem habebit pro bonis amicis ſuis, & noſtros amicos pro inimicis; & ſi dominium pollicebitur conſentire tali petitioni ſuæ, Orator habeat mandatum de non recedendo Venetiis quouſque viderit effectum, & quod dicti Veneti declarent feciſſe amicos & adjumento nobis, & Regi Alphonſo, & eſſe contra amicos Francorum & aliorum adhærentium Regi Franciæ: & ſi contradixerint, Orator ſignificet, quòd 56 † non habebit eos amicos, & poſtea recedat ab eis indignatus: quamquam credimus, quòd ſi ſua Majeſtas ardenter adſtringet eos modo convenienti, condeſcendent ad faciendam voluntatem Majeſtatis ſuæ. Et ſic perſuadeas ei multum, ut facere hoc velit, quia iſtud eſt majus adjuvamen quod habere poſſumus * impetret, reſiſtet injuriis noſtris & ſollicitabis quanto citius talem Oratorem, ut recedat ante; nam multum importat acceleratio tua.

Denotabis pariter magno Turcæ, adventum Oratoris magni Soldani ad nos cum litteris & muneribus quæ tranſmiſit nobis quando Gem. Sultan fratrem ſuum * ac magnas oblationes & promiſſiones quas nobis fecit de magno theſauro ac de multis alijs rebus, & bene ſcis quandoquidem tuo medio omnia ſunt pratticata, & ſicut continetur in capitulis quæ dictus orator fecit & dedit; ſignificabis Majeſtati ſuæ intentionem noſtram in quantum ſibi promiſimus firmiter tenebimus, & nunquam contraveniemus in aliqua re.

† *Forte S. C. ſua Celſitudo.*

Imò

Imò noſtræ intentionis eſt accreſcere & meliorare noſtram bonam amicitiam. Bene gratum nobis eſſet, & de hoc multum precamur & hortamur D. S. quòd pro aliquo tempore non impediat Hungarum neque in aliqua parte Chriſtianitatis, & maxime in Croatia & Civitatibus Raguſiæ & Leguiæ; quod faciendo & obſervando nos faciemus quod Hungarus non inferat ei aliquid damnum, & in hoc Majeſtas ſua habebit compaſſionem complacendi nobis, attento maximè motu Francorum & aliorum Principum. Quod ſi in bellando perſeveraret, habeat pro comperto ſua Magnitudo, quod in ejus auxilio eſſent quamplures Principes Chriſtiani & doleret Majeſtatem ſuam non feciſſe, in ejus auxilio, ſecundum auxilium quod damus ſibi, primo ex officio quando ſumus Pater & Dominus omnium Chriſtianorum, poſtea deſideramus quietem Majeſtatis ſuæ ad bonam & mutuam amicitiam: quoniam ſi Majeſtas ſua aliter Statueret proſequi & moleſtare Chriſtianos cogeremur rebus conſulere, cnm aliter non poſſemus obviare maximis apparatibus qui fiunt contra Majeſtatem ſuam. Dedimus tibi duo brevia, quæ exhibebis Turcæ, in uno continetur *quod faciat*, tibi dare & conſignare 40000 ducatos pro *Annata præſenti*; aliud eſt Credentiæ ut præſtet tibi fidem in omnibus quæcunque nomine noſtro ſibi expoſueris. Habitis 40000 ducatis in loco conſueto facies quietantiam ſecundum conſuetudinem & venies recto tramite cum navi tuta, & cum illuc applicaveris certiores nos reddes & expectabis reſponſum noſtrum: Præſens tua intimatio conſiſtit in acceleratione, facies ergo diligentiam hic in eundo ad Turcam in expeditione & in redeundo ſimiliter.

Ego Georgius Buſardus Nuntius & familiaris præfatæ Sanctitatis per præſens ſcriptum & ſubſcriptum manu mea propria fidem facio & confiteor ſupradicta habuiſſe in commiſſis ab ore præfatæ ſanctitatis Romæ de menſe Junij MCCCCLXXXXIIII, & executum fuiſſe apud magnum Turcam in quantum fuit mihi ordinatum, ut ſupra: & quantum ad Oratorem quem requiſivit ſanctitas ſua a Turca mittendum Venetias eſt obtenum, qui e veſtigio debebat recedere a Conſtantinopoli de menſe Septembris poſt me ad exequendum in quantum erat voluntas præfatæ ſanctitatis cum illuſtriſſimo Domino Venetorum, idem Georgius Boſardus manu propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi. Et ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Forolivienſis Apoſtolica & Imperiali Autoritate Notarius publicus ſupraſcriptam inſcriptionem & inſtructionem ex Originali de Senogallia tranſmiſſo de verbo ad verbum tranſumpſi, & ſcripſi, nihil mutando aut addendo, & hoc ipſum tranſumptum prout jacebat ad literam feci requiſitus & rogatus: In cujus teſtimonium hic me ſubſcripſi & ſignum meum appoſui conſuetum. Florentiæ die 25. Novembris, anno 1494.

† I. SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Dei Gratia Rex Maximus & Imperator utriuſque Continentis Aſiæque & Europæ, Chriſtianorum excellenti Patri & D. D. Alexandro divina Providentia Romanæ Eccleſiæ Pontifici digniſſimo, Reverentiam debitam & benevolam cum ſincera diſpoſitione. Poſt convenientem & juſtam ſalutationem ſignificamus tuo ſupremo Pontificio quemadmodum in præſenti miſiſtis veſtrum hominem & legatum Georgium Boſardum cum literis quæ continebant de veſtra ſalute & amore & amicitia: venit & pervenit in optimo tempore ad meam altiſſimam portam, & didicimus quæ per literas ſignificabantur: & quæ commiſiſtis ipſi dicere ex ore, retulit etiam coram magnitudine mea integra quemadmodum tua Glorioſitas

† *At this mark begins the Grand Signior's firſt Letter to the Pope by way of Anſwer.*

ipſi

ipſi mandavit. Cum didicerimus primum nos de ſalute & bona habitudine tuæ Dominationis delectati ſumus maximè, & exultavit ſpiritus meus propterea, & illis quæ per ipſum ſignificaſtis aſſenſi ſumus etiam & fecimus ipſa & miſimus etiam ad loca quæ ſignificaſtis, ut mitteremus ſicut volebat Magnitudo veſtra. Ulterius & id quod conventum eſt, *quamvis ad noſtrum terminum ſatis temporis reliquum ſit*, tamen de quo ſcripſiſtis & petiiſtis ipſum cum teſtinatione datum eſt. Prædictus Legatus Georgius jam perfecit omnia bene, quæcunq; requirit officium Legati, unde & honoratus eſt dignè a mea Altitudine, ut ipſum decet: miſimus etiam una cum ipſo a noſtra altiſſima porta fidelem noſtrum hominem Caſſimen, & data eſt ſibi licentia, ut rurſus ad tuum Pontificium redeat: noſtra enim amicitia Dei voluntate in dies augebitur. Nuntiis autem veſtræ ſalutis nunquam nos privetis, ut audientes magis delectemur. Datum in Aula Noſtræ Sultanicæ Autoritats in Conſtantinopoli 1494. anno a Jeſu Prophetæ Nativitate, die Octavo decima Septembris.

II.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Dei Gratia Rex Maximus & Imperator utriuſque continentis Aſiæque & Europæ, Chriſtianorum omnium Excellenti Patri & Domino Alexandro divina Providentia ſummo Pontifici digniſſimo, reverentiam debitam & benevolentiam cnm ſincera diſpoſitione: dignum & fidelem veſtrum hominem & legatum Georgium Boſardum in Altiſſimam portam miſiſtis: venit & attulit nuntios de veſtra ſalute & bona habitudine & delectavit nos mirifice, attulit etiam & verba quæ mandaſtis ipſi privatim & etiam miſiſtis integrè: & didicimus, & bene commiſimus & nos ipſi ſermones, ut nuntiet ipſos coram tuo Pontificio, & detur ſibi fides in his: quæcunq; enim dixerit, ſunt verba noſtra indubitata: etiam præfatus Georgius perfecit omnia bene quæcunq; requirit Officium Legati, unde & honoratus eſt digne a mea Altitudine ſecundum ipſius decentiam, & data eſt ſibi licentia, ut redeat rurſus in Aulam tuæ Magnitudinis & manifeſtet illi illa quæ nos ipſi commiſimus. Datum in Aula noſtræ Sultanicæ Autoritatis in Conſtantinopoli 1494. anno a Jeſu Prophetæ nativitate, 18. Septembris.

III.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Dei Gratiâ &c. Alexandro Divinâ Providentiâ Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſupremo Pontifici digniſſimo &c. poſt convenientem & juſtam ſalutationem ſignificamus tuæ Dominationi quemadmodum in præſenti fidelem noſtrum Caſſimen ſervum cum noſtris literis miſimus ad ſummum tuum Pontificium, ut ferat ad nos de veſtrâ ſalute & bonâ habitudine quod nos cupimus quotidie audire & delectari; ſimiliter ſignificet etiam & vobis de noſtra felici ſanitate & amore, ut & vos quæ de nobis ſunt ab ipſo dicenda audientes delectemini ſicut & nos delectamur: juſſimus etiam, & eſt datum id quod eſt conventum prædicto ſervo meo Caſſimi, ut perferat ipſum ad tuam glorioſitatem; & cum auxilio Dei reverſus fuerit rurſus ad meum Altitudinem, ſignificet nobis veſtram ſalutem & amicitiam, ut inde cum audiverimus magis etiam delectemur, & quæ ipſi mandavimus nota faciet tuæ magnitudini. Date autem ipſi fidem in his quæcunque dix-

erit: datum in Aula noſtræ Sultanicæ Auctoritatis in Conſtantinopoli 1494. anno a Jeſu Prophetæ nativitate, 18. Septembris.

IV.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, &c. Alexandro &c. poſt convenientem & juſtam ſalutationem notum ſit tuo ſupremo Pontificio quemadmodum Reverend. D. Nicolaus Libo Archiepiſcopus Arelatenſis eſt dignus & fidelis homo ipſius, & a tempore præcedentis Papæ ſupremi Pontificis Domini Innocentii uſque in hodiernum diem in tempus ſuæ magnitudinis continuè ad pacem & amicitiam feſtinat, ſemperque animâ & corpore in fideliſſimâ fide duabus partibus ſervivit, & adhuc ſervit; hujus igitur rei cauſâ juſtum eſt a vobis decerni majori in ordine ipſum eſſe debere, unde & *rogavimus ſupremum Pontificem, ut faceret illum Cardinalem, & aſſenſus eſt noſtræ petitioni*, adeo ut literis & nobis ſignificaverit quod petitum eſt datum fuiſſe ipſi, verum, quia non erat tempus id Septembris Menſis, non ſedet in ordine ſuo & ut requirit conſuetudo. Interea vero juſſu Dei dedit Pontifex commune debitum, & ſic ipſe remanſit. Eâ igitur de cauſâ ſcribimus & rogamus tuam magnitudinem propter amicitiam & pacem quam inter nos habuimus, & propter meum cor, ut adimpleat ipſi tuum Pontificium, videlicet, ut faciat ipſum perfectum Cardinalem: habebimus & nos id in Magnâ Gratiâ. Datum &c. ut ſupra.

Supra ſcriptæ quaternæ literæ erant ſcriptæ ſermone in cartâ authenticâ more Turcarum cum quodam ſigno aureo in capite, quas literas tranſtulit in Latinum de verbo ad verbum me excipiente & notante † auditus vir Laſcaris natione Græcus; aſſiſtente illi & adjuvante interpretationem Rever: D. Aloyſio Cyprio Epiſcopo Famaguſtano Illuſtriſſ: Principis Salernitani Secretario: in cujus rei fidem & teſtimonium ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Forolivienſis Apoſtolica & Imperiali Autoritate Notarius publicus omnia ſupradicta manu mea propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, & meum ſignum appoſui rogatus & requiſitus.

V.

SULTAN Bajazet Chan, Filius Soldani Mahumeti, Dei Gratiâ Imperator Aſiæ, Europæ & oris maritimæ, Patri & Domino omnium Chriſtianorum Divinâ Providentiâ Papæ Alexandro ſexto Romanæ Eccleſiæ digno Pontifici, poſt debitam & meritoriam ſalutationem ex bono animo & puro corde ſignificamus veſtræ Magnitudine per Georgium Buſardum ſervitorem & nuntium veſtræ Potentiæ. Intelleximus bonam convaleſcentiam ſuam, & etiam quæ retulit pro parte ejuſdem veſtræ magnitudinis, ex quibus lætati ſumus magnamq; conſolationem cepimus: inter alia mihi retulit quomodo Rex Franciæ animatus eſt habere Gem. fratrem noſtrum, qui eſt in manibus veſtræ Potentiæ, quod eſſet multum contra voluntatem noſtram, & veſtræ Magnitudinis ſequeretur maximum damnum, & omnes Chriſtiani paterentur detrimentum. Idcirco una cum præfato Georgio cogitare cœpi-

† *F. Eruditus.*

mus

mus pro quiete, utilitate, & honore veſtræ potentiæ & adhuc pro mea ſatisfactione: bonum eſſet quod dictum Gem. meum fratrem qui ſubjectus eſt morti & detentus in manibus veſtræ Magnitudinis, omnino mori faceretis, quod ſibi vita eſſet, & potentiæ veſtræ utile, & quieti commodiſſimum, mihiq; gratiſſimum; & ſi in hoc Magnitudo veſtra contenta ſit complacere nobis, prout in ſua prudentiâ confidimus facere velle, debet pro meliori ſuæ potentiæ & pro majori noſtrâ ſatisfactione quanto citius poterit cum illo meliori modo quo placebit veſtræ Magnitudini, dictum Gem. levare facere ex anguſtiis iſtius mundi & transferri ejus animam in alterum ſæculum ubi meliorem habebit quietem & ſi hoc adimplere faciet veſtra potentia & mandabit nobis corpus ſuum in qualicunq; loco citra mare: promittimus Nos Sultan Bajazet ſupradictus in quocunque loco placuerit veſtræ Magnitudini ducatorum 300000. ad emenda filiis ſuis aliqua Dominia, quæ ducatorum 300000. conſignare faciemus illi cui ordinabit veſtra Magnitudo antequam ſit nobis dictum corpus datum & per veſtros meis conſignatum. Adhuc promitto veſtræ potentiæ pro mæliori ſna ſatisfactione, quod neq; per me, aut per meos ſervos, neq; etiam per aliquem ex patriis meis erit datum aliquod impedimentum aut damnum dominio Chriſtianorum cujuſcunq; qualitatis aut conditionis fuerit, ſive in terra ſive in mari, niſi eſſent aliqui qui nobis aut ſubditis noſtris facerent damnum. Et pro majori adhuc ſatisfactione veſtræ Magnitudinis, ut ſit ſecura ſine aliquâ dubitatione de omnibus his quæ ſupra promitto, juravi & affirmavi omnia in præſentiâ præfati Georgii per verum Deum quem adoramus, & per Evangelia noſtrâ obſervare veſtræ potentiæ omnia uſque ad complementum, nec aliquâ re deficere ſine defectu aut aliquâ detectione. Et adhuc pro majori ſecuritate veſtræ Magnitudinis, ne ejus animus in aliquâ dubitatione remaneat, imo ſit certiſſimus de novo, ego ſupra dictus Sultan Bajazet Chan juro per Deum verum, qui creavit cœlum & terram, & omnia quæ in iis ſunt, & in quem credimus & adoramus quod faciendo adimplere ea quæ ſupra eidem requiro. Promitto per dictum juramentum ſervare omnia quæ ſupra continentur & in aliqua re nunquam contra facere neque contravenire veſtræ Magnitudini. Scriptum Conſtantinopoli in Palatio noſtro ſecundum adventum Chriſti Die 12. Septembris 1494.

Ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Forolivienſis Apoſtolica & Imperiali Authoritate Notarius publicus infra ſcriptus, literas ex Originali quod erat ſcriptum literis Latinis in ſermone Italico in carta oblonga Turcarum, quæ habebat in Capite Signum Magni Turcæ aureum in calce nigrum, tranſumſi fideliter de verbo ad verbum, & manu propria rogatus & requiſitus ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, ſignumque meum in fidem & teſtimonium conſuetum appoſui Florentiæ die vigeſimâ quintâ Novembris 1494. in Conventu Crucis Ordinis minorum.

Articulus

APPENDIX.

Articulus *de Fuga Cardinalis* Valentini *ex Civitate* Velletri. Burchard. p. 34.

TRIGESIMA Januarii nuntiatum eſt Pontifici Cardinalem Valentinum ex civitate Velletri in habitu familiaris ſtabuli Regis a Rege Franciæ aufugiſſe. In receſſu ejuſdem Cardinalis cum Rege Francorum ex urbe portare fecit ſecum novendecim *Salmas* bonorum ſuorum apparenter, cum copertis ſuis honorificè tres, quarum duæ erant credentiæ, quæ prima die, Rege & Cardinali ad marinum equitante, manſerunt retro, & ad urbem in ſero redierunt, ſervitoribus Cardinalibus aſſerentibus Salmas ipſas eſſe captas & deprædatas, aliæ 17. ſalmæ venerunt ad Curiam Regis quarum capſæ poſt receſſum Cardinalis a Rege fuerunt apertæ & nihil in iis repertum, prout quidam mihi retulerunt, ſed credo eos mentiri. Prima Februarii Decanus Auditorum Rotæ & Decanus Auditorum Conſiſtorialium & alii populi Romani nomine * ituri ad Regem Franciæ ad commendandam Regi urbem & ſupplicandum ne propter receſſum Cardinalis ab eo contra urbem ac Romanos indignaretur. Papa miſit Bartholomæum Nepeſinum Epiſcopum Secretarium ſuum ad Regem Francorum ad excuſandum ſanctitatem ſuam de receſſu Cardinalis Valentini ab ipſo Rege.

Burchard. P. 35. Venit his diebus ad urbem D. Philippus de Breſſe nomine Regis Franciæ, deinde ab urbe recedens ad Regem ſuum rediturus aſſociatus fuit extra portam Urbis a Cardinalibus S. Clementis & S. Dionyſii medius inter eos, *non ſine magna ipſorum Cardinalium nota* & totius Collegii Cardinalium ignominia.

Burchard. P. 35. Le Roy entra à Naples le 22. Febr. le Chaſteau S. Alme, dell'Ovo & Caſtronovo tenoient contre luy & la tour S. Vincent: dans Saint Elme eſtoient les gens du Roy de Naples, au Chaſteau neuf le Comte de Peſcaire, dans le Chateau de l'œuf le Roy Ferdinand. 15. Feburier le Filz du grand Turc mourut à Naples, *ex eſu ſive potu non convenienti naturæ ſuæ & conſueto.* La tour ſainct Vincent rendüe au Roy: le 7 Mars le Chaſteau neuf rendu au Roy, le quinzieſme Mars Chaſteau de l'œuf rendu; & factæ ſunt carum Rege Franciæ per ſuos Tragœdiæ & Comœdiæ de Papa, Romanorum & Hiſpaniæ Regibus * ligam & confæderationem colluſione & more Gallico deriſorio, Gayete rendu au Roy, ceux de Gayete ayant baillè mil ducats au Caſtillan. Liga inter Papam, Maximilianum Regem Romanorum, & Hiſpaniæ Regem, ac Venetos, (cum) Mediolani duce pro omnium Chriſtianorum beneficio, publicè le douzieſme Avril.

Burchard. P. 36. Feria quarta, ſeptima Junii fuit ſecretum conſiſtorium, in quo Ser^mus^. D. Noſter *erexit civitatem Beneventanam in ducatum* & de conſenſu omnium Cardinalium qui interfuerunt, nullo ſe opponente ſeu minimum verbum contradicente, infeudavit Illuſtriſſimum Dominum Johannem Borgia

APPENDIX.

Borgia de Arrogonia ducem Gandæ S. R. E. capitaneum generalem, Filium ſuum cariſſimum & omnes Succeſſores ſuos ex lumbis (ejus) deſcendentes maſculos legitimos in proprium de dicto ducatu Beneventano & civitate Terracinenſi ac ponte Curvæ ac ejus & earum Comitatibus ſive terrenis, ſolo R. D. Cardinale Senenſi, viriliter & animosè inveſtituræ hujuſmodi repugnante ne fieret & ex legitimis rationibus ac evidentibus ſuis dictum votum approbante, qui tamen ſolus reſiſtere ac factum ipſum impedire non potuit. Feria ſexta octavo menſis Junii fuit Conſiſtorium Secretum in quo S. D. N, creavit & publicavit legatum de Latere R. D. Cardinalem Valentinum ad * * & coronandum Seren. D. *Fredericum de Arragonia Siciliæ &c. Regem*; qui fuit à Conſiſtorio ab omnibus Cardinalibus præſentibus uſque ad Cameram ſuam more ſolito aſſociatus.

Artic. *De Reditu Ferdinandi.* Referred to from *p.* 130.

N. B. *As this Account,* Bembo *gives of* Ferdinand's *Return, differs from the ſubſequent Narrative thereof by* Gucciardin *and* Oricellarius, *inſomuch that the Cardinal intimates, as if there had been ſome Action between the* Arragoneſe *and the* French *on the firſt landing of the former, and that they were beat back by the latter; I have here ſubjoinde their reſpective Deſcriptions of this memorable Fact, in which* Guicciardin *and* Oricellarius *ſeem to agree with one another in the Affair, and, I think, is moſt to be depended upon; their Account being no leſs true than elegant and curious.*

Bemb. lib. 3. p. 76, 77. EA cum ſic cecidiſſent, ipſe autem Ferdinandus Neapolim non obſcuris multorum vocibus ſermonibuſque acerſeretur, quem etiam adventare intelligebant, ſpei atque fiduciæ plenus ab Aenaria navis ſolvit, atque ad littus Neapolitanum claſſe appulſa, non longe ab oppido exponere milites cum vellet, *impeditus a Gallis atque rejectus*, de tota re deſperans, quod ab Oppidanis nihil auxiliis ſibi emitti, nihil tumulti fieri animadverterat, ad Aenariam revertebatur. at civitas ægrè id paſſa, armis captis, Gallos partim ejecit, partim in arces, quæ ab illis tenebantur, conjecit. Id a piſcatoria navicula Ferdinando nunciatum, ſpem ei priſtinam facilè reſtituit. Quamobrem ſua cum navi incitatis Remigibus ſtatim Neapolim rediens, magno populi conſenſu in oppidum receptus eſt. Ita parvo temporis ſpatio, ſæpius modo bonam, modo adverſam expertus Fortunam, ac variis rerum ſuarum Eventis tanquam fluctibus jactatus, cùm id minimè fieri poſſe confideret, ab eadem quaſi tempeſtate atque ventis in portum conjectus eſt.

APPENDIX.

Oricel. p. 89. IISDEM fere temporibus claſſis, quâ ſuppetiæ magnique roboris auxilia a regibus Hiſpaniæ Ferdinando mittebantur, Meſſanam appulit. Cujus adventu ille admodum lætus, (maturum jam videbatur repeti patriam, eripique è Gallorum manibus) freto in Siciliam tranſmiſit, ubi cum præfecto nomine Icaſenſi, cui mirificus uſus in re navali habebatur, communicato conſilio ſimul atque armis, octuaginta navium numero Neapolim versùs curſum tenuere. Erat inter præfectos Claſſis Gallicæ, quæ in portu præſidebant, Gratianus Guerra maritimæ rei longè peritiſſimus, & qui virtute navali gloriam in invidiam vertiſſet. Hic exiſtimans, quod poſtea cognitum eſt, claſſem hoſtium milite parùm munitum, multus feroxque inſtare, ut audacter fortiterque eam aggrederentur: facile factu eſſe, claſſiariis tantùm defendentibus, reportare victoriam ſimul atque opima Ferdinandi ſpolia: occaſionis eſſe rem, non prælii: id poſitum in paucorum virtute, dummodo auderent confligere: fortes fortunam adjuvare. At cæteri, ſive invidiâ communi malo, ne id alienæ gloriæ cederet, ſive quòd Siculorum manu validâ inſtructam Claſſem exiſtimarent, Gratiano adverſati ſunt. Ita, quod plerumque accidit, fortiſſimo rejecto conſilio, ſibi magis quàm regno conſulunt: occupantque littoris partem ad orientem versùs. Magdalena eſt loco nomen; quâ hoſtem littorum appulſu arcerent, egredientemque navi adorirentur. Ab illa parte urbis navibus aditus ex alto eſt. Naves igitur in Ancoris expectatnes è regione oppidi, permagnum animorum motum excitavere. Tota Neapolis deſiderio libertatis exarſit: pleriſque præoptantibus vel iniquiſſimam ſubire fortunam quàm Gallorum perferre acerbitates; cæteris verò novis rebus ſtudentibus quibus ætas animùſque ferox erat. Egredi tamen urbe aut ſignum dare Claſſiariis auſit nemo: quippe Gallus primò alacris (ut eſt ejus gentis ingenium) cuncta præſidiis vigiliiſque munierat, oppreſſeratque maturum jam ac propè erumpentem defectionem. Sed poſtquam morâ res agi cœpta, claſſis per diem noctemque ad ancoram ſtetit præſtolando, ſiquid in urbe motûs oriretur; ipſe diutinæ curæ impatiens vino luſtriſque oppreſſus elangueſcere, cuſtodias remittere: Neapolitani intendere animos cœpere; cùm Ferdinandus inſcius eorum, quæ agerentur, atque in aliud tempus negotium differendum ratus, naves ad primam Auroram ſolvit, ut Ænariam ſeſe reciperet. Quod ubi primùm è ſpeculis lociſque editioribus cognitum eſt (evolârat jam è conſpectu ferè fugiens navis prætoria, cæteræque ſubſequebantur) populares, qui de Rege recipiendo conſpiraverant, veriti, ne deſperatis Ferdinandi rebus initum conſilium proderetur, raptim arma capiunt; abeuntem miſsâ properè, naviculâ exploratoriâ accerſunt; furibundique ſimul undique clamore ſublato per urbem diſcurrunt, certatim pro ſe quiſque alios monendo, alios adhortando, nonnullos impellendo, ut Gallorum grave ſervitutis jugum excutiant, legitimúmque Regem recipiant, apud ipſos genitum, alitum, educatum: fore, ut juvenem nullâ ſuâ culpâ expulſum regno complexi, ipſi participes imperii ducem magis quàm Regem habeant: cum illo divitias, honores, Magiſtratus habituros; Regias opes, regni procurationem futuram in ſuâ poteſtate id rationem poſtulare, juſtum odium incendere; neceſſitudinem cogere; Deos ipſos annuere; quibus propitiis volentibuſque tanta claſſis ſecundo curſu ex Hiſpaniâ uſque advolâſſet.

In urbe crebrâ fortunæ varietate inſignis non aliàs magis motus animorum fuit: neque tam affectâ ætate quiſquam, viribuſque tam infirmis, quin,

quin, eo nuncio permotus, telum, ut quodque ſors obtulerat, abripuerit. Adeò ſimul omnes pertæſi Gallos ſuperbè atque crudeliter imperantes; Regiam Ferdinandi indolem perſequebantur. Læti primores, lætior plebs, cives, peregrini, viri, mulieres, liberi, ſervi, circumfuſi, gratulantéſque inter ſe, ubs locus aut caſus conjunxerat, gaudium ac lætitiam agitabant; Regem ſuum ſalvum, beatum, florentem cupiebant. Concurritur ex urbe totâ ad eam littoris partem, quam Galli occupaverant, ne hoſtis continentem peteret: ibique manus tollere undique multitudo, teſtari acclamationibus lætitiam, gratulari ingenti ſpiritu adventum Regis, & ſe quiſque ad omnia audenda promptum paratumque oſtendere: neque ferè inventus præter paucos Gallicas partes ſecutos, qui ſi a tantâ gratulatione omnium abſtinuiſſet, non ſcelere aſtringi arbitraretur. At Galli Ancipiti malo oppreſſi, cum obſepto itinere reditu intercluderentur, fugâ ſaluti conſulunt: ac per montis dorſum, qui urbi imminet, longo difficilique itinere circumducti ad arcem ſeſe recipiunt; ibique totis viribus aciem inſtruunt.

Guriciard. lib. 2. p. 60. PArtì adunque di Sicilia con 60. legni di Gaggia, & con 20. altri legni minori, & con lui Ricaienſio Catelano Capitano dell' armata Spagnuola, huomo nelle coſe navali di gran virtu, & ſperanza: ma con tanti pochi huomini da combattere, che nel la maggior parte non erano qnaſi altri che; deſtinati al ſervigio del navigare. In queſto modo erano piccole le forze ſue, ma grande per lui il favore, & la volontà de popoli, perciò arrivato alla ſpiaggia di Salerno, ſubito Salerno, la coſta di Malfi, & la cava, alzarono le ſue bandiere; volteggiò dipoi due giorni ſopra Napoli, aſpettando, ma indarno, che nella terra ſi faceſſe qualche tumulto: perche i Franceſi, preſe preſto l'arme, & meſſe buone guardie ne luoghi, opportuni; repreſſono la ribellione, che già bolliva, & harebbono rimediato a tutti i loro pericoli, ſe haveſſero arditamente, ſeguitato il conſiglio d' alcuni di loro: iquali conjetturando i legni Aragoneſi eſſere mal forniti di combattenti; confortavano Monpenſieri, che ripiena l' armata Franceſi, che era nel porto, di ſoldati, & d' huomini atti a combattere, aſſaltaſſe con eſſa i nimici. ¡Ma Ferdinando il terzo di deſperato che nella città ſi faceſſe alteratione, S'allargò in mare per ritirarſi a Iſchia: onde i congiurati, conſiderando, che per eſſere la congiuratione quaſi ſcoperta, era diventata cauſa propria la cauſa di Ferdinando, riſtrettiſi inſieme, & deliberati di fare della neceſſità virtù; mandarono ſegretamente un batello à richiamarlo, pregandolo che per dare piu facilità, & animo a chi voleva levarſi in ſuo favore, metteſſe in terra, ò tutta, ò parte della ſua gente però di nuovo ritornato ſopra Napoli il di ſeguente quello nel quale fù fatta la giornata in ſulla ripa del fiume del Taro; S'accoſtò al lito con l'armata, per porre in terra alla Maddalena, luogo propinquo a Napoli a uno miglio, dou' entra in mare il piccolo piu preſto rio che fiumicello chiamato ſebeto incognito a ciaſcuno ſe non gli haveſſero dato nome i verſi de' poeti Napolitani, ilche vedendo Monpenſieri non meno pronto a procedere con audacia, quando era neceſſario il timore, che fuſſe ſtato pronto a procedere con timore, quando era neceſſaria il dì dinanzi l'audacia, uſcì fuora della città con quaſi tutti i ſoldati per vietargli lo ſcendere in terra ilche fu cagione, che havendo i Napolitani tale opportunità, quale appena harebbono ſaputa deſiderare; ſi levarono ſubito in arme, fatto il principio di ſonare a martello dalla chieſa del Carmine, vicina alle mura della città, & ſucceſſivamente ſeguitando tutte l'altre: & occupate le porte cominciarono ſcopertamente

pertamente a chiamare il nome di Ferdinando. Spaventò queſto ſubito tumulto i Franceſi, in modo, che non parendo loro ſicuro lo ſtare in mezo tra la cittâ già ribellata, & le genti nimiche, & meno ſperando di potere per quella via, donde erano, uſciti ritornarvi; deliberarono attorniando le mura della città, camino lungo montuoſo, & molto difficile entrare in Napoli per la porta contigua a Caſtel nuovo. Ma Ferdinando in queſto mezo entrato in Napoli, & meſſo con alcuni de' ſuoi a cavallo da Napolitani; cavalcò per tutta la terra con incredibile allegrezza di ciaſcuno, ricevendolo la moltitudine con grandiſſima grida, nè ſi ſatiando le donne di coprirlo dalle fineſtre di fiori, & d'acque odorifere: anzi molte delle pui nobili correvano nella ſtrada ad abbraciarlo, & ad aſciugargli dal volto il ſudore, & Nondimeno non S'intermetteuano per queſto le coſe neceſſarie alla difeſa: perche il Marcheſe di Peſcara inſieme co' ſoldati, ch' Erano entrati con Ferdinando, & con la gioventù Napolitana attendeua a Sbarrare, & fortificare le boche delle vie, donde i Franceſi poteſſero aſſaltare da Caſtel nuovo la terra: li quali, poi che furono ridutti in ſulla piazza del caſtello; fecero ogni Sforzo per rientrare nell habitato della città. Eſſendo moleſtati con le baleſtre, & artiglierie minute, e trovata a tutti i capi delle ſtrade ſofficiente difeſa, ſopravenendone la notte, ſi ritirarono nel caſtello, laſciati i cavalli, che furono tra utili, & inutili poco meno di due mila, in ſulla piazza; perche nel caſtello non era nè capacità di ricevergli, ne facultà di nutrirgli: rinchiuſonviſi dentro con Mompenſieri, juo d'Allegri riputato Capitano, & Antonello Principe di Salerno, & molti altri Franceſi, & Italiani di non piccola conditione. Et benche per qualche di faceſſero ſpeſſe ſcaramuccie ſulla piazza, & intorno al porto, e traceſſero alla città con l'artiglierie; nondimeno ributtati ſempre da nimici; reſtarono eſcluſi di ſperanza di poter da ſe ſteſſi ricuperare quella città. Seguitarono ſubito l'eſſempio di Napoli, Capua, Averſa, la Rocca di Mandragone, & molte altre terre circoſtanti, & ſi voltò la maggior parte del Reame a nuovi penſieri. Tra' quali il popolo di Gaeta, havendo preſe l'armi con maggior animo, che forze, per eſſere comparite innanzi al porto alcune galee di Ferdinando; fu con molta ucciſione ſuperato da' Franceſi, che u'erano a guardia; i quali con l'impeto della vittoria Saccheggiarono tutta la terra.

Art. *De Cæde Ducis Gandiæ.* Referred from *p.* 158.

Burchardi Diar. p. 36, to 40.

1497. FERIA quarta, octava Junii Rever. D. Cardinalis Valentinus & Illuſtriſſimus Johannes Borgia de Arragonia Gandiæ Dux, Princeps, S. R. E. gentium Armorum videlicet Capitaneus generalis, S. D. N. Papæ filii cariſſimi fecerunt cœnam D. Vanotiæ matri eorum, poſitæ prope Eccleſiam Sancti Petri ad Vincula, cum ipſa eorum matre & aliis; cœna facta nocte curſum agente, & Reverendiſſimo Domino Cardinali Valentino reditum eorum ad Palatium Apoſtolicum ſollicitante, apud Ducem

APPENDIX.

Ducem & Capitaneum fratrem ſuum prædictum aſcenderunt equos ſivè mulas ambo ipſi cum paucis ex ſuis, quoniam pauciſſimos ſervitores ſecum habebant; & ſimul ambo equitarunt uſque non longè à palatio R. D. Aſcanii Vice-Cancellarii quod olim S. D. N. tunc Vice-cancellarius inhabitare conſueverat & conſtruxerat; ubi D. Dux aſſerens ſe priuſquam ad Palatium reverteretur, alio ſolatii cauſa iturum, accepta a prædicto Cardinali fratre venia retroceſſit, remiſſis omnibus illis paucis ſervitoribus quos ſecum habebat, retento ſolum Stafiero, & quodam qui *facie velata* ad cœnam ad eum venerat, & per menſem vel circa prius ſingulis vel quaſi diebus eum in Palatio Apoſtolico viſitaverat, in mula quam ipſe Dux equitabat retro ſe accepto, equitavit ad plateam Judæorum, ubi prædictum Stafierum licentiavit & a ſe verſus Palatium remiſit, tantùm committens quod ad horam vigeſimam tertiam in dicta platea expectaret, infra quam ſi ad eum non reverteretur, ad dictum palatium rediret; & his dictis præfatus Dux cum velato in groppa ſuæ mulæ conſidente a Stafiero receſſit, ex quo equitavit neſcio ubi, interfectus & necatus eſt, & in flumen propè: eum locum juxta ſeu propè hoſpitale Sancti Hieronymi Sclavorum nuncupatum in via qua de ponte Sancti Angeli recta via itur ad Eccleſiam beatæ Mariæ de populo juxta fontem ex terra conductum ſitum, per quem fimus ſuper carrucis ſeu carretis ad ipſum flumen projici conſuevit, & projectus eſt. Stafierus autem prædictus in plateam Judæorum dimiſſus graviter vulneratus & uſque ad mortem mutilatus eſt, & a quodam miſericorditer exceptus & cura & impenſa, qui ſic perturbatus nequicquam quid de Domini ſui commiſſione & ſucceſſu ſignificavit. Mane autem facto Jovis quindecima Junii, Duce prædicto ad Palatium Apoſtolicum non redeunte, ſervitores ſui ſecreto conturbantur, & unus eorum Ducis prædicti & Cardinalis Valentini ſerotinum receſſum & expectatum ejus reditum mane Pontifici indicat. Perturbatus exinde Pontifex & tamen ipſum Ducem alicubi cum puella intendere luxui ſibi perſuadens & ob eam cauſam e puellæ domo exire illa die ipſi Duci non licere, ſperabat eum in ſero illius diei Jovis omnino rediturum, quo deficiente Pontifex animo contriſtatus, ac totis viſceribus commotus incœpit omnibus conatibus cauſam inquirere apud quoſcunq; per plures ex ſuis ad hoc appellatos. Inter inquiſitos quidam Georgius Sclavus, qui ligna habebat ſupra fontem propè deſignatum, in Tyberis littore ex nave exonerata, & ut illam cuſtodiret, ne ſibi in nocte a quoquam furarentur, in naviculam ibidem in Tyberi natantem ſe quieti dederat, interrogatus ſi quidquam vidiſſet in nocte Mercurii tunc proxime præteriti in flumen projici, interrogantibus fertur tale reſponſum dediſſe: Quod nocte illa ligna ſua ipſo cuſtodiente & in dicta navicula quieſcente, venerunt duo pedites per viculum ſiniſtrum dicti hoſpitalis Sclavorum & Sancti Hieronymi contiguum circa horam quintam ſuper viam publicam dicto flumini contiguam, & hinc inde, ne quiſquam forſitan eſſet tranſiturus, diligenter perſpexerunt; ac nemine viſo, retroceſſerunt per eumdem viculum: intermiſſo modico temporis intervallo duo alii eumdem viculum exiverunt & fecerunt idem quod primi fecerant, & nemine comperto, dato ſigno ſociis, venit unus equeſtris in equo albo retrò ſe habens cadaver hominis defuncti, cujus caput in brachio ab una & pedes ab alia parte dependebant, penes quod cadaver duo pedites primi prædicti ambulabant, hinc inde cadaver ipſum ne de equo caderet ſuſtinentes; receſſeruntque ac equitarunt ſupra locum per quem fimus ad flumen projicitur ſuperius ſpecificatum, ac circa finem ejuſdem loci conſtitutum equum verterunt, ut caudam verteret flumini, & duo alii pedites præ-

dicti cadaver obſervantes alter per manus & brachia, alter vero per pedes & crura cadaver ipſum ex equo detraxerunt & ad partem ſuſtulerunt brachiis, & ad flumen ipſum cum omni vi & potentia projecerunt.

Interrogavit eos aſtans inſidens equo, ſi dejeciſſent; illi autem reſpon. derunt: *Signor ſi*, reſpexit tunc inſidens in equo in flumen, & mantellum introjecti vidit natantem ſupra flumen, & interrogavit pedites quid eſſet nigrum illud natans quod videtur, illi reſopnderunt mantellum, ad quod alteri lapides projecit ut mergeret in profundum, quo facto mantello merſo receſſerunt omnes quinque, nam pedites alii duo qui ſecundo ſtratellam prædictam exiverant proſpicientes ſi quis partranſiret, ſe equiti prædicto & aliis duobus aſſociaverunt, eoſque comitati ſunt, & per alium viculum qui ad hoſpitale Sancti Jacobi dat aditum, iter arripuerunt & ultra non comparuerunt. Interrogaverunt Pontificis ſervitores, cur ipſe Georgius tantum crimen non revelaſſet gubernatori urbis, reſpondit ſe vidiſſe ſuis diebus centum variè occiſos in flumen projici per locum prædictum & nunquam aliqua eorum ratio habita fuit, propterea de cauſa hujuſmodi æſtimationem aliquam non feciſſe. His intellectis vocati ſunt piſcatores & nautæ per urbem & eis ejus hominis piſcatio commiſſa: convenerunt piſcatores & nautæ, ut intellexi tres vel circa, qui omnes ſuis inſtrumentis per fluminis alveum projectis circa horam veſperarum reperierunt ducem cum omni adhuc habitu ſuo, videlicet calceis, caligis, diploide, veſtello, mantello veſtitutum, ſub cingulo habens chirotecas ſuas cum Ducatis triginta, vulneratus novem vulneribus, quorum unum erat in collo per guttur, alia octo in capite, corpore, & cruribus: compertus Dux naviculæ impoſitus eſt & ad caſtrum Sancti Angeli ductus in quo exutus, lotum eſt ejus cadaver & pannis militaribus indutum, *Socio meo Bernardino Gutterii Clerico ceremoniarum*, omnia ordinante. In ſero illius diei, circa horam vigeſimam quartam, cadaver portatum eſt per familiares nobiles ſuos, ſi rectè memini, ex dicto caſtro ad Eccleſiam beatæ Mariæ de populo præcedentibus intorcitiis circiter centum & viginti, & omnibus prælatis palatii, cubiculariis & ſcutiferis Papæ ipſum comitantibus cum magno fletu & ululatu ſine ordine incedentibus, publicè portabatur cadaver *in Cataletto* honorifice, & videbatur non mortuus ſed dormiens. In Eccleſia prædicta factum eſt ei depoſitum, & in eo reconditum ubi manet uſque ad hodiernum diem. Pontifex ut intellexit Ducem interfectum & in flumen, ut ſtercus projectum compertum eſſe; commota ſibi fuerunt omnia viſcera, & præ dolore & cordis amaritudine recluſit ſe in quadam camera, & flevit amariſſimè; Reverendiſſimus Dominus Cardinalis Segobienſis cum certis aliis ſervitoribus Sanctitatis ſuæ adierunt oſtium cameræ, & tot exortantibus & rogantibus ſupplicaverunt & perſuaſerunt Pontificem, ut tandem plures poſt horas aperto oſtio eos intromitteret: non comedit nec bibit Pontifex ex ſero die Mercurii quatuordecima, uſque ad prædictum Sabbatum ſequens, nec à mane Jovis uſque ad diem ſequentem ad punctum quidem horæ quievit; perſuaſu tandem multiplici & continuo præfatorum victus poſtremo incœpit pro poſſe luctui finem imponere, majus damnum & periculum quod perſonæ ſuæ evenire exinde poſſet conſiderans.

Burchar. p. 40. Feria quarta, ſexto Septembris in mane R. R. Domini Cardinales in urbe exeuntes, equitarunt ad Monſterium beatæ Mariæ novæ reperturi Reverendiſſimum Dominum Cardinalem Valentinum nuper ad Regnum Neapolitanum ad coronandum Sereniſſimum Fredericum illius Regem legatum de latere miſſum, qui heri ſerò ad dictum Monaſterium redierat,

redierat, quibus ſingulis ipſe Cardinalis Valentinus ad pedes ſcalarum obviam venit & eos uſque ad locum Capitularem more ſolito paratum & ornatum conduxit ſeu aſſociavit.

Artic. *Archiepiſcopi Conſentini.* Referred from *p.* 167.

Burchardi Diar. p. 40.

1497. FERIA quinta, quatuordecimo Septembris circa horam quintam noctis S. D. N. vocato ad ſe Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre Barth. Florid. Arch. Conſentino Secretario ſuo, eum capi fecit & carceribus caſtri ſancti Angeli & turris nonæ mancipari tres ſervitores Domini Archiepiſcopi, deinde etiam Archiepiſcopum per deambulatorium quæ in muro eſt inter dictum caſtrum duci, & in eo cautius cuſtodiri. Intellexerat enim Sanctitas ſua prædictum Secretarium multa brevia fradulenter & dolosè per falſas illorum relationes præter ſcitum & voluntatem ejuſdem expediviſſe, & quædam ex eis per prædictos ſervitores Secretarum ſolicitata eſſe, inter quæ fuit unum diſpenſationis, quòd quædam monialis, Portugalliæ Regni vera hæres & Regina matrimonium contrahere poſſet, habitu religioſo dimiſſo, & votis emiſſis non obſtantibus, cum filio naturali & illegitimo, Regis ultimi defuncti. Feria II. nono Octobris, fuit Conſiſtorium ſecretum in quo lectus eſt Proceſſus contra D. Barth. Arch. Cuſentin. S. D. N. Secretarium habitus, & confeſſio per eum facta ac plures minutæ brevium per ipſum, ut dicebatur ſine ſcitu & voluntate S. D. N. Papæ expeditorum.

Carolus Octavus appoplexia moritur: fuerat in venatione de qua ſatis tarde veniens caput ſibi fecit lavari; facta deinde cœna appoplexia captus intra octo horas emiſit ſpiritum 1497. Et die Mercurii undecima ejuſdem menſis in alio Conſiſtorio ſecreto S. D. N. non de Conſilio Cardinalium, in præſentia plurimorum Prælatorum ac R. R. fratrum D. D. Petri Archiepiſcopi Reginenſis almæ urbis Gubernatoris ac Petri de Vincentia Epiſcopi Ceſen. Curiæ Cameræ Apoſtolicæ Generalis auditoris, Commiſſariorum cauſæ dicti Archiepiſcopi & prædictorum, tulit ſententiam contra Dominum Archiepiſcopum Conſentinum abſentem in Carceribus in Caſtro ſancti Angeli, per quem eumdem Secretarium ſuum Archiepiſcopatu & omnibus aliis beneficiis privavit, & ab omni Ordine depoſuit & degradavit, ac pronunciavit curiæ ſæculari tradendum; committens Commiſſariis prædictis, quòd contra eumdem privatum depoſitum & prout de jure, ad ulteriora procederent: qui Commiſſarii die Veneris tredecima dicti menſis Octobris in caſtro ſancti Angeli conſtituti prædictum olim Archiepiſcopum Cuſentinum coram eis perſonaliter conſtitutum ad inſtantium Domini Mariani Coccini Procuratis Fiſcalis ibidem præſentis, habito prius ab eodem Cuſentino ad eorum interrogata Reſponſo, quòd aliter quam defenſus eſſet ſe defendere non vellet aut factum ſuum juſtificare, per

eorum

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eorum definitivam ſententiam Archiepiſcopatu, & omnibus beneficiis privatum, ab omnibus Ordinibus degradarunt, & curiæ ſæculari tradierunt; ſeu potius (juxta) ſententiam Papæ pridie lectam hujuſmodi eorum ſententiam ipſi Cuſentino intimarunt; & ſtatim ipſum Cuſentinum barigello urbis ibidem præſenti corporaliter aſſignarunt & tradiderunt. Quo facto R. P. D. Johannes Marades electus Tullenſis S. D. N. Papa cubicularius ſecretus venit ad Aulam prædicti Caſtri, in qua Commiſſarii & alii ſupra nominati præſentes erant, & de ſpeciali Mandato Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri, viva voce ut aſſeruit ſibi facto, mandavit barigello prædicto, ut Cuſentinum privatum prædictum ex Caſtro non elevaret, ſed ipſum in eo dimitteret, & in Camera in qua prius & uſque nunc morari conſuevit reponeret, prout factum eſt. Eadem die & poſt prandium, præmiſſis ſic peractis omnia bona prædicti Cuſentini privati, fuerunt ex mandato Papæ aportata de Camera ſua quam in Palatio Apoſtolico habere conſuevit & repoſita in foreria Papæ. Deinde vigeſima octava dicti Menſis Octobris idem privatus conductus fuit de camera quam in dicto caſtro inhabitabat ex commiſſione Papæ, & poſitus in alium ſqualidum & arctiorem Carcerem in eodem carcere, ut ibidem perpetuò luerit pnœas in pane doloris & aqua triſtitiæ.

Feria tertia ſeptemdecima Octobris in aurora S. D. N. equitavit oſtiam Tyberinam, & cum eo R. R. D. D. Argentinus & Valentinus Cardinales aſſociati, cum equitibus circiter 400. & 600. peditibus: & ibi manſit uſque ad vigeſimam primam Octobris qua in ſero Romam rediit. Fuit autem Oſtiæ venatus & ſolatii cauſa. Eadem die in ſero Bartholomæus Floridus olim Archiepiſcopus Cuſentinus Secretarius Papæ, nuper omni honore, dignitate, ordine & beneficiò privatus, in caſtrum Sancti Angeli inductus eſt ſuper camiſiam ſuam depoſito omni habitu & veſtibus ſuis gonella loco diploidis de panno albo groſſiſſimo duplicata admodum longa palmum ultra genua, uno paro caligarum de panno groſo, uno paro calcearum coraminis groſſiſſimi, gabano de panno longo ad terram, & biretto duplo & albo & groſſo & data ſibi in manibus eſt imago crucifixi ſatis magna ligno inciſa & cruci affixa. Sicque veſtitus ductus de camera in qua uſque tunc detentus erat ad locum ſepulturæ Adriani Imperatoris pro perpetuis carceribus ſibi deputatum in quo parata ſibi fuit lettica ex talibus more ſolito compoſita cum teſteria caput ab humilitate muri præcavente & deſuper poſitus paliaritius & mataritium cum duabus Sclavinis & datum ſibi breviarium, Biblia & Epiſtolæ Sancti Pauli. Item unum barile aquæ, tres cachuti panum, unum bocale olei & lucerna pro lumine conſervando; ibidem incluſus, quoad vixerit, permanſurus. Ordinatum fuit per ſanctiſſimum Dominum Noſtrum, ut intellexi, quod ſingulis diebus vel tribus ibi incluſus per caſtellanum dicti caſtri ſive ejus nomine viſitaretur & panis & aqua pro victu & oleum pro lumine ſibi miniſtraretur. Relatum fuit ſuperioribus diebus Sanctiſſimum Dominum Noſtrum ſingulis diebus Reverendiſſimum Dominum Johannem Maradum Electum Tullenſem & Dominum Petrum de Solis Archidiaconum de Bavis & quoſdam alios familiares ſuos Demeſticos ad prædictum Dominum Cuſentinum incarceratum ad caſtrum Sancti Angeli miſiſſe, qui ſecum in talibus & ſcachis luderent, ut ipſum convenientibus perſuaſionibus inducerent. Ad confitendum ſe plura brevia ſine Pontificis juſſu expediviſſe, ut Pontifex per id ſe de aliis ſuo juſſu expeditis, quæ Regem & Reginam Hiſpaniarum irritaverant, ac ſi quaſi illo inſcio expedita eſſent, excuſaret, Quod ſi ipſe Cuſentinus id faceret, Pontificem eum exaltaturum & majoribus Officiis remuneraturum: hujuſmodi perſuaſionibus præmiſſa confeſſum eſſe, & confeſſione prædicta

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per eos facta Dominos Tullenſem & alios prædictos ad eum nunquam rediiſſe.

Addtiur ab auctore Burchardo Pag. 56. Ejus Diarii.

Feria ſecunda vigeſima tertia Julii obiit Bartholomeus Floridus, olim Archiepiſcopùs Cuſentinus & Sanctiſſimi Domini Noſtri Papæ Secretarius Domeſticus, in Caſtro Sancti Angeli, & in loco quo dætentus erat cum magna [ut intellexi] Devotione a Salvatore noſtro Miſericordiam petens, & dicens, Tibi ſoli peccavi, ac ſi negaret in Papam deliquiſſe.

Artic. *De Mauro Hiſpanico.* Referred from *p.* 168.

Burchard. p. 44. INCARCERATA fuit quædam Cortegiana hoc eſt meretrix honeſta, Curſetta nomine, quæ familiarem Maurum habuit habitu muliebri incedentem qui ſe Barbaram Hiſpanam appellabat. Ambo ſimul per urbem ducti in ſcandalum, ipſa veſtem veluti * nigri uſque ad terram ſine ulla ligatura, ipſe autem Maurus in habitu muliebri, ut erat brachiis in ſuperiore parte hoc eſt ſupra cubitos a tergo fortiter tractis & ligatis & veſtibus uſque at Camiſiam elevatis uſque ad umbilicum, ut ab omnibus ejus genitalia viderentur: circulo per civitatem per eos facto, dimiſſa eſt Curſetta. Maurus vero die ſeptima Aprilis cum duobus aliis latronibus de carceribus turris nonæ eductus præcedente eos quodam sbirro, aſino inſidente & duos teſticulos in ſummitate unius cannæ deferente ligatos, qui cuidam Judæo ex eo quod Chriſtianam mulierem cognoverat exciſi fuerant, in campum floreæ ducti ſunt, & ibidem duo latrones ſuſpenſi, Maurus vero ſuper cumulo lignorum poſitus ad columnam baculo bene & fortiter torto, accenſo cumulo, ut combureretur, quod fieri non potuit propter pluviam ſupervenientem.

Hoc manè fuerunt mitrati ſex ruſtici & venditores olei & fuſtigati, ex eo quod recepto pretio a quibuſdam *morbo Gallico* laborantibus, qui illorum oleo tinis impoſito & balneati ab eadem infirmitate ſe liberos evadere ſperabant in his tinis oleo plenis illos balneari permiſerant, & poſt balneum oleum in vaſis ſuis repoſuerunt & pro bono & mundo aliis per urbem more ſolito vendiderunt.

APPENDIX.

Articulus *Fratris Hieronymi Savonaroli.* Referred to from p. 171.

Burch. Diar. p. 45. FERIA tertia, decimo Aprilis venerunt novæ ad urbem quod die Sabbati proximè præteriti, quæ fuit ſeptima hujus, paratus fuit ignis ad verificandum in judicio certas concluſiones fratris Hieronymi Savonarolæ de Ferraria, vicarii generalis congregationis conventus ſancti Marci Florentiæ ordinis prædicatorum in platea principali civitatis Florentiæ juxta inſcriptionem certorum fratrum, qui ad hoc ſe obtulerant ſed rem manſiſſe infectam. Caſus fuit: Frater Hieronymus, qui ab adventu Caroli Octavi Regis Francorum in Italiam, in Civitate Florentia multa mendoſa & ficta prædicavit publicè, partem unam in civitate tenebat, quæ ei favebat, ſperans ex inde magnus fieri, in prædicationibus ſuis publicè dicebat Salvatorem noſtrum ſæpe ſibi loqui & multa revelare. Habebat quemdam modum ſciendi peccata hominum per fratres ſuos quos habebat ſui Ordinis doctos & in populo reputatos, viros num ſex, qui in diverſis oppidis & Florentiæ reſidebant, & quidquid grave vel peculiare eis confitebatur, dicto fratri Hieronymo revelabant cum ſpecificatione nominis & conditione confitentis: & ex hujuſmodi revelationibus prædicabat populi peccata & Deum ſibi revelaſſe aſſerebat, ex quo & aliis modis ita populum attraxit, ut plures eum prophetam, & bonum virum eſſe crederent: ad omne conſilium in quo res graves tractabantur, vocabatur, & ejus nutu civitas regebatur, & cuncta fiebant. S. D. N. videns tantam hominis potentiam & ejus maliciam, fecit per generalem ſui Ordinis prædicatorum ſibi inhiberi, ut a prædicationibus hujuſmodi ceſſaret, noluit tamen ille huic inhibitioni obedire, ex quo ſanctiſſimus Dominus Noſter ſub pœna excommunicationis ſibi mandavit, ut deſiſteret, cui mandato non obedivit, aſſerens Deo obedire oportere magis quam hominibus, & alia adducebat in defenſionem ſuam quæ populum ſibi magis credere faciebant, & tandem certas concluſiones hæreticas compoſuit & publicavit, quas dixit velle ſuſtinere. Oppoſuit ſe concluſionibus hujuſmodi quidam frater Ordinis Minorum de Zoculis; qui Florentiæ in Conventu ſanctæ Crucis dicti Ordinis Minorum publicè prædicabat, aſſerens ſe probaturum hujuſmodi concluſiones eſſe hæreticas. Frater autem Hieronymus & alii ſui Ordinis concluſiones ipſas veras eſſe & ſuſtinere velle firmiter affirmabant, ex quo inter fratres prædicatores & minores, * ut hinc inde ſcriberent, prædicatores velle ſe eas reprobare ſub pœna vitæ coram judice non ſuſpecto, prædicatores elegerunt ignem pro judice non ſuſpecto, quem minores acceptarunt. Tenor concluſionum hujuſmodi talis eſt. Eccleſia Dei indiget renovatione. *Secunda*, flagellabitur. *Tertia*, renovabitur. *Quarta*, Florentia quoque poſt flagella renovabitur. *Quinta*, & poſt ſperabitur & infideles convertentur ad Chriſtum. *Sexta*, hæc autem omnia erunt temporibus noſtris. *Septima*, excommunicatio nuper lata contra R. P. D. fratrem Hieronymum, nulla eſt. non ſervantes eam non peccant. Joh: Fra: Dominico da peſcia dell Ordine de prædicatori di mia mano mi ſottoſcriuo e obligo

obligo à ſoſtenere le preſenti concluſioni non ſolo colle ragioni, mà confidando mi nello aggiutorio della divina gratia mi eſpongo e obligo à entrare col prædicatore de fratri Minori, prædicante al præſente in S. Croce nel fuoco publico, ſperando per la virtu del Signore uſcirne illeſo & ſalvo, à gloria del ſuo S. nome & à confirmatione di queſtà verità & ad utilità; dell Anime per Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum qui cum Patre & Spiritu Sanctu vivit & regnat in ſæcula, &c. Ego Frater Franciſcus Minorum licet indignus, ſum paratus ad inſtantiam & requiſitionem D. D. Florentinorum, pro utilitate & ſalute populi ſervanda, diſputare & experientiam facere cum Fratre Hieronymo de prædictis concluſionibus, quarum quædam probatione ſupernaturali indigent. Cum Fratre Dominico verò, quocum nulla eſt mihi differentia, alius ordinis noſtri frater ignem ſubire paratus eſt, vocato judice non ſuſpecto ab omnibus religioſis. Jo. Fra. Mariano * di fiorenza, del Ordine de prædicatori mi obligo ut ſupra, confidando mi nell'aggiuttorio della gratia di Dio, à provare le concluſioni propoſte dal R. Fra. Domino da peſcia circa la reformatione della chieſa, e della ſcommunica fatta contra il R. Fra. Hieronymo di Ferrara ſecondo ſi contiene nella ſua ſuſcrittione, à far iſperimento per ignem, & d'uſcire illeſo ſenza nocumento, dato che venghi un frate dell'Ordine de Minori come a promeſſo il R. Pat. di S. Croce per Dominum noſtrum qui cum, &c. Jo. Fra. Giuliano di Rondinelli m' obligo d'entrar nel fuoco col ſopradetto frate, & per fede di queſto hò fatto queſti due verſi di mia propria mano, bench'io creda ardere, mà per ſalute dell' anime ſon molto contento che io ardi 3. di Marzo 1497.

Die tertia Maii 1498.

Magnifici Domini populi Florentini, pax Domini ſuper vos, intendo eſſere richieſto il noſtro Padre Fra. Franceſco di Puglia, al preſente predicatore in S. Croce, da prædicatore di S. Dominico di far alcuna eſperienza ſopranaturale, ò entrare in fuoco ò altro, ad libitum dominationum veſtrarum; Jo. indegno Fra. Minore, figlio di San Franceſco, Fra. Nicolo di gio. de pili Florentino, habitante di famiglia al luogo di S. Caſſiano, mi offero paratiſſimo à confirmatione di quello hò detto, è voglio in vece del noſtro Frate Franceſco ſopra detto, & per liberare queſto populo di tanto errore entrare nel fuoco non tanto con i predicatori, mà con ognaltro, che foſſe biſogno & ad ogni altro Martyrio, purche ſia Frate profeſſo di S. Marco & però hò fatto queſta fede di mia mano hoggi. Die tertia Martii 1498.

Suſcrittione di Fra. Hieronymo ſotto una lettera delli frati ſuoi, che ſtanno à prato, liquali tutti ſi erano ſottoſcritti & offerti entrar nel fuoco per la cauſa predetta: Jo. Fra. Hieronymo Vicario indegno della congregatione di ſan Marco Ordine di Frati prædicatori, accepto tutte l'offerte di queſti frati che ſi trovano al preſente à S. Marco & in S. Dominico di Fiezoli, e prometto di darne uno, 2 ò 4, & 10 ò quanti biſogneranno per queſta opera, cioè per andar nel fuoco à probatione delle verità ch'io predico è mi confido nel Sig. & Salvatore Jeſu Chriſto, & nel ſuo S. Evangelio, che ciaſcuno di loro ne uſcirà illeſo, cioe ſenza alcun damno, & quando di queſto dubitaſſe punto, non lo direi, per non eſer homicida, & in fede hò fatto queſta ſottoſcritta di mia propria mano. Jo. Fra. Malateſta ſacramor da Rimini dell'ordine de frati predicatori della congregatione di S. Marco de Firenze a comprobatione della verità delle concluſioni delle coſe

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Die tertia Maii 1498.

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Suſcrittione di Fra. Hieronymo ſotto una lettera delli frati ſuoi, che ſtanno à prato, liquali tutti ſi erano ſottoſcritti & offerti entrar nel fuoco per la cauſa prędetta: Jo. Fra. Hieronymo Vicario indegno della congregatione di ſan Marco Ordine di Frati prædicatori, accepto tutte l'offerte di queſti frati che ſi trovano al preſente à S. Marco & in S. Dominico di Fiezoli, e prometto di darne uno, 2 ò 4, & 10 ò quanti biſogneranno per queſta opera, cioè per andar nel fuoco à probatione delle verità ch'io predico è mi confido nel Sig. & Salvatore Jeſu Chriſto, & nel ſuo S. Evangelio, che ciaſcuno di loro ne uſcirà illeſo, cioe ſenza alcun damno, & quando di queſto dubitaſſe punto, non lo direi, per non eſer homicida, & in fede hò fatto queſta ſottoſcritta di mia propria mano. Jo. Fra. Malateſta ſacramor da Rimini dell'ordine de frati predicatori della congregatione di S. Marco de Firenze a comprobatione della verità delle concluſioni delle coſe

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gia longamente predicate per lo R. P. Fra. Hieronymo Savonarola de Ferrara al preſente Vicario generale della detta congregatione & a giuſtificatione dell' innocenza ſua, mi offero è obligo d'entrar nel fuoco conqualunque frate ordinis minorum, ò altro offerto ò ſi che ſi offeriſce acciò, per comprobatione delle oppoſitioni d' eſſe concluſioni, confidando mi ſenza veruna dubitatione entrarne & uſcir ne al tutto illeſo, non per alcun mio merito, mà ſolo per la virtu e gratia dell'Omnipotente, e in fede di queſto &c. 2. d'Aprile 1498. Jo. Fra. Roberto di Barnardo ſaluiati de Firenze dell' ordine de predicatori per lo preſente mi offero, & obligo ut ſupra. Nota che li ſopraditti due di ſopra, ultimamente ſottoſcritti, ſono ſtati per divina inſpiratione electi al ſopradetto ſperimento.

Riſpoſta di fra Hieronymo da Ferrara dell' Ordine de predicatori a certe oggettioni fatte circa leſperimento d' entrare nel fuoco per la verità da lui predicata. Reſponderò brevemente, per la gran careſtia chio hò del tempo, ad alcune obiettioni a noi fatte circa l' eſperimento propoſtoci per prouare la verità delle coſe noſtre col fuoco. Et prima quanto al non havere accettato andar io proprio nel fuoco con un predicatore di S. Croce Frate oſſervante dell' Ordine Minorum. Reſpondo che io non l'hò fatto ſi per che con lui non ho alcuna differenza, ſi perche egli a propoſto in publico di voler andar nel fuoco non oſtante che lui, come dice, crede ardere per prouare che l' excommunicatione fatta contra di me è valida; & io non hò biſogna di prouar col fuoco che tale ſcommunica fia nulla, conciò ſia che io habbia già provato queſto con tali raggioni che ancora non ſi e trouato ne qui, ne a Roma chi habbia a quel riſpoſto: ſi perche la prima volta non propoſe di voler combattere meco, ma ſi ben generalemente conciaſcuno che foſſe a lui in queſta coſa contrario. Vero é, che poi offerendoſi a queſto Frate * ſcuſa di non voler haver a fare ſe non con meco: ſi maſſimamente perche il mio entrare nel fuoco con un ſolo frate non farebbe quella utilità nella chieſa che richiede una tant opera, quanto e queſta ch' iddio cihà poſta nelle mani. Et però mi ſon offerto & mi offeriſco de nouo, di far io proprio Iſperienza, ogni volta che gl' auuerſarii di queſta noſtra doctrina & maxime quei de Roma e lor adherenti volgliano commettere la cauſa in queſto parde ò in altri, & mi confido nel noſtro Salvatore Jeſu Chriſto & non dubito punto ch'io andarò per il fuoco come fece Sidrac, Meſach & Abdenago nella fornace ardente non per miei meriti ò virtu, mà per virtu di Dio, il quale vorrà confirmare la ſua verità & manifeſtare la ſua gloria in queſto mundo.

Mà certo mi marauiglio aſſai di queſte tali objectioni, perche eſſendoſi offerti unitamente tuttii miei fratelli che ſono circa 300. & molti altri religioſi, de'quali hò la ſottoſcrittioni appreſſo di me, & ſimilmente molti preti ſecolari, molti cittadini, tutte le monache noſtre & di quelle ancora d'altre religioni, molte buone citadine & fanciulle: Et queſta matina ultimamente che ſiamo a di primo d' Aprile, parrechie migliara di perſone, di quelle che ſi trouano in ſancto Marco noſtro alla predica con grandiſſimo fervore, gridando ciaſcuno, ecco io, ecco io andarò in queſto fuoco per gloria tua ſignore, ſi uno di queſti tali andando ſotto la mia fede & per far l'ubedienzza da me impoſta come ſi ſono promptiſſimamente offerti, ardeſſe nel fuoco, chi non vedde ch' io & che queſta tutt' opera & impreſa di Dio andarebbe meco in ruina & ch' io non potrei piu in alcun luogo comparire: & però non biſogna che fra Dominico predetto contra il quale predicando l'anno paſſato hebbe qualche differenza con lui, * certo & gio Alberto contra che foſſe huomo di gran ſanctità, non però entrò nel

fuoco,

fuoco, ma vi mando uno de ſuoi monarchi, non per paura, ma per che li parue che coſi richiedeſſe l'ordine della cauſa in quel tempo o per che liſpiraua * ſimilmente degli noſtri non anderà nel fuoco ſe non quello ò quelli che ſono eletti da Dio non oſtante che tutti ſi ſiano offerti. Nè per queſto ſiamo noi crudeli & homicidi, ancorche liauuerſarii, quali ſi ſono ſottoſcritti publicamente confeſſano d'hauer in queſto fuoco a morire; concioſia che noi non habbiamo offerto queſta tale iſperienza & fuoco, mà loro ſono quelli che ce l'hanno meſſo inanzi; & noi ſiamo coſtanti ad accettar la, acciò che l'honor di Dio & la ſua ſancta verità non vadi per terra: & però non gia noi, ma loro ſono crudeli & homicidi di ſe medeſimi. Mà molto ancora piu mi marauiglio di queſti tali, perche ſe hanno del canto loro la verità come dicono, certo non ſenza gran ammiratione di ciaſcuno S'intende ch'in tanta Religione non ſi troui qualchuno che ſe confidi in Dio d'entrare in queſto fuoco & uſcirne illeſo & ſaluo, come noi ne trouiamo non uno mà parechie centenaia, anzi migliaia. Et quando dicono altri che poi non conſentendo loro d'entrare in queſto fuoco, doueremo ò noi ſoli far queſto iſperimento a probatione della verita, ò eleggere quel altro modo * il fuoco; dico che già di ſopra habbiamo a queſto riſpoſto, concio ſia che a noi non biſogna prouare con miracolo quello che habbiamo prouato con raggione, cioè che la ſcommunicatione ſia nulla, per che queſto ſarebbe un tentare iddio; mà ſe gl'auuerſarii, quali dicono le mie raggioni eſſer Sofiſtiche, non vi ſanno riſpondere * richiegono loro da dio miracolo contra di noi, & laſciaremo andare ogni ragione. Et ſe ſi diceſſe che al manco le coſe da noi per modo di profetie annuntiate richiederiano a voler che le foſſero credute, che io le prouaſſi con miracolo. Riſpondo che io non conſtringo gli huomini a crederlo piu ch'a loro ſi pare, ma ſi bene gli eſſorto al vivere rettamente, & come Chriſtiani, perche queſto ſolo è quel miracolo chi li puo far creder tutte le coſe noſtre & tutte l'altre verità, che procedono da Dio. Et benche noi habbiamo propoſto di prouare già le coſe grandi che s' hanno da manifeſtare & che noi diciamo eſſer ſotto la chiauetta, con ſegni ſopranaturali, non habbiamo però per queſto propoſito * di prouare le coſe grandi ſi hanno da manifeſtare & che noi diciamo eſſer, di far tali ſegni per annullare la eſcommunicatione; che non è ancora il tempo noſtro, il quale quando ſarà Dio non mancarà delle ſue promeſſe, quia fidelis Deus in omnibus verbis, qui eſt benedictus & glorioſus, in ſæcula ſæculorum, Amen.

Vexilliſer juſtitiæ & populi Florentini: viſis & intellectis inſcriptionibus & oblationibus per Fratres prædicatores & minores ut ſupra apparet factis, cum res ipſa totum populum commoveret, decreverunt de conſenſu conſilii experientiæ locum dare, & ſtatuerunt in platea magna principali ante palatium ipſorum Dominorum pro die Sabbati proximè futura, Septima præſentis menſis Aprilis fieri debere duo magna pulpita ſive ſuggeſta alterum pro ipſis Dominis & Principalibus civitatis, alterum vero pro diſputaturis & experientiam facturis, & prope ſeggeſtum hujuſmodi copioſum ignem; & quod præmiſſa fratribus utriuſq; ordinis intimmarent, & quod per horam conſtitutam, hoc eſt hora tertiarum diei prædicti in loco ſupradicto adeſſent oblationibus ſuis ſatisfacturi. Die Septima prædicta ante horam prædictam venit Frater Franciſcus ſuocus ordinis minorum cum unico ſocio ad plateam aſcendit ordinatum ſuggeſtum * ſedit ibi ſimiliter expectans * Meſſiam: deinde poſt horam conſtitutam venit proceſſionaliter cum Cruce & Sacramento Frater Dominicus de Piſcia Ordinis prædicatorum ab omnibus Fratribus ſui Ordinis & Fratre Hieronymo de Ferraria, ac magna populi

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multitudine aſſociatus ad eandem plateam, ordinate aſcenderunt præparatum pulpitum. Deſcenderunt etiam de Palatio D. D. Florentini & eorum pulpitum ſive ſuggeſtum aſcenderunt. Quibus conſiſtentibus ſurrexit Frater Franciſcus Ordinis Minorum, & addictos Dominos brevem Orationem habuit, per quam aſſerebat ſe illic eſſe, ut experientiam oblatam de ſe faceret, * aliter ſe ab igne crematurum cum homo peccator eſſet, ſupplicabat etiam Dominos prædictos, ut ſibi pollicerentur, quod eo ab igne cremato Frater Dominicus nullatenus liber cenſeretur & cauſam eviciſſe, niſi ipſe quoq; de perſona ſua in igne periculum faceret, qui ſi eum non læderet, haberepro victore alias non. Domini habito inter ſe conſilio promiſerunt Fratri ſe facturos quod petiit, & quia apud aliquos ſuſpicio erat fratres prædictos experientiam de ſe facturos ſeu eorum alterum forte aliquam conjurationem ſeu incantationem apud ſe vel in cappa ſeu alias habere, quæ ipſos a virtute ignis illæſos præſervaret, Domini prædicti fecerunt fieri duas cappas novas cum correquiſitis quas dictis fratribus promiſerunt, volentes quod illis quos ſecum tulerant ſpoliarentur & his novis induerentur. Frater Franciſcus Ordinis Minorum non ſolum acceptavit mandatum dictorum Dominorum, imo ſe obtulit etiam ſine cappa, ut minor ſuſpicio haberetur, & nudum ignem intraturum. Frater Dominicus per verba & ſubterfugia recuſavit ſe cappam ſuam mutare vel dimittere, quod audiens dictus Frater Franciſcus rogavit omnes, ut ſuper dimiſſione cappæ hujuſmodi cum dicto Fratre Dominico non contenderent, ſed cappam ſibi dimitterent quem vellet, quia eſſet de panno & ſine dubio eum eo combureretur: conſenſerunt itaque de conſenſu prædicto Fratris Minorum quod Frater Dominicus ſuam cappam retineret qui dixit ſe nunquam intraturum ignem niſi cum imagine crucifixi, ſupra quo cum dicti Domini ſe conſulerent, ſubjunxit Frater Franciſcus & eoſdem Dominos rogavit, ut etiam hujuſmodi ipſi Fratri Dominico permitterent quæ cum eſſet lignea, eum ab igne non defenderet, ſed cum eo potius combureretur. Fuit propterea & hoc Fratri Dominco [conceſſum, ſed cum] ſatis non eſſet, ſed continuo ignem timeret, adhuc tertium petiit, quod permitteretur cum Corpore Chriſti ignem introire, alioquin nequaquam eſſet hujuſmodi periculum de ſe facturus; quod cum Dominis videretur nullatenus admittendum, diſſolutum eſt Spectaculum & rediit quiſque Domum & manſionem ſuam. Factus eſt ex hoc rumor in populo, & contra Fratrem Hieronymum non modica indignatio & ſuſpicio nata, adeo quod die Lunæ, nona, hujus menſis in ſero populus magno cum impetu & vehementia irruit ad conventum S. Marci in quo dictus Frater Hieronymus reſidebat quem Fratres ejuſdem conventus bene clauſerant & in eo & bombardis aliis armis offenſivis muniti erant, quæ in populum traxerunt, qui tandem conventum vi intravit interfectis quinque ex ſuis, tribus autem ex monachis, quodam Fratre profeſſo Ordinis prædicatorum germano dicti Fratris Hieronymi & duobus aliis. Captivarunt Fratrem Hieronymum & duos alios Fratres cum eo, videlicet Fratrem Sylveſtrum de Florentia, * & eos duxerunt ad Palatium D. D. Florentinorum & ibidem carceribus intruſerunt. Accurrit deinde populus ad domos Franciſci de Valore & Pauli Antonii Soderini, Fratris Domini Epiſcopi Volterrani qui principaliter dicto Fratri Hieronymo faverant; primo ad domum dicti Franciſci de Valore perrexerunt, quem cum ibi non reperiſſent, verſus Palatium Dominorum prædictorum iverunt, in quorum platea eum repertum interfecerunt crudeliterque traxerunt. Uxor ejus quæ domum deffendere conabatur fuit ſimiliter occiſa, & exportata omnia bona ſua & quod quiſque habere potuit, ſibi acquiſivit. Concurrerunt inde ad domum dicti Soderini ubi ſimiliter facere ſtatuerant

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ſtatuerant, ſed Dominus * providit opportunè & per gentes ſuas ſuccurrit dicto Soderino & domui ſuæ, populo autem fecit ſub bonis modis & pœnis inhiberi, ut recederet, quod & fecit.

Hæc fuerunt Pontifici per oratorem Florentinorum die Jovis Sancto in manè ſignificata, & ei ſupplicatum, ut dignaretur bullam abſolutionis pro populo Florentino expediri mandare pro eo jam excommunicato, quod manus violentas in conventum S. Marci & in Fratres ipſos ac alios injeciſſet, quoſdam interfeciſſet, etiam Presbyteros, & alios graviter læſiſſet; Sanctiſſimus Dominus Noſter ſtatim vocari mandavit Secretarium ſuum & ei mandavit hujuſmodi bullam expediri ſine mora * mandandum commiſit, quæ eadem die quæ fuit duodecima hujus Menſis expedita & oratori prædicto circa horam veſperarum illius diei tradita, qui miſit eam Florentiam, quæ venit die Sequenti 13. hujus circa horam octavam decimam.

Dixi ſuperius in Menſe Aprili de captura Fratris Hieronymi in Florentia cum duobus aliis Fratribus ſui Ordinis, & rem ibi non fui perſonaliter perſecutus, ſubjungam igitur hic quæ tunc non potui explicare. Frater Hieronymus carceribus mancipatus poſtquam ſepties quæſtionibus & tormentis expoſitus fuit, ſupplicavit pro miſericordia, offerens dicturum & Scripturum omnia quibus deliquiſſet. Dimiſſus eſt de tortura & ad carceres repoſitus, & aſſignata ſibi carta & atramento ſcripſit crimina & delicta ſua in foliis, ut aſſerebant, LXXX. & ultra, ſcilicet quod non habuit unquam aliquam revelationem divinam, ſed habuit intelligentiam cum pluribus ex Fratribus in civitate Florentia & extra eam per multa milliaria reſidentibus, qui ei *Confeſſiones Chriſti fidelium revelarent*, cum confitentium nominibus & cognominibus, ex quibus ſibi plura dicebantur, & confitentes ipſos pro hujuſmodi peccatis & criminibus privatim, aliquando in genere publicè corripiebat, eſſerens ſibi a Salvatore noſtro Domino Jeſu Chriſto eſſe revelata. Se non eſſe confeſſum a viginti annis citrà & ultrà, aliquod peccatum mortale, licet multa commiſerit in peccato carnis in quo deliquiſſet multis & diverſis modis ſæpiſſime, celebraſſe quaſi quotidie, nunquam tamen a dictis annis citra verba conſecrationis potuiſſe, multos ſæpiſſime communicaſſe cum hoſtiis non conſecratis: dixiſſe aliquando Fratribus ſuis ſibi revelatum eſſe, debere præcavere ne veneno ne carentur: mandaſſe propterea coquo, cellario, & diſpenſatoribus conventus quod omnes piſces quadam die Junii ipſis donati reſervarentur intacti cum ſingulis diebus cives conſueviſſent Fratribus multa pluſquam neceſſaria mittere, ordinaſſe cum quodam cive amico ſuo ſingulari, ut conventui mitteret lampredonium optime paratum, veneno tamen impoſito: hora prandii omnibus Fratribus convocatis propoſuiſſe revelationem divinam ſibi factam, & pro ejus experientia apportare feciſſe omnes piſces donatos crudos & coctos ac ſimul cum Fratribus flexis genibus Deo ſupplicaſſe, ut dignaretur ſolita ſua miſericordia ſervos ſuos protegere & deffendere, & ad acquirendum cum Fratribus majorem fidem, vocari feciſſe gattum, eique circumſpectis omnibus piſcibus donatis, de piſce illo lampredono per amicum ſuum veneno infecto, qui piſcis optime ſibi notus erat, donaſſe gatto, qui gattus parte hujuſmodi piſcis ſumpta cecidit & mortuus eſt, quo a Fratribus viſo, laudârunt & magnificârunt.

Alexander

APPENDIX.

Copy of the Letters ſent by Pope *Alexander* VI. to *Savonarola*'s Convent, and to himſelf.

Alexander Papa Sextus dilectis filiis Priori & Conventui Monaſterii Sancti Marci Ordinis Prædicatorum in civitate Florentiæ. Burchard. Diar. p. 91.

DILECTE Fili ſalutem, &c. Quia divini Conſilii inſcrutabilis Altitudo univerſali adminiſtrandæ Eccleſiæ Nos Petri ſucceſſorem licet immeritum hoc tempore præceſſe diſpoſuit, jugi, quantum nobis divino numine datur, diligentiæ ſtudio procurandis iis rebus intendimus, quibus religio, ſalus & pax Chriſtiano populo conſervetur, floreat & amplificetur; dogmatum vero novitas, fictæ ſimplicitatis adumbrata velamine, quia in populo frequenter & clero ſchiſmata, hæreſes, & morum ſubverſio oriuntur, de Eccleſia pellatur, ne quietum corporis ſtatum Eccleſiæ ſollicitare in præſentia poſſit, neque cæteris delinquendi exemplo iſto malo poteſtas ſiat in poſterum. Sane Hieronymum quemdam Savonarolam de Ferraria ordinis Prædicatorum novitate pravi dogmatis delectatum accepimus, & in eam mentis inſaniam Italicarum rerum commutatione deductum, ut ſe miſſum a Deo & cum Deo loqui ſine ulla canonica atteſtatione fateatur in populo contra canonicas ſanctiones. Non ſufficit cuiquam nudè tantum aſſerere quòd ipſe ſit miſſus a Deo, cum hoc quilibet hæreticus aſſereret, ſed oportet quod oſtendat illam viſibilem miſſionem per operationem miraculi vel ſcripturæ teſtimonium ſpeciale. Chriſtum prætera Jeſum crucifixum & Deum mentiri, ſi ipſe mentiatur, horrendum certe & execrabile adjurationis genus; extra ſalutis ſtatum cum eſſe qui vanis illius aſſertionibus non credat; alia deinceps illum non minus inepta facere, dicere & ſcribere, quæ ſi prætereantur impune, nihil eſt quod non auſura falſorum religioſorum temeritas ſit, & in corpus Eccleſiæ, quod verendum eſt, vitia ſub virtutum ſpecie ſubintrarant. Cogitavimus longa cunctatione & patientia diuturna noſtra efficere, ut fatuam illam ſuam propheticam profeſſionem recognoſceret, ad ſolidæ veritatis viam deflecteret, verba temerè & iniquè in Eccleſia prolata ibidem conſulte & fideliter revocaret. Credebamus poſt aliquod tempus jam adveniſſe diem quo de ipſo meliora concipere deberemus, ac dolorem, quem nunc uſque ex effreni arrogantia & ſcandaloſa ſeparatione a Patribus ſuis Lombardiæ perpeſſi fueramus, quæ ſubdola calliditate, ſicut poſt cognovimus, perverſorum quorumdam fratrum impetrata, ex ſua humili adhærentia in lætitiam commutaremus: ſed quod dolenter referimus, ſpe noſtra fruſtrati ſumus. Nam licet per litteras noſtras ipſum in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ monuerimus, ut ad nos veniret, veritatem ab eo & ab ore ſuo intellecturos, tamen non ſolùm venire & nobis obedire recuſavit, verùm etiam indies ipſe acerbiorem magis doloris nobis cauſam ſubminiſtravit, impudenter fidelium oculis legenda ingerens, quæ ſola alias audita temerè profuderat inhibenda. Ea propter, quando nos reddendæ Eccleſiæ univerſæ pacis grandi ac laborioſo opere detineamur, hanc ipſam cauſem fratri Sebaſtiano de Madiis de Brixia congregationis Lombardiæ ordinis Prædicatorum generali vicario decernendam, judicandam, puniendamque ſecundum veſtri

veſtri ordinis ſtatuta commiſimus, per litteras noſtras brevi Hieronymo Savonarolæ prædicto in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ ſub excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ pœna ſtrictè præcipiendo mandantes, ut vicarium prædictùm ad cognoſcendam hujuſmodi cauſam a nobis judicem deputatum, prompta & ſincera obedientia recognoſcat, illius mandatis, ubilibet gentium ſe citaverit, omni evocatione & appellatione poſtpoſita pariturus. Interea vero dum hæc cauſa coram prædicto Vicario diſcutietur, ab omni declamandi in populo & publicè legendi officio per præſentes litteras prædictum Hieronymum ſuſpenſum eſſe decernimus. Cæterum ne cuiquam ex fratribus veſtris tali exemplo ejuſdem Heieronymi libertate propria delectati, errandi vel decipiendi tribuatur facultas, locum iſtum ſancti Marci de Florentia & ſancti Dominici apud Feſulas ordinis prædicatorum, domo prædictæ congregationis Lombardiæ reunimus, incorporavimus, annectimus, omnibus fratribus prædictorum locorum ſancti Marci & ſancti Dominici ſub excommunicationi latæ ſententiæ pœna mandantes, ut Vicario prædictæ congregationis Lombardiæ, velut ſuo legitimo paſtori pareant & intendant, revocantes ex nunc & revocatum eſſe decernentes quidquid facultatis auctoritatis ſive poteſtatis cuiquam alteri, etiam Apoſtolica auctoritate, eſſet indultum: injungenteſque ſub ejuſdem latæ ſententiæ pœna fratri Dominico dè Piſcia & fratri Thomæ Buſſino & fratri Sylveſtro de Florentia, ut infra ſpatium novem dierum, quorum tres aſſignamus pro primo termino, tres pro ſecundo, & tres pro tertio, à notitia præſentium, Bononiam proficiſcantur, auctoritate prædicti vicarii Lombardiæ in uno quopiam conventuum congregationis, præterquam in Dominio Florentinorum collocandi. In contrarium facientibus non obſtantibus quibuſcunque, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.

Alexander Papa Sextus dilecto filio, fratri Hieronymo Savonarolæ de Ferraria ordinis Prædicatorum.

DILECTE fili ſalutem, &c. Licet uberiùs per alias litteras noſtras in forma brevis explicaverimus, quantum nobis diſplicuerint turbationes præſertim illius populi Florentini, & eo magis quod habuerint ortum a prædicationibus tuis, quia conabaris omiſſis vitiorum extirpationibus & laudibus virtutum, publicis in ſermonibus futura prædicere, affirmareque. Te illa habuiſſe à lumine æternitatis, ac inſpirante Spiritu Sancto; propter quæ & ſimilia ſimplices homines deviare poſſent a via ſalutis & obedientiæ ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ: Debuiſſes enim potius procurare in tuis prædicationibus unionem ac pacem, quam ſimiles quas vulgus vocat prophetias tuas divinationeſque prædicare; debuiſſes etiam conſiderare, quòd conditiones temporum vehementer repugnant tali doctrinæ, quam in medium affers, quæ ſufficeret etiam ponere diſcordiam, etiam ubi eſſet ſumma pax, quanto magis ubi vigent tales ſimultates & factiones: Periculum itaque multarum animarum & deſiderium noſtrum quietis ipſius populi, & ut ſatisfaceremus officio noſtro paſtorali, adduxere nos, ut ad te ſcriberemus, nec ſine maturo conſilio decerne-

remus omnino, te vocare ad nos, ut te purgares a tibi impoſitis, quæ profecto ſi verà eſſent, non deberent impunè tranſire. Cum autem nuper intellexerimus ab aliquibus fratribus noſtris ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, & per litteras tuas & nuntios, quod paratus es in omnibus per te dictis vel factis ſubjicere te correctioni ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, quod eſt officium boni Chriſtiani & religioſi hominis, plurimum lætati ſumus, incipimuſque perſuadere nobis, ea te prædicaſſe non malo animo, ſed potius ſimplicitate quadam & zelo proficiendi in vinea Domini, licet certè contrarium experientia doceat. Verum ne videamur talia penitus negligere, quæ nullo pacto ſunt negligenda, decrevimus iterum ad te ſcribere, & reſpondentes litteris tuis tibi mandamus in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ, quòd amplius abſtineas omnino ab omni prædicatione tam publicè quam ſecretè, ita quod non poſſit tibi imponi quòd ceſſans a publicis ſermonibus te converteris ad conventicula. Quem modum omnino teneas, donec te commodè & cum ea honeſtate quæ decet religioſum, non ſtipatus, ut intelligimus militibus, poſſis ad præſentiam noſtram conferre: videbimus enim te hilari & paterno animo, vel donec maturius deliberemus quem modum debeas in funerum tenere, vel (ſi nobis videbitur) aliquem idoneum & probum virum deſtinabimus. Quod ſi feceris, ut ſperamus, ex nunc ſuſpendimus brevia & contenta in illis quæ adſcripſimus, & quaſcunque clauſulas in eis contentas, ut quietè poſſis conſcientiæ tuæ vacare. Datum Romæ apud ſanctum Petrum die ſexta decima Octobris 1497.

Reſponſio Fratris Hieronymi Savonarolæ ad Alexandrum Papam Sextum.

Burchard. p. 95. BEATISSIME Pater, poſt beatorum pedum oſcula; Exhibitæ fuerunt pridie litteræ Sanctitatis veſtræ Conventui noſtro informa brevis, quibus conventum hunc & conventum Sancti Dominici ad Fezulas congregationi Lombardiæ reuniſſe intimabat & fratrem Dominicum de Piſcia & fratrem Thomam Buſinum & fratrem Sylveſtrum de Florentia Bononiam proficiſci ſanctitas veſtra precipiebat: idque ideo factum fore, quòd ego ipſe Hieronymus multa fatua atque ſcandalum in Eccleſia Dei facile paritura contra canonicas ſanctiones dixerim & publicè populo prædicaverim; cauſamque meam punitioni & cognitioni generalis Vicarii dictæ congregationis per alias ſuas litteras ſubmittebat. Quas litteras bono animo & qua decuit reverentia ſuſcepimus, dum Sanctitatem veſtram de ſtatu Eccleſiæ & de ſalute animarum noſtrarum ſollicitam oſtendunt; doluimus vehementer ac dolemus, quod eo uſque proceſſerit hominum malitia, ut ſint qui etiam ſummo Pontifici ac Chriſti in terra Vicario res tam falſas tamque perversè interpretatas ſuggerere non formidaverint. Et quia ex prædictarum literarum ſerie conſtat, totius hujus rei effectum a me aſſertæ culpæ cauſa proficiſci, parcet mihi benigna ſanctitas veſtra, ſi ego, tanquam is, a quo dicitur oriri hæc tempeſtas * mea geſtorum veritas, atq; ſinceritas boni ſecuti & qui ſequi ſperantur effectus, a falſis interpretationibus,

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bus, aſſertionibus & ſuggeſtionibus defendam: neque hoc erit difficile, quia ego palam locutus ſum mundo, & ſemper docui in Eccleſia & in templo quo omnes Chriſtiani conveniunt, & in occulto locutus ſum nihil: hinc ſimplicitatis meæ & probatæ doctrinæ tot millia teſtium habeo, ut nullo pacto me apud Sanctitatem veſtram dubitem cauſam meam ſine ulla prorſus difficultate defenſurum, ut enim ait Philoſophus, verum vero conſonat, falſo autem diſſonat. Suggeſſerunt itaque inprimus Sanctitati veſtræ, ut in ejus litteris patet, me novitate pravi dogmatis delectatum, quod falſum eſſe clarum eſt, publicè enim ſcitur, me nullum pravum dogma ſequi, nec prædicare, ſed ſanctas Scripturas duntaxat & Sanctos Doctores; & in publica predicatione ſæpe dixiſſe & in Scripturis reliquiſſe, me & omnia mea Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubmittere. Et hoc quidem, ni fallor, Beatitudini veſtræ ſcripſi in quibuſdam meis litteris, de quibus etiam ipſa fecit mentionem in brevi quodam ſanctitatis ſuæ ad me miſſo. Si quis autem dicat, quòd prædicare futura novum eſt dogma, falſum eſt, quia hoc ſemper fuit in Eccleſia Domini Dei, ut patet diſcurrenti Scripturas Eccleſiaſticas. Nihil enim obeſt Religioni Chriſtianæ prædicare futura, dummodo non ſint contra fidem vel bonos mores aut rationem naturalem, vel unquam fuit aliqua lege prohibitum, nec prohiberi poteſt; hoc enim eſſet Deo imponere legem, quia dicitur Amos tertio: non fecit Dominus Deus verbum, niſi revelaverit ſecretum ad ſervos ſuos prophetas. Secundò, quia in litteris prædictis dicitur me in eam mentis inſaniam Italicarum rerum commutatione deductum, hoc etiam manifeſtè falſum eſt, & ab omnibus ſcitur, quia præterierunt quinque anni quibus hæc prædixi, vel plures etiam quam decem anni jam ſunt; non ergo deductus ſum ad hoc propter commutationem rerum Italicarum. Tertio dicitur, (quòd dixerim me) eſſe miſſum a Deo, hoc quoque falſum eſt. Sciunt omnes qui me audierunt, quia nunquam dixi; imò in ſcriptis noſtris quæ ab omnibus legi poſſunt, ſcripſi, quia eram miſſus a prælatis meis, ſicut & ferè omnes alii prædicatores; ſed nunquam dixi a ſolo Deo me miſſum, ut teſtes ſunt multa millia hominum. Quarto dicitur, & cum Deo loqui; hoc etiam nunquam expreſsè dixi, nec unquam utor tali modo loquendi, ut teſtis eſt univerſus populus Florentinus; quod etiam ſi dixiſſem, nullam propter hoc incurrerem pœnam, non enim invenitur in aliquo loco ſcriptum, nec in toto corpore juris canonici nec civilis nec in aliquo authentico libro, quòd qui dixit ſe cum Deo loqui, puniatur: ſtultum etiam eſſet & impium facere talem legem, cum nullus poſſit imponere Legem Deo, poteſt enim ipſe loqui cum quibus vult, & iis præcipere, ut dicant: hoc dicit Dominus meus; ſicut Prophetæ faciebant. Item ſuggeſſerunt, me dixiſſe ipſum Deum crucifixum mentiri ſi ego mentirer; cùm neque hoc abſolute dixerim quaſi Deo voluerim me æquiparare, ſed in caſu tamen, verbi gratia, ſi quis diceret, erunt ſigna in ſole & luna & ſtellis, & deinde dicat, ſi ego mentior, Chriſtus quoque mentitur, nunquid hoc execrabilis adjurationis genus? ita ego aliquam veritatem quam locutus eſt Chriſtus, aliquando cum dixiſſem, ſubjunxi; ſi ego mentior, & Chriſtus. Ita in eodem brevi ſubſequitur, extra ſtatum ſalutis quemquam fieri, vanis illis aſſertionibus non credentem, hoc ego nunquam dixi, ſed bene hoc modo locutus ſum: Quòd cum ſciam multa quæ prædixi, eſſe a Deo, qui obſtructa aure eis non vult credere, ſed omnino ſtatuit contradicere, ſignam eſt quòd is extra gratiam ſit. Quoniam, ut dixi, gratia eſt lumen fidei, ſemper inclinatur ad fidelitatem, ideò qui eſt in gratia non poteſt eſſe contra veritatem, quæ a Deo eſt firmata. Verum qui noſtris aſſertionibus non credunt, nec tamen obſtinato animo contradicunt, dixi & publicè

publicè ſcripſi, quòd poterunt eſſe in gratia & ſalvari contradicentes. Ergo non dixi, quod peccarent, ſed quòd, modo quo ſupra, illorum contradictio ſignum erat privationis gratiæ in eis. Præterea ibidem dicitur, Alia deinceps illum non minus inepta facere & dicere ac ſcribere; totus ſiquidem populus iſte teſtis eſt, me nec dicere nec facere inepta nec ſcandaloſa, ſed quæ magnæ ſunt virtutis ac neceſſitatis in fructus multos & ſalutem animarum & ad pacem in Civitate Florentina & ad Reformationem ſpectantia. Et cum ſcriptum ſit, in ore duorum vel trium teſtium ſtabit omne verbum, ego non ſolum duos vel tres, ſed duo, tria vel etiam decem teſtium millia in medium adducam; cum quibus & ipſa opera, non à me, ſed à Deo me facta clamabunt probabuntque, me nunquam talia dixiſſe aut per ſimilia qua adverſum me reprobi homines compoſuerunt. Præterea in ipſo brevi ſequitur, quòd cogitamus longa cunctatione & diuturna patientia noſtra efficere fatuam illam Propheticam profeſſionem; ego arbitror quod nullus homo mundi prorſus poſſit inveniri qui audiverit unquam ab ore meo tam arrogans verbum, ut dixerim me eſſe Prophetam; verum è contrario multa etiam millia poterunt teſtari, me ſæpe dixiſſe, non eſſe me Prophetam, neque filium Prophetæ. Quod & ſi dixiſſem, non video quare eſſem puniendus, nulla enim facta eſt aut fieri poteſt lex, quæ damnet hominem quemquam, qui ſe dicat ex ſpiritu divino futura prædicare, niſi ſub hoc velamine populum ſollicitet ad malum vel hæreſes, aut aliud quidpiam præter hæc faciat, ut ſcribitur Deuteronom. ultimo; quod de me nullus poteſt dicere, ut notiſſimum eſt, alias nullus ſurgere poſſet Propheta in Eccleſia Dei; & ſic hoc donum Prophetiæ de Eccleſia Dei pelleretur; quod eſt contra illud Amos tertio ſuperius allegatum: non faciet Dominus Deus verbum, &c. & Prov. non. decim. cum Propheta defecerit diſſipabitur populus. Quòd ſi dicatur Deuter. 14. ſcriptum eſt, quòd Propheta qui arrogantia depravatus voluerit loqui in nomine meo, quæ ego non præcepi illi, ut diceret, aut ex nomine aliorum Deorum, interficietur. Quod ſi evenerit quod locutus eſt, bonus Propheta fuit; ſin autem, falſus: quod non eſt intelligendum ſic videlicet: niſi ſtatim quod prædixit eveniat, interficiatur, alioquin fuerat interficiendus Eſaias & Jeremias & alii multi Prophetæ, quia multos annos vixerunt & multa ab eis, fuerunt prædicta, quæ nec in eorum vita evenerunt & ideo intelligere oportet quod ſi aliquis dixit ſe ex Spiritu Dei futura prædicare & ea quæ prædicit non ſunt contra fidem nec contra canonicas Scripturas, nec contra Catholicæ Eccleſiæ doctrinam, expectandus eſt, maximè ubi vita bona comes fuit; quia Deus multos ſervos habet occultos, ideo ait Apoſtolicus, Prophetias nolite ſpernere. Si autem tempore à Propheta præfixo non evenerint quæ prædixit, tunc debet acriter argui, & ſic lex ipſa intelligatur. Cum ergo jam multa quæ prædiximus evenerint, adhuc non ſum arguendus, nec puniendus, quia illa futura non pronuntiaverim; ſi autem cætera ſuo tempore non evenerint, meritò arguendus ero. Certus ſum autem quòd evenient, nec ex eis unus apex præteribit. Certe, Beatiſſime Pater, notiſſimum eſt non ſolum Florentiæ ſed etiam in diverſis Italiæ partibus, quòd meis verbis ſecuta eſt pax in civitate Florentiæ, quæ ſi non fuiſſet ſecuta, Italia fuiſſet perturbata. Quod ſi verbis adhibita fuiſſet fides, Italia hodie non hoc modo quateretur: nam illius prævidens afflictiones, licet à multis ſemper fuerim deriſus, pronuntiavi gladium venturum, ac pacis remedium oſtendi ſolum eſſe. Unde Italia univerſa gratias pro me Deo agere deberet. Docui enim eam remedium tranquillitatis, quod quidem ſervant Florentia jam habet quod non haberet, & ſi ſimiliter faceret tota hæc Italia, gladius nequa-

quam

quam per eam tranſiret, quid enim nocere poteſt pœnitentiæ? Nullus itaque verè teſtari poteſt me ſcandala in Eccleſiam ſeminaſſe, ſed ego innumeros habeo teſtes quòd bona ſeminâſſem, verum inimicus homo zizaniam ſeminavit, & incidit in foveam quam fecit. Subjungitur præterea hoc in eodem brevi, ſubdola calliditate perverſorum quorundam fratrum; primùm quòd perverſos fratres eos vocat, quos nulla prorſus notat infamia, imo qui in toto hoc populo ſunt optimæ famæ, hoc non potuerunt ſuggerere ſanctitati veſtræ niſi improbi homines. Mittat enim ſua ſanctitas aliquem ex ſuis hominibus fidelibus, qui cives & populum interroget de fama fratrum Sancti Marci & Sancti Dominici de Feſulis, probabit & clarius cognoſcet quam apertum fuerit hoc eorum mendacium. Secundo falſum eſt, quòd hæc ſeparatio fuerit impetrata a quibuſdam ſolummodo, & non ab omnibus, ut publico liquet inſtrumento. Tertio, quia fuit impetrata, non, ut laxiùs in libertate viveremus, ſed ſtrictius, ut effectus ipſe demonſtrat. Præterea nec ſubdolè fuit impetrata, cùm cauſa hæc longo tempore fuerit diſcuſſa, & maturè examinata; ut teſtis eſt Reverendiſſimus Dominus Protector noſter Neapolitanus, qui hanc ſeparationem ſua prudentia impetravit. Nam juxta ſeriem noſtrarum Conſtitutionum hæc Provincia eſt a Provincia Lombardiæ diſtincta, & una alteri præeſſe non debet. Propter peſtem quandam diminutis fratribus in hac Provincia, conventus Sancti Marci de Florentia fuit per litteras ejuſdem generalis Magiſtri unitus ſeu commendatus congregationi Lombardiæ, deinde prior quidam non vocatis fratribus aliis, breve impetravit, ut prædicti conventus ſancti Marci, & ſancti Dominici de Fezulis, & ſancti Dominici de Sancto Geminiano etiam auctoritate Apoſtolica unirentur, quod quidem breve nullius dubitatur fuiſſe valoris; cum eſſet ſubreptitium: quare ſi multiplicatis fratribus & augmentatis, authoritate Sanctitatis veſtræ ad ſtatum naturalem reverſi ſunt, hoc dici non poteſt eſſe fraudulenter factum, imo eſt ſecundum tenorem noſtrarum conſtitutionum. Præterea ibidem ſequitur: nam licet per litteras noſtras &c. quod falſum eſt, quamvis enim mihi præcepit Sanctitas veſtra, quod eam adirem, literas noſtras tamen ad eam tranſmiſi, rationabiles cauſas adducens quibus adire non poſſim, juxta illud Cap. ſi quando de reſcrip. prima fuit, quia infirmus & valetudinarius eram, & periculo mortis me expoſuiſſem. Secundo quia habeo adverſarios capitales, & tales quod judicio omnium civium qui hoc ſciunt, Romam non potuiſſem pervenire, & hoc quaſi publicum eſt in Civitate. Unde non poſſum ſine publica cuſtodia egredi domum. Tertia fuit propter civitatis periculum, cujus regimen adhuc erat debile, & noſtris monitis adeo ſuſtentatur & perficitur. In calce autem litterarum rogavi ſanctitatem veſtram, ut hac vice mihi parceret, quia alias cum majori ſatisfactione venire poteram. Miror autem quòd Sanctitas veſtra litteras meas non habuerit, quarum copiam propter hoc in litteris Conventus noſtri heri ad Sanctitatem veſtram miſſis aſſignavimus, ut & ipſa videat quod falſo locuti ſunt qui dixerunt me obedientiam recuſaſſe. Præterea cum Beatitudo veſtra ſit maximis rebus occupata, non poteſt de iis quæ particulariter fiunt, exactam habere notitiam. Quod intelligentes homines perverſi, ſuggeſſerunt, ut hanc cauſam meam determinandam, judicandam & puniendam committeret Vicario Generali Conventuum reformatorum Lombardiæ Ord. Prædicatorum, qui judex nobis eſt ſummopere jure ſuſpectus. Notorium eſt enim quòd inter congregationem Lombardiæ & noſtram propter ſeparationem prædictam ortæ ſunt controverſiæ maximæ, & cum idem vicarius una cum fratribus non ceſſet quotidie nos infeſtare, conſtituere igitur adverſarium alicujus judicem ejuſdem,

novit Sanctitas vestra quàm contra omnia sit jura & divina & humana. Præterea quando quis habet inimicos capitales, omnia jura illi concedunt, ut personaliter non teneatur comparere, ubi vitæ sibi imminet periculum; quia hic timor est cadens in constantem virum. Si ergo Sanctitas vestra sciret fratres congregationis nostræ strictius vivere quàm fratres Lombardiæ; certè cùm ipsa cupiat Religiosos ad perfectum tendere, non præcepisset, ut congregationi Lombardiæ reuniremur; non enim eisdem reuniri possumus, nisi eisdem conformemur. Quod autem strictius vivamus quàm fratres Lombardiæ, nos qui utriusque Congregationis Secreta novimus, certi sumus, & hoc extrinsecus apparet ex multis signis. Scriptum est enim, a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos, primum quia possessiones nec in commune habemus nec habere volumus; hoc autem ipsi non servant: Item quia in victu & vestitu parciores sumus ut ad oculum experientia patet: tum quia sumus in silentiis & orationibus frequentibus, ut qui fuerunt inter nos testantur: testis est civitas tota, quòd magna est differentia inter vitam fratrum nostrorum his temporibus, & eorum vitam quando erant uniti congregationi Lombardiæ. Omnes enim fatentur fratres nostros ad strictiorem vitam transiisse. Hujus rei etiam signum est, quòd cum Congregatio Lombardiæ obtinuerit excommunicationem spiritualem contra eos qui sine licentia ab ea recedunt, tamen vix potest retinere suos bonos fratres, ut ad nos non transeant; & jam aliquot ex eis probati viri ad nos transierunt, de autem nostris qui sunt liberi, nullus ad eos probatus adhuc transivit nec transire vult. Quod & ex hoc patet, quia audientes ejus prædicti brevis tenorem, valde turbati sunt omnes, & statuerunt se defendere coram Sanctitate vestra, dicentes unanimiter, sese velle servare quod Deo promiserunt, nec ullo pacto volunt vitam relaxare, sed in Deo confisi magis restringere. Præterea scimus non esse de intentione Sanctitates vestræ * excommunicatos Pastores præficere ovibus, non enim pascerent oves sed raperent & occiderent. Scit igitur Sanctitas vestra quod propter molestias quas nostris fratribus intulerunt fratres Lombardiæ, qui sæpe pacem nostram perturbarunt, hæc reunio non potest esse nisi valde molesta fratribus & odiosa, ex qua sequentur perturbationes ovium & scandala potius quàm utilitas animarum. Quod etiam patet ex hoc, quia quando temporibus retroactis erant fratribus Lombardiæ uniti, nunquam veram pacem habuerunt cum iisdem, quia non sunt conformes in moribus: unde etiam constitutiones nostræ non sinè causa has duas provincias ab invicem diviserunt. Præterea si Sanctitas vestra reuniat Conventus nostros conventibus Lombardiæ, ita sine culpa offenderentur. Præterea cùm Sanctitas vestra in litteris suis dicat se hos conventus & fratres reunire congregationi Lombardiæ, ne propterea libertate delectati sequantur errores meos, & tribus fratrum nostrorum præcipiat, ut in termino novem dierum Bononiam proficiscantur: Et cum notum sit, me in nullo eorum errasse quæ mihi ab adversariis arrogantur; confidentur dicere possumus, hoc non esse de intentione Sanctitatis vestræ, cessante enim causa, cessare quoque debet effectus. Cùm igitur, beatissime pater, constet, omnia quæ Sanctitati vestræ suggesta sunt esse falsa, & a perversis hominibus qui quærunt animam meam, esse & fuisse falsò conficta, qui me ex hac urbe astutiis suis cupiunt educere, non, ut veniam ad pedes Sanctitatis vestræ, coram qua sciunt me omnia nostra facilè defensurum, sed ut me interficiant in itinere, ambitione sua tyrannidem affectantes; non indignabitur Sanctitas Vestra, defensiones nostras piè admittere & nos potius prudentes quam inobedientes appellare, dum interim supersedemus, ut intelligamus Sanctitatis vestræ benignam responsionem & ab hujusmodi gravaminibus liberam absolutionem; nam

doctrinam

doctrinam hanc a prædeceſſoribus Sanctitatis veſtræ & Doctoribus ſanctis, videlicet Theologis & Canoniſtis didicimus. Unde inter alia multa quæ allegari poſſent, ſpecialiter hoc patet, ſicut plenè novit Sanctitas veſtra, ut in præal. cap. ſcribentes & maximè per Dominum *Felinum* Ferrarienſem, ejuſdem Sanctitatis veſtræ benemeritum auditorem, cui niſi hæc notiſſima eſſent, in litteris præſentibus ea ſubſcripſiſſemus. Quòd autem omnia quæ ſuperius Scripſimus, vera ſint, ubi oporteat, non erit difficile nobis probare. Sanctitas veſtra mittat unum ex ſuis fidelibus, virum juſtum & non ſuſpectum, & clarè ab univerſo populo poterit certificari, & ego paratus ſum in omnibus emendare meipſum, ubicunque erro, & publicè coram populo univerſo omnia errata mea revocare. Dignetur ſanctitas veſtra mihi ſignificare, quid ex omnibus quæ ſcripſi vel dixi ſit revocandum, & ego id libentiſſimè faciam, nam & hac vice & ſemper, ſicut ſæpius dixi ac etiam ſcripſi, me ipſum & omnia mea dicta & ſcripta ſubjicio correctioni ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Sanctitati Veſtræ, cui ſemper meipſum & fratres meos ejuſdem pedibus proſtratus plurimum commendo. Florentiæ ex Conventu Sancti Marci die Vigeſima nonâ Septembris 1497.

Beatitudinis veſtræ filius & ſervus
Frater Hieronymus.

Article of Cæſar Borgia's *renouncing the Cardinalate, the ſubſequent Account thereof by* Burchard, *being referred from* p. 176, 177.

Burchard. p. 57. FERIA ſexta, Septemdecima menſis Auguſti fuit ſecretum conſiſtorium in quo Reverendiſſimus Dominus *Cardinalis Valentinus* propoſuit: ab in eunte ætate ex animo ſe inclinatum fuiſſe ſemper ſtatui ſæculari, Sanctiſſimum autem Dominum Noſtrum omnio voluiſſe, ut ſe daret Statui Eccleſiaſtico, propterea ipſum tot ſupervenientibus dignitatibus Eccleſiaſticis & beneficiis condonaſſe, & ad Ordinem Diaconalem promoveri voluiſſe, cujus voluntati ſe opponere ſibi viſum non eſſet; cùm omnis ejus animus & deſiderium ac inclinatio ſit adhuc continuo, prout ſemper fuit ad ſtatum ſæcularem, ſupplicat Sanctiſſimum Dominum Noſtrum, ut dignetur eum ſingulari clementia proſequi & ſe diſpenſare, ut omiſſis habitu & dignitate Eccleſiaſtica liceat ei redire ad ſeculum, & matrimonium contrahere, ac reverendiſſimos Dominos Cardinales rogavit quatenus hujuſmodi diſpenſationi conſentire & pro illius obtentu una cum eo Sereniſſimum Dominum Noſtrum ſupplicare vellent. Omnes Eccleſias Monaſteria, & quævis beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæ ipſe Dominus Valentinus obtinet, eidem Sanctiſſimo Domino Noſtro relinquere paratus. Cardinales omnes communi & concordi voto diſpenſationem hujuſmodi voluntati & arbitrio ſummi Pontificis remiſerunt. Eadem die venit ad Urbem per portam portuenſem Dominus Ludovicus de Villa-nova nomine Francorum Regis, Cardinalem Valentinum ad

ad Regnum Franciæ conducturus, qui receptus & aſſociatus fuit per familiares Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri, & Reverendiſſimorum Dominorum Cardinalium more conſueto, ad præſtandam obedientiam Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro venientium.

Burchard. P. 58. His diebus venit ad urbem Illuſtriſſimus Dominus Alphonſus di Arragonia, Dux Biſiliarum, Princeps Salernitanus, filius naturalis divæ memoriæ Alfonſi ſecundi de Arragonia regis Neapolitani, ſeptemdecim annos natus vel circa, futurus maritus *Lucretiæ Borgiæ*, filiæ Cariſſimæ S. D. N. Uxoris olim Johannis Sforziæ Domini Piſſauri; qui non fuit receptus vel aſſociatus publica pompa ſed tamen a quibuſdam particularibus per Papam ſibi obviam miſſis: equitavit ad palatium Reverendiſſimi Domini C. S. Mariæ in porticu quod prædicta Lucretia inhabitabat, ubi hoſpitio receptus eſt, contraxit deinde poſt paucos dies matrimonium per verba de præſenti cum ipſa Lucretia, illudque *carnali copulatione* conſummavit. Nuptiæ ſunt in dicto palatio celebratæ & prius ſponſalia ſine pompa ſolemni ſed ſecreto omnibus ſcientibus: in Capella Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter mandavit tradi locum D. Alfonſo à dextris in plano ſolii ſui, ubi eum voluit ſtare omni tempore Veſperarum ſive miſſæ, non autem ſedere, quem locum idem & poſt obſervavit cum Pontificis voluntate. Feria ſecunda prima menſis Octobris in mane ſecreto & ſine pompa publicè receſſit ex urbe Cæſar Cardinalis Valentinus iturus per mare in Franciam, & cum eo Dominus Ludovicus de Villanova per eumdem Regem pro eo miſſus, & Johannes Jordanus de Urſinis, & duxit ſecum multos juvenes Romanos: ut intellexi, magnum theſaurum portaſſe, dictum fuit plures vel multos ex equis ſuos ferratos fuiſſe ferreis argenteis. Feria quinta decima menſis Januarii oratores Regis & Reginæ Hiſpaniarum venerunt, petieruntque a Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro in præſentia Cardinalium audiri, aſſerentes id eis a Rege & Regina commiſſum, quod Papa ipſis continuo & ſæpius negavit, conſenſit tandem eos audire in præſentia ſex Cardinalium & diem eis ſtatuit Mercurii * dicti menſis Januarii, qua poſt prandium in camera papagalli eos audivit, interfuerunt Cardinales, Ulixbonenſis, Alexandrin. S. Crucis, Capuanus, Vice-Cancellarius & Borgia. Poſt longum ſermonem Oratorum, habita ſunt inter eos verba querelarum plena, tam per Papam, quam per Oratores aſſerentes eorum dicta debere ex commiſſione Regis & Reginæ coram notario & teſtibus proteſtari, petieruntque Notarium publicum intromitti. Papa reſpondit quòd proteſtarentur in partibus ſuis, coram ſe non debere proteſtari, dictum fuit inter alia dictos oratores petiſſe, ut Papa revocaret filium ſuum Cardinalem Valentinum ex Francia, & eum priſtinæ dignitati Cardinalitiæ reſtitueret.

Burchard. P. 59. Superioribus diebus *me in civitate Argentinenſi exiſtente* ſeptemdecima proximò præteriti vel circa illum diem Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter in ſecreto ſuo conſiſtorio de Cardinalium conſilio & conſenſu aſſumpſit, creavit & publicavit in Sancta Romana Eccleſia presbyterum Cardinalem Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem Georgium Archiepiſcopum Rhotomagenſem eique titulum ſancti Sixti aſſignavit, & Capellum Rubrum deinde ſibi miſit per Cæſarem Borgiam de Arragonia Ducem Valentiæ olim Cardinalem Valentinum filium ſuum cariſſimum cum multis & rochetis muneribus aliis & facultate pileum ipſum recipiendi ſub forma & modo ibi nunc deſtinato; cujus facultatis vigore Dominus Cardinalis Sancti Petri ad vincula die vigeſima ſexta menſis Decembris, quæ fuit

feſtum

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ſeſtum Sancti Thomæ Apoſtoli in Eccleſia. Sancti Martini Oppido Chinonis poſt Miſſarum Solemnia Sereniſſimo Ludovico Francorum Rege præſente pilcum prædictum Cardinali Rothomagenſi impoſuit & tradidit, ceremoniis ſolitis obſervatis, ipſis autem de palatio ſive caſtro regio ad Eccleſiam euntibus præceſſit immediate Regem poſt alios Nobiles & principes Illuſtriſſimus Dominus Cæſar Dux Valentiæ, olim Cardinalis, prædictum Capellum publicè deferens, ut ſcutifer; quem ſecutus eſt Rex, a ſiniſtris habens Cardinalem S. Petri ad vincula, & poſt eos Cardinalis Rothomagenſis, & cæteri ſuo Ordine, hoc eſt ſine Ordine: hæc ſuperius in locis ſuis non annotavi, quia ignoravi.

Burchard. P. 60. Sabbato Sexto Aprilis Sanctiſſimus Dominus Noſter accepit litteras ex Francia, ſignificantes Sanctitati ſuæ Matrimonium eſſe concluſum inter quondam Cardinalem Valentinum & Dominum de Albretto nomine filiæ ſuæ, cum capitulis deſuper confectis, inter alia continentibus, ut dicebatur quòd ſanctitas ſua dare deberet in dotem 20000 ducatorum, & Matrimonium non debeat conſummari, priuſquam ſanctitas ſponſæ Fratrem Cardinalem creaverit & publicaverit. Feria quinta, vigeſima tertia Maii venit curſor ex Francia, qui nunciavit Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro Cæſarem Valentinum Ducem filium ſuum olim Cardinalem, contraxiſſe Matrimonium cum magnifica Domina de Allebretto a die præſentis menſis, & illud Dominica duodecima ejuſdem conſummaſſe, & feciſſe octo vices ſucceſſivè. Venit alius annuncians quòd in die Pentecoſtes nona decima hujus, Rex Franciæ aſſumpſit ducem prædictum in confratrem confraternitatis Sancti Michaelis quæ eſt regia & magni honoris. Fuerant propterea ex mandato Pontificis facti multi ignes per urbem in ſignum lætitiæ, ſed in magnum dedecus & verecundiam Sanctiſſimi Domini Noſtri & ejus ſanctæ ſedis.

Burchard. P. 61. Diebus præteritis, quarta præſentis menſis Septembris nunciatum eſt Regem Francorum Alexandriam, Tortonam & multas alias civitates & loca Ducatus Mediolani ſibi ſubjugâſſe, Ducem Mediolani Ludovicum circa finem Auguſti proximè præteriti a Mediolano receſſiſſe per lacum Comenſem ad Dominium Sereniſſimi Regis Romanorum, filios cum Domino Aſcanio præmiſiſſe, ac ſeptem miliones auri ſecum deportâſſe: dixiſſe ante receſſum ſuum ex Mediolano Oratori Venetorum: Vos Domini Veneti mittitis mihi Regem Franciæ ad prandium, certifico vos firmiter, eum habitoros vos ad cœnam. Poſt ejus receſſum Mediolanum ſe ditioni Regis Francorum ſubmiſiſſe & multa alia dicta ſunt, Dominum ** de Curte Caſtellanum Caſtri Mediolanenſis in quo erant 400. Alemani & circiter 1500. Itali quod Caſtrum bombardis Scloppetis, Baliſtis, & omnibus generibus armorum munitum erat, & proviſionem grani & omnium neceſſariorum pro tribus annis, perſonis prædictis ad defenſionem copioſe habebat; de caſtro ipſo Regi Francorum conſignando tractâſſe, ac acceptis ab ipſo Rege multis millibus ſcutorum & quodam ſtatu ſeu Dominio in Regno Franciæ caſtrum ipſum Septemdecima Septembris Domino Johanni Jacobo de Trivultio nomine Regis acceptanti conſignaſſe, & multa alia.

Burchard. P. 62. Feria quinta ultima Octobris circa horam nonam Domina Lucretia Papæ filia peperit filium maſculum, quod ut dictum fuit, de mandato Papæ omnibus Cardinalibus & oratoribus & aliis amicis ad eorum domos ante diem eſt nuntiatum; fuerunt propterea nuntiantibus donati per ſingulos Cardinales & oratores ducati duo, ac plus vel

minus prout placuit donanti. Octava decima Novembris 1499. le Duc de Valentinois filz du Pape vint en Poſte ſecretement trouver le Pape ou il fuſt avecq ſa ſancteté juſques au vingt & unieſme du mois, & en partit en ſecret & alla verſus Imolam, quam paulo poſt violenter ſibi ſubegit cum caſtro, & filios Domini Hieronymi Riarii Comitis, nepotes Cardinalis ſancti Georgii, ejus Civitatis Dominos violenter ſpoliavit.

Art. *Ingreſſus Borgiæ Romam.* Referred to from p. 214.

Burch. p. 64. FERIA quarta, vigeſima ſexta dicti menſis Februarii, intimatum eſt de mandato Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri omnibus Cardinalibus, quòd dicta die hora nona decima mitterent familias ſuas extra portam beatæ Mariæ de populo obviam Duci Valentino venienti: & omnibus Oratoribus conſervatoribus & officialibus urbis & Romanæ Curiæ Abbreviatoribus, Scriptoribus, quod perſonaliter irent obviam eidem. Die Veneris proximè præterita, vigeſima prima hujus, Cardinalis Urſinus venit obviam Duci prædicto uſque ad Civitatem Caſtellanam, & die Sabbati vigeſima ſecunda Cardinalis de Farneſio ivit obviam eidem uſque ad eumdem locum, omnes urbis Ordines extra pontem milvium, ad tria vel quatuor millaria equitarunt uſque ad prata, ibidem Ducem expectantes; pulſata hora nona decima Cardinalis Sanctæ praxedis receſſit de palatio & equitavit ante Domum Cardinalis Urſini, qui ibidem in mula eum expectavit in via, equitarunt ſimul ad Eccleſiam beatæ Mariæ de populo, ubi expectarunt Ducem, qui intravit portam inter vigeſimam ſecundam & vigeſimam tertiam horam, & receptus fuit ab omnibus familiis, oratoribus & officialibus. Cardinales prædicti intelligentes Ducem appropinquare portæ, aſcenderunt mulas, & expectaverunt eum ante portam in loco conſueto, ubi detectis capitibus receperunt Ducem, detecto capite eis gratias agentem, qui equitavit medius inter dictos Cardinales uſque ad palatium, via recta ad Eccleſiam beatæ Mariæ in via lata, Minervam, domum de maximis, campum Floræ, inde recta via ad palatium. Ego non potui ordinare familiares, quia erant pedites Ducis circiter mille, quini & quini incedentes ſuo ordine, *Suicenſus & Guaſcones* ſub quinque vexillis armorum Ducis, qui non curarunt ordinem noſtrum. Dux habuit circa ſe centum ſtafieros ſinguli ſingulos Roncones deferentes. Indutus erat veſte velluti nigri uſque ad genua collanam habens ſatis ſimplicem, habuit multos tibicines omnes cum armis ſuis & duos araldos ſuos & unum Regis Frauciæ, qui volebat omnino ire poſt ſervientes armorum; conqueſtus fuit Duci, qui mandavit ei quòd iret ante eos, quod fecit male libenter. Poſt nos equitarunt Dux Biſiliarum a dextris, & Princeps Squillaci filius Papæ a ſiniſtris, quos ſecutus eſt Dux medius inter Cardinales prædictos: poſt eos Archiepiſcopus Raguſinus a dextris, & Epiſcopus Sygovienſis *Orator Romanorum Regis* a ſiniſtris. Archiepiſcopus Cuſentinus a dextris, Epiſcopus Trecorenſis Orator *Regis Franciæ* a ſiniſtris, Epiſcopus Zamorenſis a dextris, & Orator *Regis Hiſpaniæ* a ſiniſtris ſucceſſivè, & alii eodem ordine. Duo Oratores Regis Navarræ contenderunt

contenderunt cum Oratore Regis Neapolitani & *Angliæ* qui ſe illis animoſe oppoſuerunt, victi tamen illi duo Regis Navarræ ceſſerunt & receſſerunt. Papa ſtetit ſupra lodiam in camera ſupra portam palatii & cum eo Cardinales Montis Regalis, Alexandrinus, Capuanus, Ceſarinus, & Farneſius, poſtquam Dux venit ad cameram paramenti, Papa acceſſit ad cameram Papagalli, apportari fecit quinque cuſſinos de broccato auri, unum poni ad ſedem eminentem in qua ſedit, unum ſub pedibus ſuis & tria alia in terram per Ordinem in tranſverſum ante ſcabellum pedum ſuorum; aperto oſtio intraverunt omnes nobiles Ducis & poſt eos inter Cardinales Dux qui genuflexus ante Pontificem fecit brevem Orationem ad ipſum in vulgari *Hiſpanico*, agens ſibi gratiam quod ſibi abſenti dignatus eſt facere tantam gratiam neſcio quam, Papa reſpondit & in eodem vulgari, cum dux oſculatus eſt pedes ambos Papæ & manum dextram, receptus a Pontifice ad oſculum oris & poſt ducem nobiles qui volebant oſculati ſunt pedem.

Art. *De Roſa Aurea.* Referred to from p. 216.

Burchard. P. 66. SANCTISSIMUS Dominus Noſter die Dominica quarta quadrageſimæ volens Ducem Valentinianum creare, *Capitaneum Generalem* ac Confalonerium Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ *Roſam* ei dare conſtituit. Igitur vigeſima nona Menſis Martii, die Dominica manè, congregatis Cardinalibus in Camera Papagalli, Sanctiſſimus Dominus Noſter eos fecit vocare ad ſe ad parvam cameram audientiæ, & de eorum Conſilio decrevit dare roſam Illuſtriſſimo Cæſari Borgiæ *de Francia* Duci Valentino, filio ſuo, & eundem creare in capitaneum generalem & confalonerium ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ: exivit inde Sanctitas ſua cum Cardinalibus ad cameram Papagalli, ubi acceptis paramentis ſolitis benedixit roſam pro more, manu ſiniſtra deferens. Poſtquam Papa fuit in ſede, Cardinalis Beneventanus celebraturus, pervenit ad Baſilicam prædictam, accepit ſandalia & ſacras veſtes more ſolito. Dux venit ante Potificem in veſte ſua brevi, & genuflexit in ſupremo gradu, ad quem etiam acceſſit Cardinalis ſancti Clementis, prior Cardinalium Presbyterorum, aſſiſtens Papæ, qui detracta mitra ſurrexit & dixit: Adjutorium noſtrum &c. more ſolito. Finita miſſa, & datis per Papam benedictione & indulgentiis & illis per publicantem celebratis, celebrans adiit ad faldiſtorium, depoſuit ſacras veſtes, & acceſſit ad alios Cardinales Reverendiſſimus Cardinalis ſancti Clementis, poſt rediit ad Pontificem, coram quo duo Clerici Cameræ apportarunt *Vexillum Eccleſiæ & aliud Papæ*, plicate ſuper brachiis, unus acolytus portavit thuribulum cum navicula incenſi, alter vas aquæ benedictæ cum aſperſione & duo prælati aſſiſtentes librum & candelam. Papa ſurrexit depoſita prius ſibi mitra, & benedixit vexilla, & miniſtrante Cardinali naviculam, impoſuit incenſum in thuribulum, aſperſit vexilla & incenſavit ea, ſedit & accepit mitram. Dux venit ante Pontificem, coram quo genuflexo capiteque detecto præſtitit fidelitatis juramentum his Verbis. Ego Cæſar Borgia de Francia Dux Valentinenſis, Confalonerius Vexillifer ſeu Capitaneus generalis ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ,

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Eccleſiæ, ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero B. Petro, & vobis Sanctiſſimo Domino meo, Alexandro Papæ ſexto, veſtriſque ſucceſſoribus canonicè intrantibus; non ero in conſilio aut conſenſu vel facto, ut vitam perdatis aut membrum ſeu capiamini mala captione, aut in vos vel ſucceſſores prædictos violenter manus quomodo libet ingerantur vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovis quæſito colore: Conſilium vero quod mihi credituri eſtis, vel ſucceſſoris prædicti credeturi ſunt, per ſe aut nuntios ſuos ſeu literas, ad veſtrum ſeu ſucceſſorum damnum me ſcientè nemini pandam: Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri vobis & eiſdem ſucceſſoribus adjutor ero ad retinendum & defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ ſedis veniendo & redeundo honorifice tractabo ac in ſuis neceſſitatibus adjuvabo; jura, honores, privilegia & authoritatem Romanæ Eccleſiæ veſtræ & ſucceſſorum veſtrorum conſervare, deffendere, augere & promovere curabo, nec ero in conſilio vel facto ſeu tractatu, in quibus contra vos vel eoſdem ſucceſſores aut tandem Romanam Eccleſiam, aliqua ſiniſtra vel præjudicialia machinentur; & ſi talia a quibuſdam tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro poſſe; & quanto citius potero, vobis ſignificabo aut ſucceſſoribus prædictis vel alteri, per quem poſſit ad veſtram ſeu ſucceſſorum eorundem notitiam pervenire; ſic me Deus adjuvet & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia; & ambabus manibus ſuper libro Evangeliorum in figuram crucifixi poſitis & illis tactis juravit, ut ſupra. His factis unus Clericorum cameræ apportavit de Altari Roſam, quam Pontifex accepit de manu Cardinalis ſancti Clementis, & tradidit Duci coram ſe adhuc genuflexo, dicens: Accipe Roſam de manibus noſtris, qui licet immeriti, locum Dei tenemus in terris; per quam deſignatur gaudium utriuſq; Hyeruſalem, triumphantis ſcilicet & militantis Eccleſiæ, & omnibus Chriſti fidelibus manifeſtatur flos ipſe ſpecioſiſſimus, qui eſt gaudium & corona Sanctorum omnium: accipe hanc, dilectiſſime fili, qui es ſecundum ſeculum nobilis & multæ virtute præditus, ut amplius omni virtute in Chriſto Domino nobiliteris, tanquam roſa plantata ſuper rivos aquarum multarum, quam ſuam gratiam ſua ex uberanti clementia tibi concedere dignetur, qui eſt trinus & unus in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen. Dux accepta manu dextra roſa, oſculatus eſt manum primo, deinde pedem Papæ; ſurexerunt ambo. Impoſui biretum confaloneriatus in caput Ducis, qui ſub eo roſam in manu dextera portans continuo inceſſit ante Papam oſtentus eſt vultus Domini more ſolito, & Cardinales cum Duce aſſociarunt Papam uſque ad Curiam, de qua aſcendit Pontifex ad Palatium ſuum, licentiatis ibi Duce & Cardinalibus.

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Art. *De Vitato Periculo Papæ, Vinter rudera aticani delapſa.* Referred to from p. 233.

Burchard. P. 71. EADEM die poſt horam Veſperarum circa vigeſimam primam venit tempus valdè turbidum cum magna pluvia & grandine groſſa ad inſtar fabarum & vehementiſſimo vento, ex cujus impetu cecidit maximum caminum, multis cannis * tectum & cum tecto fregit duas trabes aulæ ſuperioris Pontificum, & illa omnia ſimul fregerunt unam trabem aulæ inferioris Pontificum, in qua Papa ſedebat in ſede eminenti, ſupra quam quoddam Pallatium ſive ſupercœlum more conſueto erat extenſum. In aula ſuperiore læſit tres perſonas quæ ſimul cum ruina ceciderunt in aulam inferiorem, quarum una ſtatim mortua eſt, aliæ perſonæ duæ mortuæ ſunt poſtea. Cum Papa erant ſoli Cardinales Capuanus & * Gaſpes poto cubicularius ſecretus, qui videntes tempus adeo turbatum & ventum frigidum cum pluvia per feneſtras aulam ingredi, de commiſſione Papæ iverunt verſus duas feneſtras, unus ad unam & alius ad aliam, ut eas clauderent, & vix erant in fenèſtris & ecce ruina, ſaltarunt in feneſtras, in quibus ſalvati ſunt: videntes autem ruinam Pontificis ſedem circumdediſſe, acclamarunt cuſtodibus aulæ prædictæ qui ad portam erant: Il. Papa è morto, de quo ſine mora clamor venit ad urbem: acceſſerunt quam primum ad ſedem Papæ, Papa non reſpondit: magis iterum timuerunt, approximantes ſe Papæ, repererunt eum in ſede ſedentem, non mortuum, ſed totum attonitum, vulneratum in Capite duobus ictibus, ab uno loco pellis erat aperta, in alio loco conquaſſatio & tumor, & in manu dextra digitis in medio & annulari valdè graviter * erant parum cum uno clavo in brachio dextero. Extraxerunt eum ſuis pedibus ambulantem ad cameram proximiorem, ubi poſitus in ſede baſſa: annuentibus ſuis domeſticis adhibita ſunt remedia opportuna, & nunciatum eſt ad urbem Cardinalibus & aliis, Papæ periculum aliquod non imminere. Salus autem Papæ fuit quod trabes illa ultima quæ rupta eſt in medio, habebat in Capite clavos extra murum infixos, qui illam partem ſupra ſedem Pontificis exiſtentem a capite in muro fortiter tenuerunt, ideoque trabes ipſa manſit in muro, & ejus medium quod ruptum erat declinavit in terram, & factum eſt Papæ defenſorium, ita quòd omnia declinarent ad medium & non verſus Papam.

Burchard. p. 72. Feria quindecima menſis Junii circa horam primam noctis Illuſtriſſimus Dominus Alfonſus de Arragonia Dux Biziliarum, maritus Dominæ Lucretiæ filiæ Papæ ſupra planum ſcalarum Bazilicæ Sancti Petri ante primum introitum verſus Baſilicam prædictam per plures perſonas aggreſſus fuit, & in capite & brachio dextro & crure graviter vulneratus: invaſores effugerunt per Scalam Sancti Petri, ubi circiter quadraginta equites eos expectarunt, cum quibus equitarunt extra portam pertuſam.

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Burchard. p. 72. Feria tertia octavadecima menſis Auguſti Alfonſus de Arragonia Dux Biziliarum & Princeps Salernitanus qui in ſero diei quindecimi menſis Julii proximè præteriti graviter fuit vulneratus & deinde ad turrim nonam ſupra cantinam Papæ in horto Majori Palatii apud ſanctum Petrum portatus eſt & diligenter cuſtoditus, cum non vellet hujuſmodi vulneribus ſibi datis mori, in lecto ſuo *fuit ſtrangulatus*: circa horam primam noctis portatum fuit cadaver ad Baſiliçam S. Petri, & ibidem in Capella beatæ Mariæ de febribus depoſitum: capti fuerunt & ad caſtrum S. Angeli ducti medici defuncti & quidam gibboſus, qui ejus curam habere conſueverat, & contra eos inquiſitio facta: liberati poſtea fuerunt cum eſſent juvenes * mandantibus capi erat optimè notum.

Burchard. p. 72. Dominica vigeſima tertia menſis Auguſti circa horam vigeſimam ſecundam, intravit per portam viridarii Ludovicus de Villa-nova Baro de Franc. Capellanus Regis Franciæ & Orator ejuſdem; ad quem propè hoſpitale S. Lazri, ubi ipſe orator expectavit, venit quidam equeſter cum uno pedeſtre, & in taberna proxima ubi orator erat, deſcendit ex equo, & retenta maſchera quam non depoſuit, amplexatus eſt oratorem, & eum allocutus eſt, & poſt parvam horam rediit ad urbem maſcheratus: dixerunt eſſe Ducem Valentinum. Venerunt in obviam oratores Regum Hiſpaniæ & Neapolitani ſimul, qui dixerunt dicto Duci, ſiate il ben venuto. Interrogavit eos, ſi vellent aliùd dicere; reſponderunt, quod non; Orator id audiens ſubjunxit: qui non vult aliud dicere non vult reſponſum. Feria ſecunda ultima Auguſti Domina Lucretia olim de Arragonia Filia Papæ receſſit ab urbe. itura ad civitatem Nepeſinam, aſſociata a ſexcenteſimis equitibus vel circa, ut caperet aliquam conſolationem propter dolorem & conturbationem quam habuit diebus præteritis propter obitum Illuſtriſſimi Domini Alfonſi de Arragonia Ducis Biſiliarum &c. mariti ſui.

Burchard. p. 74. Menſe Junio Columnenſes intelligentes concordiam eſſe factam inter Reges Franciæ & Hiſpaniæ, & propterea ſibi timentes ob adventum gentium Gallicarum, decreverunt terras ſuas committere ſacro collegio Cardinalium; quod collegium nunciavit Papæ, qui voluit hoc fieri, ſed quod Columnenſes mitterent Claves terrarum ſuarum Sanctitati ſuæ, cum minis niſi hoc facerent, quin etiam eos in perſonis velle punire. Decreverunt propterea claves dare Papæ & collegio, & Papa ob hanc cauſam miſit ad eos Reverendum Dominum * Retium Epiſcopum Ceſenatenſem auditorum Cameræ, qui rem concluſit cum eis. Vigeſima octava menſis Junii in introitu Domini d' Aubigni Capitanei gentium Regis Franciæ *contentio fuit inter oratores Ducis Sabaudiæ & Venetorum*, nec fuit ſervatus ordo, quia Sabaudus contendit cum Veneto, qui erat a dextris oratoris Regis Angliæ, & Sabaudus ivit ab illius ſiniſtris: nolui me interponere. Eadem die hora prædicta fuerunt in camera paramenti palatii Papæ circiter viginti maſſarii Vaſſalli Colomnenſium ex diverſis terris eorumdem, præſtituri homagium Papæ, ſinguli pro ſingulis terris; quos Papa admiſit & fecit cuilibet donare unum ducatum in auro, pro uno pari caligarum della ſua diviſa.

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Art. *De Epiſtola Mag. Domino Sylvio de Sabellis.* Referred to from *p.* 280.

Magnifico Domino Sylvio de Sabellis apud Sereniſſimum Romanorum Regem.

Burchard. p. 80. MAGNIFICE Domine: Intelleximus ex amicorum litteris, te jam ex multis diebus, nullo tuo ſed Pontificis ſcelere atque perfidia, proſcriptis atque in prædam datis omnibus fortunis tuis, ab urbe abſceſſiſſe, & horum latronum furorem & rabiem evaſiſſe; doluimus, ut æquum fuit, de tuis incommodis, ſed tamen inter mala gaviſi ſumus, te incolumem in Germaniam & apud Cæſarem receptum. Unde cum intelligamus te litteris commendatoriis & aliorum precibus apud Pontificem agere, ut in integrum reſtituaris, valde admirati ſumus prudentiam tuam eo credulitatis, vel, ut confidentius tecum agamus, eo levitatis [deveniſſe] ut ſperet hunc hominem proditorem generis humani, qui omnem ætatem ſtupris & rapinis contaminatam ad decipiendos homines conſumpſit, aliquid unquam quod juſtum ſit vel poſſe vel velle agere niſi metu & viribus coerceatur. Erras, Cariſſime, & longè falleris ſi exiſtimas ullam unquam pacem cum hoc monſtruoſo capite tibi eſſe quærendam: nam poſtquam nulla cauſa, ſed ejus aviditate & perfidia ab eo proditus & proſcriptus atque in perditionem datus es, æternum tibi cum illo Bellum æterno odio eſt finiendum. Opus eſt igitur tentare alias vias, & publicum * Romanæ peſtilentiæ Cæſari & cæteris Imperii Principibus clades omnes, quæcunque ab hoc infami bellua in perniciem Chriſtianæ Rei-publicæ emanarant, narrare deteſtabilia Scelera, quæ in contemptum Dei, & religionis exitium committuntur, quæ tam atrocia, tam immania ſunt, ut cujuſvis etiam diſſertiſſimi ingenium perſtringant. Hæc tibi in publicis Principum conventibus enarranda, hæc committenda pluribus exemplis atque per omnium manus tradenda ſunt & diſſeminanda; fruſtra queri Chriſtianam Religionem de Mahometo antiquo ejus hoſte, quòd ab illa innumeram populorum multitudinem abduxerit, cum iſte novus Mahometus omni criminum fæditate illum longe ſuperaverit, & hoc fidei & religionis reliquum validiſſimis morborum incendiis exarſerit: veniſſe tempora quibus jam Anti-Chriſtus toties a Prophetis prædicatus appareat, neque enim ullum omnino unquam naſci aut excogitari potuiſſe, qui apertior Dei hoſtis, Chriſti oppugnator, fidei & Religionis ſubverſor inveniretur. Jam beneficia & dignitates Eccleſiaſticas, quæ antiquo ſanctorum decreto, ad remedia animæ clariſſimis viris ultro demandari ſolebant, publica venditione diſſipari,

&

& illis ſolummodo cedere, qui aperta emptione plus pecuniarum quam cæteri largiuntur. Igitur itur ad Palatium cum auro ad amenda fidei Myſteria, ſtat ibidem Miniſter Scelerum, venditor Beneficiorum, Cardinalis Mutinenſis, ad explendam Pontificis avaritiam quæſitor inſtitutus, qui tanquam cerberus oſtio inferorum appoſitus, & omnibus adlatrans nullo pudore unumquemque penſitat, quid a quocunque feratur, intelligit: admittuntur ſoli divites & locupletes, tenuiores vero omni verborum contumelia excluduntur. Omnia jam apud Pontificem eſſe venalia, dignitates, honores, matrimoniorum copulas, eorundem ſolutiones, divortia & repudia uxorum, & alia multa, qnæ neque ætas parentum noſtrorum vidit, neque Chriſtiana conſuetudo admittit, ſeſe publicitus offerre, & novam ſectam & nova dogmata in Chriſti Contumeliam populis irrepere. Nihil eſſe jam Scelerum aut flagitiorum quod non Romæ publicè & in Pontificis domo committatur, ſuperatos eſſe Scythas latrociniis, Pœnos perfidia, immanitate & ſævitia Nerones & Cajos; nam cædes, rapinas, ſtupra, & inceſtus referre, innumeri & infiniti prope operis foret. Confectus crudeliſſimis vulneribus & bis prope modum cæſus Nobiliſſimus Adoleſcens Altonſus Arragonius, * perotus in ejus gremio trucidatus, verendos olim Vaticani penates cruore fædavit, & aulicos omnes conſternatione & fuga diſſipavit: longum eſſet proſequi cæteros, qui vel interfecti vel vulnerati vel vivi in Tyberim dejecti aut veneno conſumpti ſunt: quorum cùm ſit infinitus numerus, & in dies creſcat pernicies, neque his demum parcatur, qui auctoritate & gratia alios præcellunt, nemo in urbe eſt etiam privatæ fortunæ, qui ſibi & ſuis jam non timeat. Quis horenda libidinum monſtra enarrare non formidet, quæ apertè jam in illius domo, & ſpreta Dei atque hominum reverentia committuntur, quot ſtupra, quot inceſtus, quot filiorum & ſordes, quot per Petri palatium meretricum, quot lenonum greges atque concurſus, proſtibula atque lupanaria? Feria Novembris ſolemnibus omnium Sanctorum ceremoniis dedicata, quinquaginta meretrices urbanæ ad convivium in palatium vocatæ fædiſſimum & deteſtabiliſſimum ſpectaculum præbuere: & ut ad irritandum exempla non deeſſent, actitata eſt ſequentibus diebus in publicum ſpectaculum equa, quæ ſpectante cum filiis Pontifice intromiſſos admiſſarios nimio veneris ardore concitatos in furorem & rabiem converteret. Nihil eſſe jam auri quod non ex omnibus populis Chriſtianis ad filiorum luxum ſumma aviditate conquiratur. Propoſitum eſt in Turcas bellum publicare, ob eam ſpeciem per omnes urbis baſilicas preces indictæ, & venditæ exteris civitatibus erratorum indulgentiæ: ut ſcilicet ex hac conquiſitione largos ſumptus ſuppeditarent, ut eſſet unde filia Pontificis gemmis atque auro onerata pompam & Romanæ Eccleſiæ tributa ſecum trahens luxu inaudito ad maritum accederet; unde bellum antiquis civitatibus & veris Dominis inferretur. Pulſos eſſe ſedibus veteres incolas, maximam urbis nobilitatem proſcriptione atque exilio oblegatam, antiquos Latii Dominos ſuis fortunis & poſſeſſionibvs privatos, ut ex eorum cladibus Pontificis iidem filii & nepotes ex inceſtuoſo partu adhuc in cunis vagientes, ad regna & opes promoverentur. Notam jam eſſe omnibus Provinciæ Flamminiæ ruinam, fori Cornelii, & fori Livii afflictiones. Captam per vim atque expugnatum Faventiam, Ariminum, & Piſaurum pulſis Pontificibus receptum, adjectam eſſe huic imperio de civitatibus Eccleſiæ a Pontifice Ceſenam & Fortunæ fanum, cum Britantrio, ut largiore licentia & ampliore ejus filius patris ſimilis graſſaretur, qui interim majora moliens bellum Camertibus atque Urbinatibus machinatur, ut his depreſſis omni Piceno, concedente Pontifice ſolus potiatur, & demum afflictis omnibus cætera omnia Eccleſiæ

Romanæ

APPENDIX.

Romanæ jura atque Imperatorum ad ſe trahat: nam arces omnes Eccleſiæ validiores in ejus jam eſſe dicuntur poteſtate, ſpoletum, Urbem veterem, Vejos, Nepeſum, Terracinam; molem Adriani illius Præſidio teneri, & demum eò ventum eſſe, ut ejus arbitrio ad libitum omnia gubernentur, qui non tanquam hujus Imperii protector aut Dux, ſed velut hoſtis apertiſſimus omnia dilapidat; in hoc ſolummodo Patri agnitus atque cariſſimus, quia perſimilis, in omnes adeo pernitioſus & ſævus, ut judicare ſit difficilimum, utrum eorum deteſtabiliorem natura produxerit. Superiore anno cum exercitu in Flaminiam proficiſcens, in terras Eccleſiæ tanquam per agrum hoſtilem populabundus inceſſerat: demum expoliatis atque in prædam dati oppidis pluribus ad Faventiam devenerat: vaſtata erat in profectione Umbria cum Piceni parte & tota Flaminia; æquum videbatur profectioni reditum ſimilem oſtendere. Itaque reductus eſt exercitus ad Piumbinum primum, deinde ad urbem Florentinorum; ibi pacatis omnibus nec quicquam metuentibus Florentinis per aliquot dies prædarum licentia ſtatim data, & omnibus conceſſum tantum rapere & diripere quantum unicuique libuiſſet. Boni Ducis Imperium ſecuti milites, omnia rapinis, ſtupris cædibus & incendiis miſcuere. Serpſit hujus mali labes ad ſubditos populos tanquam morboſa contagio, atque Tudertum, Viterbium, Reate, Tybur inſignes civitates cum contra alios non adeſſet pugnandi aut rapiendi materia, in ſe vertêre arma, ubi Ducis factiones hujus ſubornatione & facinore & propterea temporum licentia nixæ oppreſſis adverſariis ferro & cædibus cuncta impleverunt. Cæſi atque obtruncati innumeri eorum cives. Cum interim bonus Pontifex ſuis libidinibus intentus gemmas undique & monilia conquirat, quibus filiam per ſcelus infandum ſibi conciliatam luxu inaudito exornatam in matrimonium collocet: qui tantum abeſt, ut hujuſmodi ſcelera vindicet aut prohibeat, quin apertius ſubornationibus foveat atque irritet, quò ſcilicet oppreſſis exulibus adverſariis qui Cæſaris & Romani Imperatoris partes ſequuntur, quorum bona ab eo proſcripta & publicata per injuriam fuerint, inceſtuoſis filiis & nepotibus de illorum fortunis tradita dominia confirmet. Tacent Cardinales, ſi qui ſint qui ſentiant melius: nam potentioribus partim pulſis partim oppreſſis, nemo ad iſta eſt ex reliquis qui hiſcere audeat: alii per ſcelus & ignominiam creati auro & facinoribus malis, amplam dignitatem adulationibus tuentur: favent Pontifici & blandiuntur; illum collaudant atque admirantur, timent tamen omnes & maximè formidant ejus filium fratricidam, ex Cardinale ſicarium effectum. Hujus motu & voluntate omnia ad libidinem gubernantur, illum inter greges meretricum Turcarum more latitantem armati milites cuſtodiunt. Illius juſſu & decreto interficiuntur omnes & vulnerantur, in Tyberim dejiciuntur, veneno extinguntur, bona omnia quæ intra extraque ſunt diripiuntur, illorum fames, rapina, ſitis humano ſanguine ſatiantur; quarum immanitatum metu cedere jam ab urbe nobiliſſimas familias, latitare optimos cives & niſi tot malis quamprimum ſuccurratur à Cæſare, unumquemque de deſerenda urbe & de fuga cogitare oportebit. O deteſtandam rerum & temporum conditionem! quantum ab antiqua ſummorum Pontificum ſanctitate degeneratum, quantum eſt a juſtitia deviatum! Vix unquam credet poſteritas tantum ignem ab hac face generis humani in populos emanaſſe, & tamen interim Chriſtiani Proceres de ampliando religionis ſtatu cogitare videntur. Quomodo in Turcas aut Arabes geretur bellum, ſi iſtud domeſticum incendium prius non extinguatur, a quo infideles Caroli Francorum Regis tempore, ut in Apuliam cum ſex equitum millibus deſcenderent, * & cum de Alphonſo Rege diſſiderent, pluribus ejus pollicitationibus

citationibus allecti fuerunt, Ideò votum ab inclytis olim Principibus pro tuenda aut augenda Chriſti religione & recipienda Hieroſolyma ſuſceptum eſt, tantum cruoris effuſum, tantum laboris & vigiliarum a ſanctiſſimis hujus Reipublicæ ductoribus exſudatum, ut ſcilicet Rodericus Borgia, omnium ætatum deteſtabiliſſima vitiorum vorago & gurges altiſſimus, empto per ſcelus Pontificatu omnia divina atque humana jura funditus everteret. Subveniant tandem Principes labenti Religioni, naviculam Petri fluctuantem ex media tempeſtate in medium portus reſtituant, reddant Romæ urbi juſtitiam & tranquillitatem, tollant è medio communem peſtem in hujus Reipublicæ exitium natam, & in ea primum id exemplum ſtatuant, ut boni in poſterum quietè vivere & ſuis fortunis ſecurè frui poſſint. Hæc igitur omnia, Sylvi, quæ pluſquam veriſſima ſunt, in orationis formam redacta, in publico Principum conventu, vel ſi hoc non licuerit, in aliqua ſolemni miſſarum ceremonia, quam maximè ſublimi poteris voce pronunciabis; deinde pluribus exemplis tranſcripta omnibus Principibus legenda dabis, abſentibus Regibus tranſmittes. Vale & in hoc agendo memineris te noſtrum & Romanum eſſe, iterum vale.

Datum Tarenti ex Caſtris Regiis, die quindecima Novembris.

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